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Buchanan's history of Scotland

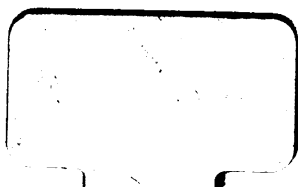
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BUCHANAN'S HISTORY OF SCOTLAND.

The THIRD EDITION, Revised and Corrected from
the LATIN Original.

VOL. II.

" 2 "

Adorned with Curious CUTS Engraven from the
Original Paintings, by Mr. *White*, Mr. *Vertue*, &c.



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KE 1204





THE
HISTORY
OF
SCOTLAND.

BOOK XI.

FTER the Punishment of the Particides,
James the only Son of the deceased King,
as yet scarce enter'd into the seventh Year of
his Age, began his Reigh on the 27th Day of
March, in the Abby of *Holy-Rood-House* at
Edinburgh. The King being as yet not fit for
Government, there was a great Dispute
among the Nobles, who should be elected Vice-Roy or Re-
gent. *Archibald*, Earl of *Douglas*, exceeded all the *Scots*
at that Time in Wealth and Power; but *Alexander Le-*
vingstone, and *William Creighton*, both of them of Knightly
Families,
Vol. II. B

Families bore the best Character in point of Authority, and in the Fame which they got for their Prudence in the Administration of Affairs in the then late Reign. The Nobility was unanimously inclined to give these two their Votes, because they were jealous of *Douglas* his Power, which was great enough to make even Monarchs themselves uneasy at it. Accordingly *Alexander Levingstone* was made Regent, and *William Creighton*, Chancellor, which Office he had born under the former King. The Nobility was scarce gone from the Assembly, but presently Factions arose: For while the *Chancellor* kept close with the King in the Castle of *Edinburgh*; and the Regent with the Queen, at *Sterlin*; *Douglas*, fretting that he was put by in the last Assembly, not knowing which Faction he hated most, was well pleas'd to see all things in disorder; so that rather by his Connivence, than Consent, the Men of *Annamdale*, who were always accusom'd to Thieveries and Rapine, infested all the neighbouring Parts, ransack'd them, and carried off the Plunder, as if they had been in an Enemy's Country. When Complaint of it was made to the Governours, they sent Letters to *Douglas* to suppress them (knowing that the *Annamdallians* were under his Regulation and Power) but these not prevailing, they wrote others in a sharper Stile, to put him in mind of his Duty; but he was so far from punishing past Offences, that he rather emboldened the Offenders, by screening them from Punishment: For he gave forth a Command that none of them should obey the King's Officers, if they summoned them into the Courts of Justice, or perform'd any other Act of Magistracy; in regard (as he alledged) That this Exemption was a Privilege granted to him (they commonly call it a *Regale*, or *Royalty*) by former Kings; and that if any one should go about to infringe it, it should cost him his Life.

THE Regent, and the *Chancellor*, did bewail this State of things, but they could not rectify it; so that this Gangrene spread further and further, and soon infected all those parts of *Scotland*, which lay within the *Forth*. And they themselves also disagreed, insomuch that Proclamations were publickly made in Market-Towns and Villages, by *Alexander*, that no Man should pay Obedience to the *Chancellor*; and by the *Chancellor*, that none should obey *Alexander*. And if a Man address'd himself to either of them, to complain of any Wrongs, he was sure, at his Return, to meet with severe Treatment from the Men of the contrary Faction; and Matters were now and then carried with so high a Hand, that the Complainant had his House fired about his Ears, and was ruined to all Intents and Purposes; so that both Parties went beyond the Length of hostile Fury, in their mutual Butcheries of one another. But the

the good Men, who had join'd neither Faction, not knowing well what to do, kept close at Home, privately bewailing the deplorable State of their Country. Thus, whilst every Party sought to strengthen itself, the Publick was neglected, and stood as 'twere in the Midst, forsaken and abandon'd by every body.

THE Queen, who was with the Regent at *Sterlin*, in order considerably to strengthen her Party, perform'd an Attempt both bold and manly. For she undertook a Journey to *Edinburgh*, under pretence of visiting her Son, and so was admitted into the Castle by the *Chanteller*. There she was courteously entertained, and after some Compliments had pass'd, her Discourse turn'd upon a Lamentation of the present State of the Kingdom. She made a long Oration, about the many and great Mischiefs that flow'd from this publick Discord, as from a Fountain of Ills; and signify'd that, for her part, she had always endeavour'd to compose all Differences so, as if they could not attain to a perfect Tranquillity, they might however have some Face of a Civil Government. But seeing she could not prevail, either by her Authority or Counsel, to do any good abroad, and in a publick manner, she was now come to try what she could do privately; for she was resolv'd to try her utmost, that her Son, who was the Hopes of the Kingdom, should have a pious and a liberal Education; that so, in Time, he might be able to apply some Remedy to these spreading Evils. And, seeing, this was a motherly Care implanted in her by Nature, she hop'd it would procure her the Envy of no body: That as for other Parts of the Government; she desired they might take it, who thought themselves fit to manage, and undergo so great a Burden: But yet, that they would manage it so, as to remember, that they were to give an account to the King, when he came of Age.

THIS Harangue she made with a Countenance so compos'd, that the *Chancellor* was fully convinc'd of her Sincerity; neither did he discover any thing in her Train of Followers, which gave him the least Hint to suspect either Fraud or Force; so that hereupon he gave her free Admission to her Son when she pleas'd; and they were often alone together, and sometimes she staid with him all Night in the Castle. In the mean time, the artful Woman frequently discours'd the Governor about making up of Matters between the Parties; and she call'd also some of the contrary Faction to the Conferences; and thus she insinuated her self so far into the Man, that he communicated freely with her touching almost all his Affairs.

Having thus gain'd the *Chancellor*, she easily persuades the young King to follow her, as the Author of his Liberty, out

of this Prison, and so to deliver himself out of the Hands of a Person, who used the Royal Name for a Cloak of his Wickedness ; who had monopolized all publick Offices to himself ; and neglecting the Good of the Publick, had highly advanced his own particular Fortune. To bring this happily to pass, she told him there wanted only a Will in him to hearken to the good Counsel of his Friends, and as for other Matters, he might leave them to her Care and Management. By such kind of Speeches, she, being his Mother, and a sharp Woman, easily persuaded him, who was her Son, and but a Youth, to put his whole Trust and Confidence in her ; especially, seeing a freer Condition of Life was proposed to him.

ACCORDINGLY she having prepared all Things for their Flight, went to the *Chancellor*, and told him, that she would stay that Night in the Castle, but early in the Morning she was to go to * *White Kirk* (that was the Name of the Place) to perform a Vow which she had made for the Safety of her Son, and in the mean time commended him to his Care, till she return'd. He suspecting no Deceit in her Words, wish'd her a good Journey and a safe Return, and so parted from her.

HEREUPON (as was agreed before) the King was put into a Chest, wherein she was wont to put her Woman's Furniture, and, the Day after, carried by faithful Servants out of the Castle to the Sea-side at *Leith*. The Queen followed after with a few Attendants, to prevent all Suspicion. There lying a Ship ready to receive them, they went a-board, and, with a fair Gale, made for *Sterlin*. The King's Servants waited late in the Morning, expecting still when he would awake, and arise out of his Bed ; so that, before the Fraud was detected, the Ship was quite out of Danger, and the Wind was so favourable, that before the Evening, they landed at *Sterlin*. There the King and Queen were received with great Joy and mighty Acclamations of the Regent, and of all the promiscuous Multitude. The Craft of the Queen was commended by all, and the great Fame for Wisdom which the *Chancellor* had obtained, became now to be a Ridicule, even to the Vulgar. This Rejoycing and Thanksgiving of the Populace lasted (as is usual) two Days, and was celebrated with general Shouts and Acclamations of Joy.

The third Day, those of *Alexander's* Faction came in, some out of new Hopes, others invited by Authority of the King's Name ; to whom, when the Series of the Project was declared in order ; the Courage of the Queen, in undertaking the Matter ;

* Situate below *Linton* Bridge, on the *Tine*, in *East-Lothian*.

her Wisdom in carrying it on; and her Happiness in effecting it, were extolled to the Skies. The Avarice, and universal Cruelty of the *Chancellor*, and especially his Ingratitude to the *Queen* and the *Regent*, were highly inveighed against. He was accused as the only Author of all the Disorders, and consequently of all the Mischiefs arising from thence; moreover, That he had converted the publick Revenue to his own Use; That he had violently seized on the Estates of private Persons, and what he could not carry away, he spoil'd; That he alone had all the Wealth, Honour, and Riches, when others were pining in Ignominy, Solitude and Want; these Grievances, tho' great, yet were like to be seconded with more oppressive ones, unless, by God's Aid and Counsel, the Queen had, no less valiantly than happily, freed the King out of Prison, and so deliver'd others from the *Chancellor's* Tyranny; for, if he kept his King in Prison, it was evident what private Men might fear and expect from him. What Hope could there ever be, that he would be reconciled to his Adversaries, who had so perfidiously circumvented his Friends? And how could the inferior sort expect Relief from him, whose unsatiable Avarice all their Estates were not able to satisfy? And therefore, since by God's Help in the first place, and next by the Queen's Sagacity, they were freed from his Tyranny, all Courses were to be taken that this Joy might be perpetual: And to make it so, there was but one Way, which was to pull the Man, as it were, by the Ears, out of his Castle; that Nest of Tyranny; and either to kill him, or in such a manner to disarm him, that, for the future, he should not have the Ability of doing them any more Mischief; though (said they) merely disarming him was not a very safe Way, because such a Savage as he, who had been accustomed to Blood and Rapine, would never be at quiet so long as the Breath was in his Body.

THIS was the Purport of *Alexander's* Discourse in Council, to whom all did assent; so that an Order was made, that every one should go home, and levy what Force they could to besiege the Castle of *Edinburgh*, from which they were not to depart till they had taken it. And that this might be compassed with the greater Facility, the Queen promised to send thither a great Quantity of Provision which she had in her Store-houses in *Fife*; but Dispatch was the main Thing to be consulted at that Juncture, while their Counsels were yet private, and the Enemy had no Warning to provide Things fit and necessary for a Siege: And in the interim, they had no Room to apprehend any Thing from *Douglas*, who was, they knew, a mortal Enemy to the *Chancellor*; so that now, as they had all the Power, Treasure enough, and likewise the Authority of the King's Name (that

being now taken from the *Chancellor*) he could have no Hope, no other Resource, but to put himself upon their Mercy.

THUS, the Assembly being dissolved, all things were speedily provided for the Expedition, and a close Siege laid to the Castle, The *Chancellor* was acquainted well enough with their Designs, but he placed the greatest Hope of his Safety, and of maintaining his Dignity, in bringing over *Douglas* to concur with him in his Defence.

FOR this End he sent humble Suppliants to him, to acquaint him, ' That he would always be at his Devotion, if he would aid him in his present Extremity; urging, that he was deceiv'd, if he thought that their Cruelty would rest in the Destruction of himself alone; but that they would make his Overthrow as a Step to destroy *Douglas* too.'

Douglas answer'd his Message with more Freedom than Advantage; viz. ' That both *Alexander* and *William* were equally guilty of Perfidiousness and Avarice, and that their falling out was not for any Point of Virtue, or for the good of the Publick, but for their own private Advantages, Animosities and Feuds; and that it was no great Matter which of them had the better in the Dispute; nay, if they fell both in the Contest, the publick would be a great Gainer by It; and that no good Man would desire to see a happier Sight than two such Fencers hacking and hewing one another.

THIS Answer being noised abroad in both Armies (for the Castle was already besieged) was the Occasion of a Peace being sooner clapt up, than any one thought was possible. A Truce was made for two Days, and *Alexander* and *William* had a Meeting, where they debated it together, how dangerous it would be, both for the Publick and their private Estates too, if they should persist in their Hatred, even to a Battle; insomuch as *Douglas* did but watch the Event of the Combat, that he might come fresh, and fall upon the Conqueror, and by that politick Means attract all the Power of the Kingdom to himself, when either one of them was slain, or both weaken'd and broken; and therefore the Hopes of both their Safeties were plac'd in their common and mutual Agreement. Thus the threatening Dangers easily reconciled those two, who were, upon all other Accounts, prudent enough. *William*, according to Agreement, gave up the Keys of the Castle to the King, professing, that both himself, and it, were at his Service; and that he never entertain'd any other Thought than that of Obedience to the King's Will. Upon this Profession he was receiv'd into Favour with the universal Assent of all that were present. The King supped that Night in the Castle, thus surrender'd to him, and the next Day, the Government of the Castle was bestowed on *William*, and the

the Regency on *Alexander*. Thus, after a deadly Hatred between them, it was hoped, that for ever after, the Foresight of their mutual Advantage, and the Fear of their common Enemy, had bound them up in one firm and indissoluble Knot of Friendship.

AFTER these civil Broils between the Factions were composed; besides Robberies, and the Murders of some of the common sort, which were committed in many Places, without Punishment, there were some remaining Feuds, which broke out between some noble Families. The Year after the King's Death, on the 21st of *September*, *Thomas Boyd* of *Kilmarnock*, had treacherously slain *Alan Stuart* of *Darnly* in a Truce, as he met him between *Linlithgow* and *Falkirk*. The next Year after, on the 9th of *July*, *Alexander*, *Alan's* Brother, with his Party, fought *Thomas*, where many were slain on both sides, their Numbers being almost equal; and, amongst the rest, *Thomas* himself fell.

THE Death of *Archibald Douglas* happen'd very opportunely at this time, because, in his Life-time, his Power was universally formidable. He died of a Fever, the next Year after the Death of *James* the first. His Son *William* succeeded him, being the sixth Earl of that Family; he was then in the fourteenth Year of his Age, a young Man of great Hopes, if his Education had been answerable to his Ingenuity. But *Flattery*, which is the perpetual Pest of great Families, corrupted his tender Age, puffed up by entering too soon on his Estate. For such Men, as were accustomed to Idleness, and who made a Gain of the Folly and Indiscretion of the Rich, did magnify his Father's Magnificence, Power, and almost more than Royal Retinue; and, by this means, they easily persuaded a plain, simple Disposition, unarm'd against such Temptations, to maintain a great Family, and to ride abroad with a Train beyond the State of any other Nobleman; so that he kept his old Vassals about him, in their former Offices, and obtained also new, by his profuse Largesses; he also made Knights and Senators, and so distinguished the Order and Degrees of his Attendants, as to imitate the publick Conventions of the Kingdom: In fine, he omitted nothing, which might equal the Majesty of the King himself. Such Gallantries were enough to create Suspicions of themselves; but good Men were also much troubled for him, upon another Account, that he would often go abroad with 2000 Horse in his Train, amongst whom some were notorious Malefactors and Thieves, and many of them worthy of Death; yet with these he would come to Court, and even into the King's Presence, not only to shew his Power, but even to strike Terror into the Hearts of others. This his Insolence

was further heighten'd, by his sending some eminent Persons as his Ambassadors into *France*, viz. *Malcolm Fleming*, and *John * Lauder*, who declaring how much his Ancestors had merited of the Kings of *France*, easily obtain'd for him the Title of Duke of *Tours*; an Honour which had been conferr'd on his Grandfather by *Charles* the seventh, for his great Services performed in the Wars; and his Father also had enjoy'd it after him. Grown proud by this Accession of Grandeur, he undervalu'd the Regent and the *Chancellor* too, being, as he alledged, his Father's Enemies; neither did he much stand in awe of the King himself. For these Causes, the Power of the *Douglasses* seem'd too exorbitant; and over and above all this, a further Cause of Suspicion was added.

William Stuart had a large Patrimony in *Lorne*; his Brother *James*, after the King's Death, had marry'd the Queen, and had Children by her, but very haughtily resenting that he was admitted to no Share in the Administration, to the end he might more easily obtain what he desired, and revenge his concealed Grief, he seem'd well inclined to *Douglafs* his Faction; and it was thought, that the Queen was not ignorant of his Design. For she also took it amiss, that the Regent had not rewarded her Merits as she expected. On account of these Suspicions, the Queen, her Husband, and her Husband's Brother, were committed to Prison the second of *August*, in the Year of our Lord The Queen was shut up in a Chamber narrow enough indeed of it self, but yet even there she was diligently and watchfully guarded: For the rest, they were laid in Irons in the common Prison, and were not freed, till in an Assembly of Noblemen, held the 31st of *August*, the Queen had clear'd herself from being any way privy to these new Plots; and *James* and his Brother had given in Sureties that they would act nothing against the Regent; and that they would not take any Post in the Government without his Consent.

AMIDST this Uncertainty of Affairs, the *Western Islanders* made a Descent upon the Continent, and wasted all with Fire and Sword, without Distinction of Age or Sect, so that their Avarice and Cruelty was not to be parallel'd by any Example: Neither were they contented to prey only upon the Sea-Coast, but they also slew *John Colchon*, a Noble Person in *Lennox*, having called him out from *Inch-Merin* in the *Loch-Lomond* to a Conference, and after having publicly plighted their Faith for his Security: This was done the 23d of *September*. Many foul Offences of this Nature were committed; so that partly on the Account of want

* Or *Lother*, a great and ancient Family in *Lothian*,

of Tillage, and partly of unseasonable Weather, Provisions came to be very dear; and moreover, there was a Pestilence for two Years, so dreadful and fierce, that they, who were visited with it, died withing the Space of a Day. The Vulgar ascrib'd the Cause of all these Calamities to the Regent; for Matters succeeding prosperously with him, he despised the *Chancellor* and the Nobles of that Faction, and brought the Administration of all things within the Compass of his own Power. Complaints were made against him, that he caused noble and eminent Persons to be imprison'd upon light and ungrounded Suspicions, and afterward inflicted upon them very heavy and unwarrantable Punishments; and that he gave Indemnity to those, who were really guilty, merely according to his own arbitrary Will and Pleasure; and that he held secret Correspondence with *Douglas*. The *Chancellor* could not bear these Things with Patience, nor pass them over in Silence; neither was he able to prevent them by Force; and therefore he suppress'd his Anger for the present, and resolv'd to leave the Court. And accordingly, upon the first Opportunity, he left the King and the Regent at *Sterlin*, and with a great Train of Followers came to *Edinburgh*; and there he fixt himself in that strong Castle, being intent and vigilant in all Occasions of Change which might occur.

WHEN this Matter was noised abroad, it excited Envy against the Regent, because of his Power; and procur'd Favour to the *Chancellor*, because of his Retirement: Neither did *William* neglect his Opportunity to make Advantage of these Feuds; for he resolv'd, by some bold Attempt, to curb the Insolence of his Adversary, and to remove the Contempt he had cast upon him. And therefore having understood by his Spies, that the King went every Day a Hunting, and was slightly guarded, watching the Season when *Alexander* was absent, and having made sufficient Enquiry into the Conveniency of the Country, the Fitness of the Time, and the certain Number of the Guards, he chose out a Place not far from *Sterlin*, where the faithfulest of his Friends, with what Force they could make, should meet and wait for his coming: And he, with a few Horse, lodged himself in a Wood near the Castle of *Sterlin*, before Day, and there waited for the King's Coming; neither did Providence fail him in this bold Attempt. The King came into the Wood early in the Morning, with a small Train, and those unarm'd too; and so he fell amongst the arm'd Troops of the *Chancellor*; they saluted him as King, according to Custom, and bid him to be of good Chear, and take Courage. The *Chancellor*, in as few Words as the Time would permit, advis'd him to provide for himself and the Kingdom, and to deliver himself out of *Alexander's* Prison, that so he might live

live hereafter at Liberty, and as a King; and might not accustom himself to fulfil the Lusts and Dictates of other Men; but might, himself, lay those Commands, which were just and equal, upon others; and so might free all his Subjects from their present Misery, which they had been plung'd into by the Ambition and Lust of their subordinate Governors, and that so deeply, that there could be no Remedy found for them, unless the King himself would undertake the Government; and this he might easily do without Peril or Pain. For he himself had provided a good Body of Horse near at hand, who would attend him to what fit Place soever he would go. The King seem'd by his Countenance to approve of what he had said; either that he really thought so; or else, that he disssembled his Fear. Whereupon the *Chancellor* took his Horse's Bridle in his Hand, and led him to his own Men: They which were with the King, being few, and unarm'd, not able to encounter so many Men, return'd back in great Sadness. Thus the King came to *Edinburgh*, guarded with 4000 armed Men, where he was received by the Commonalty, with great Demonstrations of Joy.

AFTER the Regent heard of what was done, his Mind was confounded betwixt Anger and Shame, insomuch that he return'd to *Sterlin*, to consider what was most adviseable in the Case. His great Spirit was mightily troubled to see himself so childishly deluded by his own Negligence; he suspected it was done by the Fraud and Connivence of his own Followers; and thus he stood long wavering whom to trust, and whom to fear; Shame, Anger and Suspicion reigned alternately in his Mind. At length he took a little Heart, and began to bethink himself what Remedy to apply to his present Misfortune. He knew that his own Strength was not sufficient against the *Chancellor*, a Man Politick in Counsel, and strong in Force; and besides, he had the Favour of the People, and the Authority of the King's Name, to support him. As for the Queen, he had so offended her by her close Imprisonment, that she was hardly ever like to be reconciled to him; and if she was, he had no great Confidence in her Assistance. And for *Douglas*, 'tis true, he had Strength enough, but no Prudence; his Age was tender; his Mind infirm; he was corrupted by Flatteries, and sway'd by the Persuasions of others; and (as in such Circumstances it usually falls out) the worst of Men could do most with him, and therefore he thought it below his Dignity to have any thing to do with such a Rascality of Men: But the *Chancellor*, tho' he was of a contrary Faction to him, yet was a wise Man, and his Age and Disposition might more safely be trusted; neither was the Cause
of

of Offence between them so great, but that it might yield to former Civilities which had past between them. But the greatest likelihood of their Reconciliation was grounded upon the Similitude of their Danger, and their joynt Consent to maintain the Safety of the Common-wealth. Besides, the Enmity of the *Chancellor* was what was most of all to be dreaded ; for if he joyn'd the other Factions, he had Power in his Hands either to reduce, or banish the *Regent*. Having pondered upon these Things for some Days in his Mind, and communicated them to some of his most familiar Friends, good Men, and Lovers of their Country, by their Advice he took an ordinary Train of Attendants, and went to *Edinburgh*.

It happen'd, that the Bishops of *Aberdeen* and *Murray* were then there ; Men, according to those Days, of good Learning and Virtue. By their Means and Intercession, the *Regent* and *Chancellor* had a Meeting in *St. Giles's Church*, with some few Friends of theirs on each Side.

The *Regent* first began to speak ;

‘ I think it not necessary (says he) to make a long Discourse in bewailing those Things, which are too well known to all, or in reckoning up the Mischiefs arising from intestine Discords, and the Benefits springing from Concord ; I wish we might experience those Miseries rather by foreign than domestick Examples ; I will then come to those things which concern the publick Safety of all the People ; and, next to theirs, our own, most of all. This Disagreement betwixt us ariseth, neither from Covetousness, nor from Ambition to rule ; but because, in the Administration of publick Affairs, which both of us wish well to, we are not of one Mind, but take different Measures ; yet, we are to take great care, lest this our Dissension should be publickly prejudicial to the Kingdom, or privately injurious to our selves. The Eyes of all Men are upon us two : Wicked Persons propose to themselves a Licentiousness to do any thing, when we are destroyed ; and ambitious ones think then also, to obtain an Opportunity to get Wealth and Power ; and besides, we have a great many Maligners and Envyers, as usually Men newly raised up to the highest Dignity are wont to have. All these, as they repine at our Successes, and calumniate our Prosperity ; so they willingly receive the News of our Adversity, as thereby hoping, and wishing for our Ruin, and therefore it will be worth both our Labours, to consult our own Safety, which is closely interwoven with that of the Publick, and so to revenge ourselves on our Enemies and Detractors, as may

' as may redound to our great Glory and Praise. The only
 ' Way to accomplish those Ends, is this, that we forget our
 ' private Injuries, and contribute all our Thoughts and Counsels
 ' for the good of the Publick ; remembering, that the King's
 ' Safety is committed to our Care, and so is also the Safety
 ' of the Kingdom ; yet so, that we are both liable to an Ac-
 ' count. And therefore, as heretofore we have been to blame
 ' in contending which of us should be the greater in Honour
 ' and Authority ; so, for the future, let our Contest be,
 ' which shall exceed the other in Moderation and Justice :
 ' And, by this Means, we shall bring it to pass, that the Com-
 ' monalty, who now hate us, and impute all their Calamities
 ' to us, will be reconciled to, and revere, us again. The No-
 ' bility, who, upon our Dis-union, have launch'd forth into
 ' the most unwarrantable Excesses, may be brought back to a
 ' due Sense of Moderation ; and the more powerful Sort,
 ' who despise us, as weakened by Division, may stand in awe
 ' of us, when united and reconciled, and so behave themselves
 ' towards us with greater Sobriety than ever. As for me,
 ' I willingly give up the tender Age of the King to be mo-
 ' dell'd and govern'd by you, as his Father, in his Life-time,
 ' appointed ; for as often as I seriously think of that Service,
 ' I judge my self rather to be eas'd of a Burden, than de-
 ' spoil'd of an Honour : If I have received any private In-
 ' jury from you, I freely forgive it for the sake of the Pub-
 ' lick ; and if I have done you any Wrong, let honest Arbi-
 ' trators adjust the Damage, and I will make you Satisfac-
 ' tion to the full ; and I will take special Care that such shall
 ' be my Behaviour for the future, that neither my Losses, nor
 ' Advantages, shall put the least Stop to the publick Pro-
 ' sperity. And if you are of the same Mind, we may both of
 ' us rest secure for the present, and also leave our Memories
 ' more grateful to Posterity ; but if you think otherwise, I
 ' call all Men to witness, both here and hereafter, that 'tis
 ' not my Fault, that the Evils under which we now labour,
 ' are not either fully cured, or, at least, in some sort reliev'd
 ' and mitigated.

To this the *Chancellor* replied,

' As I unwillingly enter'd upon this Stage of Contention, so
 ' I am very willing to hear any mention made of an honourable
 ' Agreement : For as I did not take up Arms before the Injuries
 ' I suffer'd provoked me ; so your Modesty hath urged me not
 ' to suffer the Publick to be damag'd by my Pertinaciousness.
 ' For I see as well as you, by this our Discord, that good
 ' Men are expos'd to the Injuries of the bad ; in the Minds
 ' of the Seditious are excited Hopes of Innovation ; our Coun-
 ' try

try is left for a Prey ; the Kingly Dignity is lessened ; publick Safety betray'd ; Authority bearded and ridicul'd, even by the meanest of the People. And whilst we thus betray the Safety of the Publick, our private Affairs are in no better a Posture. In the mean time, Men, who are given to Sedition, make Advantage of our Discords ; and our Enemies behold them as a pleasant Sight (for they hate us both alike) and if the Loss fall on either of us, yet they count themselves Gainers, by what either of us shall lose : And therefore I will not repeat the Causes of our Feuds, lest I make old Sores bleed afresh ; but in short I declare, that I forgive all private Wrongs and Injuries, upon the Score of my Country ; for there never was, nor shall be, any thing that I prefer to the Safety of the People, and the Good of the Common-wealth.

THOSE who were present, did highly commend both their Resolutions ; and so, by joynt Consent, Arbiters were chosen to compose Differences ; and, to the great joy of all, old Discords were pluck'd up by the Roots, and new Foundations of Amity laid ; and thus they, by joynt Counsel, again undertake the Management of the Kingdom. After this Concord, an Assembly of the Estates was held at *Edinburgh*. Thither came not a few Persons, as is usual, but even whole Clans and Tenantries (as if they had removed their Habitations) to complain of the Wrongs they had sustain'd ; and indeed, the Sight of such a miserable Company could not be entertain'd without deep Affliction of Spirit, every one making his woful Moan, according to his Circumstances ; that Robbers had despoiled Fathers of their Children ; Children of their Fathers ; Widows of their Husbands, and all in general of their Estates. Whereupon, after Commiseration of the Sufferers, the Envy (as is usual) and Reflection was carry'd to, and fix'd upon, the Captains of those Thieves ; whose Offences were so impudent, that they could in no wise be suffer'd ; and their Faction was so far diffus'd, that no Man was able to defend his Life or Fortune, unless he was of their Party ; yea, their Power was so great, that the Authority of the Magistrate could afford little help to the poorer and weaker Sort against their Violence and Force. Wherefore the wiser sort of Counsellors were of Opinion, That, seeing their Power was insuperable by plain Force, 'twas best to undermine it by degrees. They all knew well enough, that the Earl of *Douglas* was the Fountain of all those Calamities, yet no Man durst name him publicly ; and therefore the Regent dissembling his Anger for the present, persuaded the whole Assembly, That it was more advisable for them to keep the Peace with *Douglas* at present, than to irritate him by Suspicions ; for he had so great a Power, that he alone, if he remain'd refractory, was able

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to hinder the Execution of the Decrees of all the Estates ; but if he joyn'd in with the Assembly, then he might easily heal the present Mischiefs.

IN pursuance of this Advice, a Decree was made, that Letters of Compliment, in the Name of the Estates, should be sent to him, to put him in Mind of the Place which he held ; and of the great and illustrious Merits of his Ancestors, for the Advantage of their Country ; and withal to desire him to come to the publick Assembly of the Estates, which could not well be held without the Presence of him and his Friends. If he had any Complaint to make in the Assembly, they would give him all the Satisfaction they were able to do ; and if he or his Friends had done any thing prejudicial to the Publick ; in respect to his noble Family, which had so often deserved well of their Country, they were ready to remit many things upon the account of his Age ; of the Times ; of his own Person, and the great Hopes conceiv'd of him. And therefore they desired he would come and undertake what part of the publick Government he pleas'd ; for, inasmuch as *Scotland* had often been deliver'd from great Dangers by the Arms of the *Douglasses*, they hop'd that, by his Presence, he would, at this Juncture, strengthen and relieve his Country which labour'd under intestine Evils.

THE young Man, whose Age and Disposition made him covetous of Glory, was taken with the Bait ; and his Friends added their Persuasions. For they were all blinded by their particular Hopes ; so that their Minds were turn'd from all Apprehension of Danger, to the sole Consideration of their several Advantages. When the *Chancellor* heard that he was on his Journey, he went out several Miles to meet him, and gave him a friendly Invitation to his Castle, which was near the Road (it was called *Creighton*) where he was magnificently entertain'd for the space of two Days ; in which time the *Chancellor* shew'd him all imaginable Respect, that he might the more easily intrap the unwary young Man. For, to shew that his Mind was no way alienated from him, he began, in a familiar manner, to persuade him to be mindful of the King's Dignity, and of his own Duty ; that he should own him for his Liege Lord, whom Right of Birth, the Laws of the Country, and the Decree of the Estates, had advanc'd to the Sovereignty : That he should transmit the great Estate, which his Ancestors had got by their Blood and Valour, to his Posterity, in like manner as he had receiv'd it ; and also the Name of the *Douglasses*, which was illustrious for their Loyalty and Achievements, free from the horrid Stain, and even from all Suspicion of Treason ; that he and his Tenants should forbear oppressing the poor common People ; that he should put all

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Robbers out of his Service ; and for the future, maintain the Laws of Justice in so inviolable a manner, that if he had offend- ed heretofore, it might be easily attributed to the ill Counſel of bad Men, and not to the Depravity of his own Nature ; for, in that tender and infirm Age, his Repentance would paſs for Inno- cence. By theſe and the like Speeches, he perſuaded the young Man, that he was his entire Friend, and ſo drew him on to *Edin- burgh*, with *David* his Brother, who was privy to all his Projects and Deſigns. But his Followers had ſome Suſpicion of Deceit, by reaſon of the frequent Meſſages that came from *Alexander* the Regent ; for Expreſſes were flying to and fro every moment ; and beſides, the *Chancellor*'s Speech ſeem'd to ſome more diſ- ſembling and flattering, than was uſual for one of his Place and Dignity. All the Earl's Followers mutter'd this ſecretly among themſelves, and ſome freely told him ' That if he was ' reſolv'd to go on, yet he ought to ſend back *David* his Bro- ' ther, and (according to his Father's Advice to him, on his ' Death-Bed) not lay his whole Family open to one Stroke of ' Fortune'. But the improvident Youth was angry with his Friends, that had thus advis'd him ; and cauſed a kind of Pro- clamation to be made among all his Followers, that not a Whif- per of that kind ſhould be heard among them. To his more parti- cular Friends he made this Answer, ' That he knew well enough, ' that 'twas the common Plague of great Families, to be troubled ' with Men, who loved to be reſtleſs and uneaſy, and who made ' a Gain of the Dangers and Miſeries of their Patrons : And that ' ſuch Men, becauſe in time of Peace they were bound up by ' Laws, were the Authors and Advifers to Sedition, that ſo they ' might fiſh the better in troubled Waters ; but for his part, he ' had rather Truſt his Perſon to the known Prudence of the Re- ' gent and *Chancellor*, than give Ear to the Temerity and Mad- ' neſs of ſeditious Perſons'. Having ſpoken theſe Words, to cut off any Occaſion of further Advice in the Caſe, he ſet Spurs to his Horſe, and with his Brother, and a few more of his beſt Confidants, haſtened to the Caſtle, with more ſpeed than is uſual in an ordinary March ; and ſo, Fate drawing him on, he precipitated himſelf into the Snares of his Enemies.

In that very Moment of time, the Regent came in too, for ſo it was agreed, that the whole Weight of ſo great Envy might not lye on one Man's Shoulders only. *Douglas* was kindly re- ceived, and admitted to the King's Table ; but in the miſt of the Feaſt, ſome armed Men beſet him, quite defenceleſs as he was, and put a Bull's Head upon him, which, in thoſe Times, was a Meſſenger and Sign of Death. When the young Man ſaw that, he was troubled and went to riſe from his Seat, but the armed Men ſeized him, and carry'd him to a Court near the Caſtle ;

Castle ; where he paid for the Intemperance of his Youth, with the Loss of his Head. *David* his Brother, and *Malcolm Fleming*, whom, next to his Brother, he trusted most of all, were also put to Death with him. 'Tis said, that the King, who was then grown up to a Youth, wept for his Death ; and that the *Chancellor* rebuk'd him mightily for his unseasonable Tears at the Destruction of an Enemy ; whereas the publick Peace was never like to be settled, as long as he was alive. *William* dying thus without Children, *James* (surnam'd *Crassus*, or the *Grofs*, as indeed he was) succeeded him in the Earldom (for 'twas a *Male-Fee*, as the Lawyers speak) the rest of his Patrimony, which was very great, fell to his only Sister *Beatrix*, a very beautiful Person in her Days. This *James* the *Grofs*, though he was no bad Man, yet was no less suspected by the King, and hated by the Commons, than the former Earls ; because, though he did not maintain Robbers, as the former Earls had done ; yet he was not very zealous in restraining them ; but he was deliver'd from this State of Envy by his Death, which happen'd two Years after.

William, the eldest of his seven Sons, succeeded him, and being emulous of the ancient Power of the Family, that he might restore it to its pristine Splendor, resolv'd to marry his Uncle's Daughter, who was the Heiress of many Countries : Several of his Kindred did not approve of the Match, partly because 'twas an unusual, and by consequence an unlawful Thing ; and partly because, by the Accession of so much Wealth, he would be envy'd by the People, and also formidable to the King. For a Rumor was spread abroad, and that not without ground, that the King himself would do his utmost to hinder the Match. This made *William* hasten the Consummation of the Marriage, even within the Time when Marriages are prohibited, that he might prevent the King's Endeavours to the contrary. Thus having obtain'd great Wealth, he grew insolent, and Envy follow'd his Insolence, in regard Troops of Robbers did swarm every where, whose Captains were thought to be no Strangers to *Douglas* his Design. Amongst them there was one *John Gormac* of *Athole*, who pillaged all the Country about him, and set upon *William Ruthen*, Sheriff of *Perth*, because he was leading a Thief of *Athole* to the Gallows, and fought with him, as it were, in a set Battle. At last *Gomac* the Captain, and 30 of his Followers, were slain, and the rest fled to the Mountains. This Skirmish happened in the Year of Christ 1443.

A few Days after, the Castle of *Dunbarton*, impregnable by Force, was twice taken in a little time : *Robert Semple* was Commander of the lower Castle, and *Patrick Galbreth* of the higher, and their Government was so divided, that each had

had a peculiar Entrance into his own Part. These Two were not free from Factions amongst themselves. For *Patrick* was thought secretly to favour the *Douglasses*. Whereupon *Semple*, perceiving that his Part was but negligently guarded, seiz'd him, and commanded him to remove his Goods. The Day after, *Patrick* enter'd with four Companions attending him, without Arms, to fetch out his Goods; where first, he lit up on the Porter alone, and then, seizing some Arms, drove him and the rest out of the upper Castle; and thus, sending for Aid out of the neighbouring Town, he beat them out of the lower Castle also, and so reduc'd the whole Fort into his own Hands.

ABOUT that time there were very many Murders committed upon the inferior Sort; which were partly perpetrated by the *Douglassians*, and partly charg'd upon them by their Enemies. The King being now of Age, and managing the Government himself; *Douglas*, being unable to stand against the Envy of the Nobles, and the Complaints of the Commons too, resolves to become a new Man, to satisfy the People, and by all Means possible to win back the Heart of the King, which was alienated from him; and, in order thereunto, he came with a great Train to *Sterlin*. And, when he had Intelligence by some Courtiers, whom he had bribed and made his own, that the King's Anger was appeas'd towards him, then, and not before, he came into his Presence, and laid down his Life and Fortune at his Feet, and submitted and left them all to his disposal. He partly excused the Crimes of his former Life, and partly (because that seem'd the readier way to Reconciliation) he ingenuously confess'd them; withal affirming, that whatever Fortune he should have hereafter, he would ascribe it solely to the Clemency of the King, not to his own Innocency; but if the King would be pleas'd to receive Satisfaction from him, by his Services and Obediency, he would do his utmost endeavour for the future, that no Man should be more loyal and observant of his Duty than himself; and that, in restraining and punishing all those exorbitant Offences which his Enemies cast upon him, none should be more sharp and severe than he; in regard he was descended from that Family, which was not raised by oppressing the Poor, but by defending the Commons of *Scotland*, by their Arms. By this Oration of the Earl's and the secret Commendation of the Courtiers, the King was so chang'd, that he forgave him all the Crimes of his former Life, and received him into the Number of his Favourites, and communicated all his secret Designs to him.

AND indeed the Earl, in a very little time, had so obliged the King by his obsequious Carriage; and had won so much

on his Ministers by his Liberality ; nay, had so ingratiated himself with all Men by his modest and courteous Condescension ; that the ordinary sort of People conceiv'd great Hope of his gentle and pliable Deportment ; but the wiser were somewhat afraid, whither so sudden a Change of Manners would tend : And especially *Alexander Levingston* and *William Creighton*, imagining that all his Counsels would tend to their Destruction, having resigned their Places, retired each of them from Court, *Alexander* to his own Estate, and *William* into the Castle of *Edinburgh*, there to watch and observe, where the Simulation of *Douglas* would end. Nor were these Men of Penetration out in the Opinion they had entertained : For *Douglas*, having gotten the King alone, and destitute of graver Counsel, and who was somewhat unwary too, by reason of the greenness of his Years, thought now that he had a fit Opportunity to revenge the Deaths of his Kinsmen ; and so easily persuaded the King to send for *William Creighton*, and *Alexander Levingston*, with his two Sons, *Alexander* and *James*, to give him a legal Account of the Administration of their former Offices. His Design herein was, if they came to Court, to bring them under by the Power of his Faction ; but if they refused to come, then to declare them publick Enemies ; and so, having the Authority of the King's Name, as a Pretence for his Power, to sequester their Estates. Hereupon they were summoned to appear, but returned Answer by Letters, ' That they had never any thing more prevalent and superior in their Thoughts, than the good of the King and Kingdom ; and that they had so managed their Offices, that they desired nothing more than to give up a full Account, provided it was before Impartial Judges ; but, for the present, they desired to be excus'd, in regard they perceiv'd, that the Minds of those who were to be their Judges were prepossess'd with the Favours and Bribes of their Enemies ; and besides, all Passages were beset with Armed Men ; not that they shun'd a legal Hearing, but only withdrew from the Violence of their mortal Enemies at the present, and reserv'd their Lives for better Times, till the Commanders of Thieves being driven from the King's Presence, as they had often been in doubtful Times before, they might then justify and assert their Innocency to the King and all good Men.

WHEN this Answer was receiv'd, in a Convention which was held at *Sterlin* the Fourth Day of *November*, *Douglas* carry'd the Matter so, that they were declared Publick Enemies, and their Goods confiscated. And then he sends out *John *Froster*

* Or Forester.

of

of *Gorsburgh*, his Confident, with Forces to ravage their * Lands; and bring their Goods into the King's Exchequer. He took in their Castles by Surrender; part of them he demolish'd, and into part he put new Garrisons; and thus making mighty Waste, without any Resistance, he carried off a very considerable Booty. The *Douglassians* had scarce retired, before *Creighton* had gathered an Army of his Friends and Vassals, sooner than was expected; and with them he over-ran the Lands of the *Foresters*, and of the *Douglasses*, even as far as *Gorsburgh*, † *Sraborck*, *Abercorn*, and *Blackness*. He burnt their Houses, spoil'd their Corn, and brought away as much of the Plunder as he was able; and, amongst the rest, a stately Breed of Mares: And thus he did his Enemy much more Mischief than he received. *Douglas*, knowing that *Creighton* had done this by the Assistance of others, rather than his own Force, turns his Anger upon his Friends, who (he was inform'd) had sent him Aid privately (for few durst do it openly.) The chief of them were *James Kennedy*, Archbishop of *St. Andrews*, *George* Earl of *Angus*, *John* Earl of *Morton*; both the latter of *Douglas's* own Family; but one born of the King's Aunt, the Mother of *James Kennedy*; the other had married the King's Sister. These Persons did always prefer the Publick Safety, and the Duty incumbent upon them to preserve it, before all private Respects to their Families. But *Kennedy* exceeded the rest in Age, Counsel, and consequently in Authority; and therefore the Adversaries Wrath was principally incensed against him: Whereupon the Earl of *Craford*, and *Alexander Ogilby* raised a sufficient Body of Men, and destroyed his Lands in *Fife*; and, having a greater Eye to the Plunder, than they had to the Cause, they ransack'd the neighbouring Farms into the Bargain; and then, without any Opposition, return'd into *Angus*, laden with Spoil. In this Case, *Kennedy* betook himself to his proper Church-Arms; and because *Craford* would not answer in Court, he laid him under Ecclesiastical Censures; which *Craford* despised, according to his wonted Contumacy: But, a little while after, he was justly punish'd for his Contempt of all Laws human and divine. For, the same Year these things were acted, the College of the *Benedictines* at *Aberbrothock* (because 'twas not for Monks to intermeddle, and set themselves up for Judges in Civil Causes) had made *Alexander Lindsey*, Eldest Son of the Earl of *Craford*, their chief Judge in Civils, or, as they call him,

* In *Mid-Lothian*, two Miles West of *Edinburgh*. † A Town on the River *Brock*, in *West-Lothian*, a Castle standing on a Rock, lying near the *Firth* of *Forth* above *Abercorn*.

Sheriff, or *Bayliff*. He, with his huge Train of Followers, became burdensome to the Monastery; and besides, he carried himself as their *Master*, rather than their *Bayliff*; so that they dispossest'd him of his Office, and put *Alexander Ogilby* in his Place: *Lindsey* look'd upon this as a Wrong done to him; which made each of them gather together what Force they could, as if a War had been declared between them. When both Armies stood in a readiness to fight, the Earl of *Craford*, having notice of it, made all the haste he could, and rode in betwixt them both, thinking that the sole Authority of his Name had been Armour of proof to him; and, whilst he was hindring his Son from engaging, and calling out *Ogilby* to a Conference, a Soldier darted a Spear into his Mouth (it was not known whom it was, nor what he aim'd at) and struck him down dead from his Horse. His Death was an Alarm to both Armies, and, after a sharp Conflict, many being wounded on both sides, the Victory fell to the *Lindseys*: They say the Cause of it was, that, whilst both Armies stood with their Spears upright, appearing in the perfect Form of a Grove, a certain Man cried out, why do you bring those Goads with you, as if you had to do with Oxen? Pray throw them away, and let us fight it out with our Swords, Hand to Hand, by true Valour, as becomes Men. This said, they all threw away their Pikes on both sides, except 100 *Clydesdale* Men, whom *Douglas* had sent in to aid the *Lindseys*. These held the Tops or Points of their Pikes in their Hands, and trail'd them at their Backs; but, when they came to Handy-blows, then they held them out as a thick Fence before them, and broke the Ranks of their Enemies, daunted at the sight of Weapons, which they did not expect. The conquering Side lost 100; the conquered 500, and amongst them many Men of Note. *Alexander Ogilby* was taken Prisoner, and died a few Days after, of the Pain of his Wounds, and Grief of Mind together. *Gordon*, Earl of *Huntly*, was put upon a Horse by a Friend of his own, and so escap'd. The Slaughter had been much greater, if the Night had not cover'd the Fugitives, for the Battle began a few Hours before Night, on the 24th of *January*.

THE *Lindseys* manag'd their Victory with great Cruelty; they pillaged and demolish'd Houses, and utterly spoil'd the Country. The War was as hotly carried on between the Factions in other Parts. *Douglas* had besieg'd *William Creighton* some Months in the Castle of *Edinburgh*: And, to make a more close Siege, the Assembly of the Estates, which was summoned to be held on the 15th of *July*, and was already begun at *Perth*, was remov'd to *Edinburgh*. When the Siege had lasted nine Months, both the Besiegers, and the Besieged, grew equally weary, and so

So a Surrender was made on these Conditions, viz. That William should be indemnified for whatsoever he had done against the King, and he and his should march safely off. Thus, in every Dispute, he who is most powerfu', would seem to be most innocent. And, not long after, Creighton was received into the King's Favour, and was made Chancellor again, by the general Consent of all; but he refrain'd the Court, and all publick Business, as much as ever his Office would suffer him to do. Douglas, having thus rather terrified, than overthrown, Creighton, turn'd the rest of his Fury upon the Levingstons. But before I come to that Part of my History, I will touch upon the Slaughter of some of the Nobles of those Times; for it would be a Work without End, to record the Fates of them all.

James Stuart, a noble Knight, was slain by Alexander Lisle, and Robert Boyd, at Kirk-Patrick, about two Miles from Dunbarton; neither could they satisfy their Cruelty with his Death, but they endeavour'd to get his Wife also, who was then big with Child, and just upon the point of Lying-in, into their Power; in order whereunto, they sent a Priest to her, as in great haste, to tell her, That all the Roads were full of Horse and Foot, and that there was no Way for her to escape the present Danger, but to go on Shipboard, and fly to Robert Boyd at Dunbarton, who had solemnly promis'd to return her safe home. The credulous Woman, who did not know, that Robert was present at the Perpetration of the Murder, being carried from Cardros into the Castle, perceiving that she was circumvented by the Fraud of her Enemies, and overcome with Excess of Grief, Fear, and Indignation, brought forth an abortive Birth, which, with the Mother, died a few Hours after.

ABOUT the same time, Patrick Hepburn, Earl of Hales, kept the Castle of Dunbar, and had with him Joan the Wife of James the first, who in those tumultuous Times had fled thither for Refuge. Archibald Dunbar, thinking this to be a just Cause for a Quarrel, set upon Hales, Hepburn's Castle, in the Night, kill'd the Garrison Soldiers on the first Onset, and took it; yet, in a few Hours, for Fear, he gave it up to the Earl of Douglas, upon Condition that he and his should march safely off. Not long after, Queen Joan died, leaving these Children by her latter Husband, John Earl of Athole, James Earl of Buchan, and Andrew, afterwards Bishop of Murray. After she was dead, Hepburn deliver'd up the Castle of Dunbar, ungarrison'd and empty, to the King.

In Angus, Alexander, Earl of Craford, put John Lyons to death in th Market-place at Dundee, because he had been rais'd up to great Wealth and Honour, even to a Match in the Royal Family,

Family, by *Craford's* Father; yet he prov'd ungrateful, and forgot the Courtesies he had received.

AMIDST these Discords, the Men of *Annandale* embroiled the adjoining Countries in all sorts of Calamities. The Cause of all these Mischiefs was imputed to the Earl of *Douglas*; who yet did all he could to conceal these Misdemeanors of his *Clans*; for he openly studied nothing more than to afflict the Men of different Parties, in regard he was grown to that Height of Power, that 'twas a capital Offence to call any thing he did in question. He caus'd *James Stuart* the King's Uncle, to fly the Land, because he spoke something freely concerning the State of the Kingdom; whose Ship being taken by the *Flemmings*, put an End to his Life.

Now *Douglas* thought it was high time to attempt the *Levingstons*; whereupon he caus'd *Alexander*, the Head of the Family, and his Son *James*, and also *Robert* the King's Treasurer, and *David*, to be summoned to an Assembly at *Edinburgh*; and of his Friends, *Robert Bruce*, *James* and *Robert Dundass*. Of these, *Alexander*, and the two *Dundasses*, were sent back to Prison to *Dunbarton*; the rest were put to Death. Of what Crime they were guilty, meriting so great a Punishment, the Historians of those Times do not mention, neither will I interpose my own Conjectures, in a Business so remote from our Memory: only I will relate what I have heard, that *James Levingston*, when he came to the Place of Execution, complain'd heavily and expressly of the Inconstancy of Fortune. ' That his Father, who was honour'd with a Power next to the King's, did yet freely give up the invidious Title of Regent, and went to his own Estate far from Court, and out of his Enemies sight, whose Cruelty was never satiated with his Miseries; and therefore he was forc'd to take Arms to preserve his Life, which he again laid down at the King's Command. If there were any fault in that, he had long ago obtain'd his Pardon; and since that time, he had liv'd remote, and free from all Suspicion of any Crime, of which this was an evident Token; That the Nobility thought them Innocent, and did solicitously deprecate their Punishments; and yet notwithstanding, the severe Cruelty of their Enemies prevail'd more, than the former Demerits and good Offices of their Family; or, than the King's Pardon obtain'd; or than the interceding Supplications of the Nobility. And therefore he intreated all who were then present, to look upon those lofty Titles of Empire and Dominion, to be nothing else but the flattering Complements of Fortune, who then intended to do most Mischief; and that they were rather flow'ry Embellishments for one's Funeral, than Safe-

'Safeguards to a Man's Life; especially since bad Men can do more to destroy the Good, than the Consent of the Good can do to save them.' And, having thus spoken, to the great Grief of all the Spectators, he submitted his Neck to the Executioner.

AMIDST these Combustions, *Creighton* was sent into *France*, partly to renew the ancient League, and partly to obtain from thence a Royal Bride. *Douglas* took his Absence very well, tho' in an honourable Employment; because, tho' he was a prudent and potent Person, yet there were some Relicks of their former Discords, that made him not over-fond of him. In this troublesome State of the Kingdom, the same Disease which vex'd others, did also infest the Ecclesiastical Order. *John Cameron*, Bishop of *Glasco*, had, himself, committed many Acts of Cruelty and Avarice, among the Husbandmen of his Diocess (which was very large) and he had also given Encouragement to those who were in Power, to do the like; that so, when the Owners were unjustly condemn'd, their Estates might be confiscated to him; so that he was believ'd to be the Author, or the Favourer of all the Mischiefs which were acted by his People. 'Tis reported, that the Man came to an End worthy of his wicked Life. The Day before the Nativity of *Christ*, as he was asleep in a Farm of his own, about 7 Miles from *Glasco*, he seem'd to hear a loud * Voice, calling him to the Tribunal of *Christ*, to plead his Cause. That sudden Fright wakened him out of his Sleep; he call'd up his Servants to bring a Candle, and set by him; he took a Candle in his Hand, and began to read; but presently the same Voice was heard louder than before; which struck all those present with a great Horror. Afterwards, when it sounded again more terribly and frightfully than before, the Bishop gave a great Groan, put out his Tongue, and was found dead in his Bed. This so eminent an Example of God's Vengeance, as I shall not rashly credit, so I have no Mind to refute; yet, it being deliver'd by others, and constantly affirmed to be true, I thought proper not to omit it.

AT the same time, † *James Kennedy*, one of a far different Life and Manners, as referring all his Counsels to the good of the Publick; when, neither by his Authority nor Counsel, he could resist the daily new-springing Evils of his Country; and seeing likewise, that the King's Power was not able to oppose the Conspiracies of wicked Men, he left all his Estate for a Prey, and shifted for himself. Neither, in these Domestick Miseries, were Matters much quieter abroad. When the Truce

* The Bishop of *Glasco* frighten'd by a Voice from Heaven for his wicked Life; which is the Occasion of his Death.

† *James Kennedy* retires from a corrupt Court.

made with the *English* was expir'd, the *Scots* made an Inroad into *England*, and the *English* into *Scotland*; and where-ever they went, they wasted all with Fire and Sword. In *England*, *Alnwick* was taken and burnt, by *James*, Brother to the Earl of *Douglas*. In *Scotland*, the Earl of *Salisbury* did the like to *Dumfreiz*; and the Earl of *Northumberland* to *Dunbar*. Great Booties of Men and Cattle were driven away, on both sides. But the Commanders agreed amongst themselves, that the Prisoners should be exchange'd; for they were in a manner equal, both for Number and Degree. By these Incurfions, the Country was depopulated, and yet the main Chance of the War not concerned; so that a Truce was again agreed upon for Seven Years.

In this State of Affairs, *James Dunbar*, Earl of *Murray*, departed this Life. He left two Daughters, his Heireffes. The Eldest of them was marry'd, by her Father before his Death, to *James Creighton*: The Younger, after her Father's Decease, married *Archibald*, Brother to the Earl of *Douglas*. He, against the Laws and the Custom of his Ancestors, was called Earl of *Murray*: so superlative was *Douglas's* Power then at Court. Neither was he contented with this Accession of Honour; but, that he might further propagate the Dignity of his Family, he caus'd his Brother *George* to be made Earl of *Ormond*. His Brother *John* had many fair and fruitful Farms and Lands bestowed upon him; and was also made Baron of *Balvany*, against the Minds of many even of his Friends, who were jealous lest the Power of that Family, too great before, would be at last formidable, even to the King himself; nay, they imagined that these immoderate Accessions and Frolicks of Fortune would not be long-liv'd. But his Enemies did, as invidiously as they could, inveigh against this insatiable Ambition. ' For who (say they) could safely live under the exorbitant Rule of such a Tyrant, for whose Avarice nothing was enough, and against whose Power there was no Safeguard; who, right or wrong, invaded the Patrimony of the Nobles; and expos'd the meaner Sort to be a Prey to his Tenants; and those who oppos'd his Lust, he caus'd them, by Thieves and Cut-throats, either to lose all they had, or else to be put to Death; that he advanced Upstarts to high Honours, whom he grafted on the Ruin of noble Families; so that all the Power of the Kingdom was now brought into one House; besides many Knights and Barons, there were five opulent Earls of the Family; insomuch that the King himself did but reign precariously; and Men were like to suffer all Extremities under the cruel Bondage of the *Douglasses*; and he that utter'd the least Word tending to Liberty,

‘ berty, must pay his Life for his Boldness. ’ These, and other Discourses of this kind, some true, others to create greater Envy, stretch’d beyond the Lines of Truth, were spread abroad amongst the Vulgar ; which made those, who were of neither Faction, to sit loose from the Care of the Publick, and every one to mind his own private Concerns. The wiser sort of his Enemies were glad to hear, that a Man of such Power, against which there was no making head, should thus voluntarily run headlong to his own Destruction. Neither did they preface amiss ; for his Mind was grown so proud and insolent, by reason of his great Successes, that he shut his Ears against the free Advice of his Friends ; nay, many could not, with any safety, dissemble and cover, by their silence, what they disliked, because he had Parasites, which did not only lie at catch for Words, but observ’d Mens very Countenances. As for his old Enemies, many of them were haled to Judgment before him, who was both their Adversary and Judge too ; so that some of them were outed of their Estates, some depriv’d of their Lives, and others, to avoid his unrighteous and partial Judgment, fled out of their Country.

THE Men also of *Douglas’s* Faction lived in no fear at all of the Law (for no Man durst implead them) but letting the Reins loose to all Licentiousness, they invaded and made havoc of things sacred, as well as profane : Those who were obnoxious to them, they slew, and kill’d out of the way. Neither was there any end of their Wickedness : Sometimes, when they had no sufficient Cause to do a Man a Mischief, then they did it unprovok’d, and gratuitously as it were, lest, through disuse of offending, any honest and tender Thoughts should arise in their Minds ; so as to allay their brutish Cruelty, Every one thought himself the noblest and bravest Fellow, that could cast the greatest Contumely on the Commons. When such great Miseries were diffus’d into all Parts of the Kingdom, *Scotland* had certainly sunk under the Burden, unless *England*, at the same time, had been as much embarrassed with civil Combinations ; which, at last, being somewhat allay’d, the *English* violated their Truce, and invaded *Scotland* : When they had run over a great Circuit of Ground, and pillaged many Villages, they drove away a vast Number of Cattel, and return’d home. Neither was it long, before the *Scots* cry’d quits with them ; for they also enter’d *England* with a good Force, and did the Enemy more Damage than they receiv’d. Thus the Minds of both were irritated by these alternate Plunderings : so that a mighty Desolation was made in the Territories of either Kingdom : but the greatest Share of the Calamity fell upon *Cumberland*, where had been the Rise of the Injury

Injury and Wrong : for that Province was so harrassed by the War, that it was almost quite destroy'd. When this was related at *London*, it occasion'd the *English* to levy a very great Army against the *Scots* : whereby they thought easily to reduce the Country into their Power, it being already weaken'd by civil Discords. Hereupon an Army was rais'd of the better sort of People, and the Earl of *Northumberland* made their General, in regard he knew the Country well ; and besides, his Name and Power was great in those Parts. To him they joyn'd one *Main*, of a knightly Family ; who had long serv'd in *France*, with good Repute of Industry and Valour. 'Tis said that he, out of his mortal Hatred against the *Scots*, had bargain'd with the King of *England*, that the Lands he took from the *Scots*, either by killing or driving away the Inhabitants, he, and his Posterity after him, should enjoy. On the other side, the *Scots*, hearing of the Preparation of their Enemies, were not negligent in gathering Forces, on their part. *George*, Earl of *Ormond*, was made Captain-General ; who presently march'd into *Annandale*, whither his Intelligence inform'd him that the Enemy would come. And indeed the *English* had prevented him, and enter'd *Scotland* before. They had pass'd over the Rivers *Solway* and *Annand*, and pitch'd their Tents by the River *Sarc* ; from whence they sent out Parties on every side, to pillage ; but hearing of the coming of the *Scots*, they recall'd them all by Sound of Trumpet ; and contracted all their Forces into one Body. As soon as ever they came in sight one of another, they fell to it, without delay. *Main* commanded the Left Wing of the *English*, and Sir *John Penington* the Right ; in which were the *Welsh*, the Relicks of the ancient *Britains*. The Earl himself commanded the main Battel. *George Douglas* appointed *Wallace*, Laird of *Craig*, to fight *Main* ; and *Maxwel* and *Johnston*, each with their Troops to attack *Penington* ; he himself took care of the main Body. He gave them a short Exhortation, to conceive good Hopes of Victory, because they had taken up Arms in their own Defence, as provoked by the Injuries of their Enemies ; and that a prosperous Issue must needs attend so just a Cause ; and, if they could abate the Pride of the Enemy, by some notable Overthrow, they would reap a lasting Fruit of their short Labour. The *English*, who abounded in the number of Archers, wounded many of the *Scots* with their Darts, at a distance : Whereupon *Wallace*, who commanded the Left Wing, cry'd out aloud, so as to be heard by most of his Men, *Why they trifled so, and skirmish'd at a distance : they should follow him, and rush in upon the Enemy Hand to Hand ; and then their Valour would truly appear ; for that was the Fighting*

ing fit for Men. Having thus spoken, he drew the whole Wing after him. And presently with their long Spears, wherewith the *Scots*, both Foot and Horse, were furnish'd, they drove the Enemy back, routed, and put them to flight. *Main*, perceiving his Wing to give back, being more mindful of the just Glory of his former Life, than of his present Danger, rushes with great Violence upon *Wallace*; so that by his Boldness, he might either renew the Fight, or else breathe out his last in the Glory of an illustrious Attempt: but unwarily charging, he was intercepted from his own Men, and, with those few that follow'd him, was slain. When both Armies heard that he was slain, the *Scots* press'd on more chearfully: so that the *English Army* did not stand long. As they fled dispersed in great Disorder, and with much Precipitation, more were slain in the Pursuit, than in the Fight. But the chiefest Slaughter was upon the Banks of the *Solway*: for there the Tide had swollen up the River, so that they could not pass. About 3000 of the *English* were slain in this Fight, and 600 of the *Scots*. There were many Prisoners taken, the chief were Sir *John Penington* and *Robert Huntington*. The Earl of *Northumberland's* Son might have escaped, but whilst he was helping his Father to Horse, he himself was taken Prisoner. The Booty was greater than had been ever known in any Battel betwixt the *Scots* and *English* before. For the *English*, trusting to the Number and Goodness of their Soldiers, and depending also on the Discord of the *Scots*, came on so securely, as if it had been to a *Shew*, not to a *Fight*; so great was their Confidence, and so much they undervalued their Enemy. *Wallace* was wounded, carried home in a Litter, and in three Months after died of his Wounds.

Ormond, being thus a Conqueror, took a view of the Prisoners. The chief Commanders he sent Prisoners to the Castle in *Loch Malaw*. He himself returned to Court; where every body went out to meet him: and he was received with all the Tokens of Honour. The King highly extoll'd his military Services; but withal advis'd him and his Brother, That, as they had often given Proof of their Courage abroad, and had defended the State of *Scotland* by their Labour and Valour, even in perilous Times; so at home they would accustom themselves to a modest Deportment; and first refrain themselves from injuring the poorer Sort; and next hinder their *Clans* from doing it: and that they should use their Forces and Grandeur, which their Ancestors had obtain'd by their many Merits, both of King and Subjects, rather in restraining of Robbers, than in cherishing them. That this was the only thing which was wanting to compleat their Praise, and make it absolute; and,

if

if they would do that, they should certainly find, that he would esteem the Honour of the *Douglasses*, and their Interest, before any thing else whatsoever. They answer'd the King submissively, and so took their leave, and went joyfully home.

AFTER this Fight at *Sarc*, as the Borders of *Scotland* were quieter from the Wrongs of their Enemies; so, when the Matter was reported at *London*, it did rather irritate the *English*, than deject them. For, a Council being call'd about a War with *Scotland*, a new Army was order'd to be rais'd, to blot out the former Ignominy. Whilst they were all intent upon this Expedition; at that very Crisis of Time, Civil Wars broke out among themselves; and a strong Conspiracy of the Commons made against the King, took off their Thoughts from a foreign War: so that Embassadors were sent into *Scotland*, to treat of a Peace; which was so much the more welcome, because the *Scots* Affairs were not well settled at Home. Yet they could not well agree to Terms of Peace; but only made a Peace for three Years, and so returned Home. These things were acted in the Year of our Lord One thousand four hundred forty eight.

THIS publick Joy was soon after increas'd by a Message, sent out of *Flaners* from the Chancellor, who went Ambassador to *Charles* the seventh, about contracting a Marriage. By his Endeavours, *Mary*, the Daughter of *Arnold*, Duke of *Gelderland*, was betrothed to *James*. She was of Kingly Race by her Mother's Side, who was a Sister of the Duke of *Burgundy*. The Year after, she came with a great Train of Noble Persons into *Scotland*, and in *July* was crown'd in the Abby of *Holy-Rood-House*, near *Edinburgh*.

THIS universal Joy, for the Victory, for the Peace, and for the Marriage, was soon disturbed by the Death of *Richard Colvil*, a Knight of Note; which, tho' perhaps, in itself, not undeserv'd, yet was of very bad Example to the Common-wealth. This *Colvil*, having receiv'd many and great Wrongs from one *John Affleck*, a Friend of *Douglas's*; and, after many Complaints, getting no Remedy in Law nor Equity; fought with and slew him; and some of his Followers. *Douglas* took the Fact so heinously; that he made a solemn Oath never to rest, till he had expiated the Murder by *Colvil's* Death. Neither were his Threarnings in vain; for he storm'd his Castle, took and plunder'd it; and killed all the People in it, who were able to bear Arms. This Action, tho' performed against Law and Custom, was excused, and, in effect, commended by some, as proceeding from Indignation, a Passion that does not sit unbecoming upon a generous Mind. Thus, as it commonly happens in degenerate Times, Flattery, the perpetual Companion of Greatness, dressed up the biggest Offences with honest and plausible Names.

Names. Douglas was so elated with the Flatteries of Fortune, which was now bent on his Destruction; that he was ambitious to make an Ostentation of his Power, even to foreign Nations; as if the Splendor of so great a Family ought not to be straiten'd within the narrow Theatre of one Island only: so that he had a mind to go to *Rome*. He pretended Religion, but the principal Design of his Journey was Ambition. The Church of *Rome* had adopted the old Rites of the *Jewish*: for, as the *Jewish* Church every Fiftieth Year, was to forgive all Debts, of what kind soever, to their Countrymen, and to restore all Pledges *Gratis*; and also to set their *Hebrew* Servants at Liberty: So the *Pope* taking an Example from thence, as *God's* Vicar on Earth, arrogated the Power of forgiving all Offences. For, whereas at other times he trucked out his Pardons by piecemeal; every Fiftieth Year he open'd his full Garners thereof, and pour'd out whole Bushels full of them publickly to all; yet I will not say, *Gratis*.

Douglas, with a great Train of Nobles, who were desirous partly to see Novelties, and partly were tempted with the Hopes of Reward, sail'd over into *Flanders*: From whence he travelled by Land to *Paris*, and took with him his Brother, appointed Bishop of *Caledonia*; who afterwards, seeing Douglas had no Children, was, by the King's Permission, put in Hopes of being his Heir. In *France* he was highly carested, partly upon the Account of their publick League with the *Scots*, and partly in Memory of his Ancestors Merits from that Crown; and the Fame of this filled all *Rome* with the Expectation of his coming.

About two Months after his Departure from *Scotland*, his Enemies and Rivals began to lift up their Heads; they durst not, for Fear, complain of him when he was present; but now they laid open all the Injuries which they had received from him. And, when it was once noised abroad, that the Access to the King was easy, and that his Ear was open to all just Complaints; the Troop of Complainants, lamenting their Sufferings, increased daily: so that all the Ways to the Palace were crowded by them. The King could neither well reject the Petitions of the Sufferers, nor yet condemn the Earl in his Absence, without hearing him, so that he gave a middle Answer, which satisfy'd their Importunity for the present, *viz. That he would command the Earl's Proctor, or Attorney, to appear; that so, he being present, a fair Tryal might be had.* Whereupon the Proctor was summon'd, but did not appear: so that the King's Officers were sent out to bring him in by force. When he was brought to Court, some alledged, that he ought to be immediately punish'd for disobeying the King's Command; in regard
that,

that, by too much Patience, the King's Authority would be despis'd and run low, even amongst the meaner sort : for, under the Pretence of Lenity, the Audaciousness of the Bad would increase, and the Impunity of Offenders would open the Way for more Crimes. The King was not mov'd by those Instigations, but remain'd constant to his Resolution : which was, rather to satisfy the Accusers, by the Compensation of their Losses, than to satiate their revengeful Minds with the spilling of Blood. For this End, he caus'd the Earl's Proctor, to be freed from Prison, and to plead in his Master's behalf; telling him, *That, if he had any thing to alledge, by which he could clear his Master of the Crimes objected, he should freely declare it, without any Fear at all.* When he was cast in many Suits, and the King commanded him immediately to pay the Damages; the Proctor answer'd, *He would defer the whole Matter, till the Return of the Earl; who was expected in a few Months.* This he spake, as 'twas thought, by the Advice of *Ormond* and *Murray*, the Earl's Brothers; When the King was inform'd of his Resolution, he sent *William Sinclair*, Earl of the *Orcades*, who was then *Chancellor*, first into *Galway*, and then into *Douglasdale*. He appointed Sequestrators, to gather up the Rents of *Douglas's* Estate; and so to pay the Damages adjudg'd by Law. But as *Sinclair* had not Power enough to enforce his Order; some eluded, others abus'd him very grossly; so that he return'd without bringing his Business to any manner of Effect.

THE King, being provoked by this Contempt of his Authority, commands all the Favourers of *Douglas's* Faction to be summon'd to appear; which they refusing to do, were declared publick Enemies; and an Army was levy'd against them, which march'd into *Galway*. At their first coming, the Commanders of the Rebels were driven into their Castles; but a small Party of the King's Forces, pursuing the rest through craggy Places, were repuls'd; and not without Ignominy return'd back to the King. The King, being in a mighty Indignation, that vagabond Thieves should dare to make such Attempts, resolv'd to make them pay dear for their Contempt of the Commands of Majesty, by attempting their strongest Holds. He took the Castle of *Maban*, with no great difficulty; but his Soldiers were so much toil'd and weary'd in the taking of *Douglas* Castle, that he entirely demolished it, by way of Revenge. As for the Vassals and Tenants who had submitted themselves, and their Fortunes to him, he commanded them to pay their Rents to his Treasurers, till *Douglas's* Estate had fully satisfy'd, what was awarded against him by Law. And, when this was done, he dismiss'd his Army; having obtain'd a good Report for his Lenity and Moderation, even amongst his very Enemies.

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WHEN these Matters were related to the Earl at *Rome*, his great Spirit was mightily mov'd; his Reputation was even abated amongst his own Attendants; a great part of them deserted him; and he set out upon his Journey homewards, with but a few Followers. Passing through *England* to the Borders of *Scotland*, he sent his Brother *James* to feel the King's Pulse, how he stood affected towards him. And, as the King was found in the Humour of being appeased, he return'd Home, and was kindly receiv'd; only he was admonish'd to abandon and subdue all Robbers, especially those of *Annandale*; who had play'd many cruel Pranks, to satisfy their Avarice, in his Absence. *Douglas* undertook to do so; and confirm'd his Promise by an Oath. Whereupon he was not only restor'd to his former Grace and Favour, but also made Regent over all *Scotland*; so that every one was enjoyn'd to obey his Commands.

BUT his vast Mind, which was always hankering after an excessive State of Exaltation, was not content with this Honour, which was the greatest he could be advanc'd to, under the King; but, by his Temerity, he gave the State new Occasions of Suspicion: For he undertook a Journey very privately into *England*; and, after his Address to that King, he told him, that the Cause of his coming was, That *his Estate, tho' claim'd by him, was not yet restor'd*. But this seem'd to *James*, a light, and no probable, Cause of his Journey: And therefore the King conceiv'd a great Suspicion in his Mind, which before was not well reconcil'd; neither did he conceal his Anger, as supposing that there was a deeper Design hid under that Discourse with the *English* King. *Douglas*, having now an offended King to deal with, fled presently to his wonted Refuge, His Majesty's well-known Clemency; and cast himself at his Feet: The Queen also, and many of the Nobles interceded for him; and, after a solemn Oath, that, for the future, he would never act any thing which might justly offend the King, his Fault was forgiven; only he was deprived of his Office. Whereupon the Earl of the *Orcades*, and *William Creighton*, who had always remained loyal, were advanc'd again to the Helm.

Douglas was very angry with all the Courtiers for this Disgrace (for so he interpreted it) but he was most of all incens'd against *William Creighton*; for he thought that 'twas by his Prudence, that all his Projects were disappointed; and therefore he was resolv'd to dispatch him out of the World, either by some Treachery; or, if that succeeded not, by any other way whatsoever. And, that he might do it with the less *Odium*, he suborn'd one of his Friends to witness, that he heard *Creigh-*

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son say, *That Scotland would never be at quiet, so long as any of the Family of the Douglasses were alive; and that the Safety of the King and Kingdom, the Concord of the Estates, and the Publick Peace, depended upon the Death of that one Man: For, he being of a turbulent Nature, and supported by many and great Affinities, and irreconcilable by any Offices of Respect and Advancements to Honour, it was better to have him taken out of the way; that so the Publick Peace might be confirm'd and settled.* This Tale, when noised abroad, and believed by many, by reason of the Face of Probability it carry'd along with it, rais'd up a great deal of Ill-will against *Creighton*. *Douglas*, being inform'd by his Spies, when he was to depart from *Edinburgh*; lays an Ambush for him, late in the Night, as secretly as he could, and, when *Creighton* and his Train came to it, the Insidious Ruffians set upon them with a great Shout; they who were first assaulted, were so astonish'd at the suddenness of the Danger, that they could not lift up an Hand to defend themselves. But *William*, being a Man of great Courage and Conduct, as soon as he had a little recover'd himself from his Fright, kill'd the first Man that assaulted him, and wounded another; and so he and his Attendants broke through the midst of their Enemies, having only received some Wounds. He fled to *Creighton* Castle, and there staid some Days, to cure his Wounds; and soon after, he got a great Number of his Friends and Tenants along with him, and came with profound Secrecy to *Edinburgh*: His Speed did so prevent the Noise of his coming; that he had almost surpriz'd his Enemy unawares.

Douglas, being thus freed from unlook'd for Danger, either out of Fear, Shame, or both, when he saw the Power of the adverse Faction increase and grow extremely popular, endeavour'd also to strengthen his own Party, as much as ever he could; and therefore he joins himself in League with the Earls of *Craford* and *Ross*, which were the most noted and potent Families in *Scotland*, next to the *Douglasses*. A mutual Oath was enter'd into betwixt them; *That each of them should be aiding and assisting against all the World, to the Friends, and Confederates of one another.* And, in confidence of this Combination, they contemned the Forces of the opposite Faction; nay, and the King's too. The King resented this as the very highest Indignity; and besides, he had other fresh Causes of Provocation against him; which hasten'd his Destruction. *John Herries*, a Knight of a noble Family in *Galway*, being averse to the ill Practices of the *Douglasses*, commonly kept within the Walls of his own House; but the *Annandalians* were sent in

* *Douglas's Design against Creighton's Life.*

upon

upon him; who did him a great deal of Mischief. He often complain'd of it to *Douglas*, but in vain: So that, at length, he determin'd to revenge himself, and repel Force by Force. And accordingly, he gathered a Company of his Friends together; and, entering *Annandale*, he, and all his Followers were taken Prisoners by those *Banditti*; and, being brought to *Douglas*, he hang'd him up as a Thief; tho' the ~~King~~ had earnestly interceded for him, by his Letters. The Matter seem'd very heinous, as indeed it was; so that Speeches were given out, *That Douglas, by evil Practices, did endeavour, and that not obscurely, to make his Way to the Crown: For now there was nothing else remaining, which could satisfy his vast and aspiring Mind.* Which Suspicion was soon after increas'd, by another Action; which he committed, as foul as the former. There was a certain Family of the *Macleans*, in *Galway*, one of the chief and best there: The prime Person of that Family had kill'd one of *Douglas's* Attendants, from whom he had receiv'd continual Wrongs and Affronts; for which *Douglas* put him and his Brother in Prison. The King was made acquainted with it; and very much importun'd by the Friends of the Prisoner, not to suffer so Noble, and otherwise a very honest Man, to be hal'd forth, not to a Tryal, but to an undoubted Destruction; the same Person being both his capital Enemy, and his Judge too; and, that they were not his present Crimes, which did him so much Prejudice, as his having always been of the Honest, or Royal Party. Hereupon the King sent *Patrick Gray*, *Macklan's* Uncle, a worthy Knight, and of Kin also to *Douglas*, to command him to send the Prisoner to Court, that the Matter might be tried there, in due Course of Law. The Earl receiv'd *Gray* courteously; but in the mean time he caus'd Execution to be done upon the Prisoner; and intreated *Gray* to excuse him to the King, as if it had been done by his Officers; without his Knowledge. But he, perceiving how manifestly he was deluded, was in such a Rage, that he told *Douglas*, That from that Day forward, he would renounce all Alliance; Friendship, or any other Obligation to him, and was resolv'd to be his everlasting avowed Enemy, and to do him all the Mischief he could. When this News was brought to Court, this Action appear'd so horridly vile to all that heard it, that it grew the World's common Talk, That *Douglas* did now exceed the Bounds of a Subject, and plainly carry'd himself as a King: For, to what other purpose else did his Combinations with the Earls of *Craford*, *Ross*, *Murray*, and *Ormond* tend? And moreover his private Discourse with the King of *England*; his putting good Men to Death; and his allow'd Licentiousness in pillaging the People, were Indications of the same

Design. Now, Innocency was accounted Cowardice ; and Loyalty to the King punish'd as Perfidiousness ; that the Enemies of the Common-wealth 'grew insolent, by the too great Lenity and Indulgence of its Prince : That 'twas time for him now to take the Reins of Government into his own Hand, and to act like a Monarch himself ; and then it would appear, who were his Friends, and who were his Enemies ; or, if he did not dare to do it openly, by reason of the Power of some Men ; yet, by some Way or other, he should punish Disloyalty : But if he were so fearful, as not to do so either ; what remain'd, but that they, who had hitherto been constant, in their Loyalty to him, should now at length provide for themselves ? Tho' the Life of the *Douglasses*, and the Credulity of the King (prone to Suspicion) did confirm these Discourses to be too true ; yet the King, out of his innate Clemency, or else having before laid his Design, sends for *Douglas* to Court. He, conscious of so many mischievous Pranks he had plaid, and calling to remembrance how often he had been pardon'd ; and withal understanding how distasteful his new League with *Craford* was to the King ; tho' he put great Confidence in his Majesty's Clemency, yet being more inclin'd to Fear, refus'd to come ; alledging that he had many powerful Enemies at Court, and some of them had lately lain in wait to take away his Life. Hereupon, to remove this his Fear, many of the Nobles about the King, sent him a Schedule, with their Hands and Seals to it ; promising upon Oath, That, if the King himself should meditate any thing against his Life, yet they would dismiss him in Safety. So that *Douglas*, encourag'd by the King's Clemency, and by the publick Faith, testified by the Subscriptions of so many noble Persons, with a great Train of Followers, came to *Sterlin* ; where he was courteously treated by the King, and invited into the Castle. After Supper was ended with a great deal of Mirth, the King took him aside, into a private Chamber, with but a few Attendants : He did not so much as admit those, to whom he was wont to communicate his most secret Counsels. There he discoursed over, from the very beginning, the Loyalty and Valour of his Ancestors, and his Royal Indulgence towards their Family, and especially towards himself ; whom, after having committed many heinous Offences, either through the Unexperience of his Years, or through the Perswasions of wicked Men, he had freely pardon'd ; always hoping, that either his Royal Clemency toward him, or else his growing further into Years of Discretion, would reform him ; and as yet, says he, I despair not, but it may be so : And if you repent of what you have impiously committed, the Door of my Clemency shall

shall never be shut against you. This last League (proceeded he) with *Craford* and *Ross*, as it is not creditable for you; so it is ignominious to me: And therefore, though I take it much amiss that you enter'd into it, yet I put it into your Power, and, as yet, give you liberty to cancel and break it off: Which, tho' by my Prerogative, I may command; yet I had rather, by fair means, persuade you to do; that, since all Men's Eyes are upon you, you may avert all Cause of Suspicion with greater Security. *Douglas* answer'd submissively enough to all other Points; but when his Majesty came to mention the League, he was somewhat perplex'd, and did not clearly declare what he would do; but that he would advise with his Associates: Neither could he see any Cause, why the King, at present, should oblige him to a Breach of it; since it contain'd nothing that could justly offend his Majesty: The King, either having resolv'd upon the Matter before, or else provok'd by his contumacious Answer (as the Courtiers say) reply'd, *If thou wilt not break it, I will*: and immediately struck his Dagger into his Breast. Those that stood at the Door hearing the Noise, rush'd in; and, after a great number of Wounds, gave him the finishing Blow. Some say, that next after the King, *Patrick Gray*, of whom mention was made before, struck him into the Head with a BILL; and the rest that came in, to shew their Duty to the King, gave him every one a Blow. He was kill'd in the Month of *February*, 1452. according to the *Roman* Account.

He had then four Brothers in *Sterlin*; whom a great number of the Nobility had accompany'd thither: They, as soon as ever they heard what was done, ran in great amazement to their Arms (as it commonly happens in such sudden Confusions) and filled the Town with Noise and Clamour. But, when the Tumult was appeased by the Nobles, they were commanded to go, each Man to his respective Lodging. The next Day, they met to consult: And first of all, *James* was saluted Earl, in the room of his departed Brother. He mightily inveighs against the Perfidiousness of the King and the Courtiers; and advises to besiege the Castle with what Forces they then had, and with all speed to levy more; and so to pull those Men out of their Lurking-holes, who were valiant only to commit perfidious Mischiefs, while they were yet in some Fear and Anguish for the guilt of their Offence. The Company commended the Piety of *James*, and the Courageousness of his Spirit; but were averse to his Advice to a Siege; because they were not prepar'd with any Materials for so great an Enterprize: So that they all departed Home. And after Consultation with the chief of their Friends, the 27th of *March* they return'd again, and tied a Cord to an Horse-Tail,

on which they fasten'd the Schedule of the King and Nobles, promising the publick Faith to *Douglas* for his Security: This they drew through the Streets, abstaining from no manner of Reproach, either against the King or Council. When they came to the Market-place, with the Sound of five hundred Trumpets, and the Voice of a Cryer, they proclaim'd the King, and those that were with him, *Truce-breakers, Perjur'd Persons, and Enemies to all good Men*. Moreover, they were angry with the Town, tho' that had committed no Offence; and, after they had pillag'd it and left it, they sent *James Hamilton* back, to burn it: Nay, their Fury continued for some Days; so that they rang'd all over the Country, and ruin'd the Lands of all those, who were Loyal to the King. They besieg'd the Castle of *Dalkeith*; and took an Oath not to depart from it, till they had taken it: For they were highly displeased with *John*, the Owner of it, because he, and the Earl of *Angus*, had separated themselves from the Counsels of the rest of the *Douglasses*. The Siege lasted longer than they expected; for *Patrick Cockburn*, Commander of the Garrison, made a strenuous Resistance against all the Efforts of the Enemy: So that, after they had received a great many Wounds, and were worn out with Toils and Watchings, they broke up the Siege. In the mean time, the King levy'd an Army to relieve his distressed Friends; but not having Strength enough to encounter the *Douglasses*, he resolv'd to wait till *Alexander Gordon* could come in to his Assistance; who, as the Report went, had levy'd a great Force in the most Northern Parts, and was marching towards him: But, as he was passing through *Angus, Craford*, with a considerable Body, met and oppos'd him at *Brechin*; where a sharp Battle was fought betwixt them. When the King's main Body was giving Ground, as not able to endure the shock of the *Angusians*; *John Colace*, who commanded the Left Wing, forsook *Craford*, having born him a Grudge; and so left the main Body of his Army naked. This struck those who were almost Conquerors, with such Terror, that they turn'd their Backs, and fled for it. Thus *Gordon* unexpectedly got the Victory, with much loss on his Side; two of his Brothers, and a great Number of his Friends and Followers, being slain. Of the *Angusians* also, there fell several Men of Note; and amongst the rest, *John Lindsey* the Earl's own Brother. As for the Earl himself, he turn'd his Wrath from the Enemy, upon those who had deserted him: He storm'd their Castles, and put their several Territories to Fire and Sword: And he had the better Opportunity so to do, because *Gordon* made a speedy Return into his own Country *Bugshan*, when he heard that the Earl of *Murray* was exercising all manner of Cruelty against

against his Territories : So that he was forc'd to march back with his victorious Army ; where he not only reveng'd his Loss upon his Enemy, but also quite expell'd him out of his Country of *Murray*. These Actions were perform'd towards the End of the Spring.

In the interim, the King, by the Advice chiefly of *James Kennedy*, caus'd an Assembly of the Estates to meet at *Edinburgh*, to which he summon'd, by an Herald, the Earl of *Douglas*, and the Nobles of his Party, to come. But he was so far from obeying him, that the next Night, he caus'd a Libel to be hung on the Church Doors, That he would not trust the King with his Life, nor yield Obedience to him, for the future, any more, who had sent for his Kinsmen to *Edinburgh*, and his Brother to *Sterlin*, under the Protection of the Publick Faith, and there had perfidiously slain them, without hearing their Cause. In this Assembly, the * four Brothers of the late Earl who was slain, *James, Archibald, George and John*, with *Beatrix* the late Earl's Wife, and *Alexander*, Earl of *Craford*, were declared publick Enemies to the Common-wealth. Many Persons were advanc'd to be Noblemen, and Rewards were assign'd them out of the Rebels Estates. An Army was levy'd to pursue the Enemy, which, after some Devastation of the Country, driving off Booties, and burning Corn in the Granaries, was again dismiss'd in Winter, because the Soldiers could not then keep the Field, and an Expedition was appointed against the Spring.

In the mean time, *James Douglas*, lest the Wealth of his Family, which was mightily increas'd by rich Matches, should go away to other People, takes to Wife *Beatrix*, the Relict of his Brother, and treats with the Pope to confirm the Marriage. But the King, by his Letters, interpos'd, and hinder'd him from giving his Ratification to it. This Year, and the two next following, there was bandying between the Parties ; Lauds were pillag'd ; some Castles overthrown ; but they came not to the Decision of the main Controversy by a Set Battle ; the greatest Part of the Damage fell on the Counties of *Annandale, Forest*, and the neighbouring Counties of the *Douglasses*. This Devastation of the Countries was followed by a Famine, and the Famine by a Plague. The wisest of *Douglas's* Friends used all Arguments in persuading him to endeavour a Reconciliation with the King, and so to lay himself, and all his Concerns, at his Feet, whom his Ancestors had before found very merciful ; especially since he had a King, who was easily exorable in his own Nature ; and moreover, might be made more reconcilable by the Mediation of his Friends, and that he would not suffer so noble a Family

* The *Douglasses* proclaimed publick Enemies.

as his was, to be extirpated by his Obstinacy; nor betray the Lives of so many brave Men, who follow'd his Party; nor yet bring them to that Point of Necessity, that, after having suffer'd so many Calamities, they should be forc'd to make Terms for themselves: Whilst he was in a good Condition, he might make easy Terms of Peace; but, if once his Friends deserted him, he could then have no Hopes of obtaining his Pardon. The Man, being in the full Pride and Warmth of his Youth, and of a fierce Disposition too, made Answer, *That he would never submit himself to their Power, who were restrain'd by no Bonds of Modesty, nor by any divine or human Laws; who under fair Promises had inticed his Cousins, and his Brother, to come to them, and then perfidiously and cruelly murdered them: In a word, he would suffer the height of all Extremities, before he would ever put himself into their Hands.*

THIS his Answer was approv'd, or dislik'd, according to every Man's Humour: Those who were violent, or who made a Gain of the publick Miseries, commended the Greatness of his Courage; but the wiser Sort persuaded him to take Opportunity by the Forelock, lest, after his Friends had forsaken him, he should find Reason, when it was too late, to complain that he had neglected the Time for a Reconciliation, which is usually the End of hasty and headstrong Resolutions. But the Earl of Craford, weary'd out with so long a War, and likewise reflecting inwardly upon the Injustice of his Cause, and the frequent Turns and Changes of human Life; and knowing moreover, that he might easily obtain his Pardon, if he would be but early enough in his Sollicitations for the King's Favour; but that he would find it extremely difficult to get it, if he stood it out; and besides, being forsaken by some of his Friends, and suspecting the Fidelity of the rest, he put himself into such an Habit, as would most probably move Compassion; and came bare-headed and bare-footed, in most humble Manner to the King, as he was passing thro' *Angus*. To whom he ingenuously confess'd the Offences of his former Life, putting his Life and Fortune upon the King's Mercy, having first prefac'd something concerning the Fidelity and good Services which his Ancestors had perform'd to their King's; he was conscious, that his Fault had deserv'd the Extremity of Punishment; but whatsoever hereafter he had either of Life or Fortune, it would be a Debt wholly due to the King's Clemency. Having spoken these, and other Words of the same import, not without Tears, all the Spectators were much mov'd and affected, especially some of the Nobility of *Angus*; and, tho' they themselves had follow'd the King's Party, yet they were unwilling, that so eminent and ancient a Family should be destroy'd. *James Kennedy* carry'd himself at the same time

time like a good Bishop and a friendly Patriot ; for he not only forgave the Earl the many grievous Injuries he had done him, but further commended his Suit, and spoke in his Favour to the King : For he foresaw, as it after happen'd, That by this Accession, the King's Party would be strengthened, and his Enemies weakened daily, for the future ; because many were likely to follow the Example of this great Man. And besides, the King thinking that his former Fierceness was tam'd, and that he was really penitent for what he had done, was not hard to be intreated ; but gave him his Pardon, restor'd him to his former Estate and Honour, only advis'd him, for the future, to keep within the Bounds of his Duty : And indeed *Craford*, being thus engag'd by the Lenity and Indulgence of the King, did afterwards endeavour to perform him all the Service he possibly could. He follow'd him with his Forces in his March to the farthest Parts of the Kingdom ; and, having settled Things there for the present, he entertain'd him nobly at his House, in his Return ; and when he marched to make an End of the Civil War, he promised him all the Force he could make ; and indeed the whole Course of his Life was so chang'd, that, laying aside his former Savageness of Behaviour, he liv'd courteously, and in Complaisance with the neighbouring Nobility ; so that his Death, which follow'd soon after, was the greater Grief to the King, and to all the People.

THE King thus weakening *Douglas's* Party by degrees, that Earl's remaining Hopes were from *England*, if possibly he might obtain Aid from thence. For this End he sent *Hamilton* to *London*, who brought him back Word, that the King of England would undertake a War against Scotland, on no other Terms, but that *Douglas* should submit himself and all his Concerns to that King, and acknowledge himself a Subject of England : So that his Hopes from thence were cut off. And, on the other side, the King of Scotland press'd hard upon him by his Edicts, Proscriptions and Arms, and by all the Miseries which accompany rebellious Insurrections : So that *Hamilton* advis'd the Earl not to suffer the King to lop away his Forces by piecemeal ; and, by catching Party after Party, to weaken, and in time overthrow, the Whole ; but rather to march out with his Army, trust Fortune, put it to a Battle, there to die valiantly, or conquer honourably. This Resolution (said he) is worthy of the Name of the *Douglasses*, and the only Way to end the present Miseries. Alarm'd and fir'd with this Speech, he gather'd as great an Army as he could, of his Friends and Dependants, and march'd out to raise the Siege of the Castle of *Abercorn* ; for the King, after he had demolish'd many Castles of the *Douglasses*, had at last besieg'd that. It was a very strong Hold, situate almost in the

Mid-way between *Sterlin* and *Edinburgh*. When *Douglas* came so near, that he saw, and was seen by, the Enemy, his Friends advis'd him to push at all, and either make himself renown'd by some eminent Victory; or by a noble Death to free himself from Reproach and Misery; but, when all his Party were ready for the Onset, he daunted all their Spirits by his own Delay, for he retreated with his Army again into his Camp, and determin'd to draw and spin out the War to a greater Length. His Commanders dislik'd his Design; and *Hamilton*, abhorring his Cowardice, and despairing of the Success of his Arms, revolted that very Night to the King's Party. Upon this his Defection the King gave him his Pardon, but not reposing any great Confidence in him, because of his Subtilty, he sent him Prisoner to *Rosseline*, a Castle belonging to the Earl of the *Orcades*; but afterwards, by the Mediation of his Friends, he was releas'd and receiv'd into Favour; and that unbloody Victory ascrib'd to him, as the main Occasion of it.

THE rest of the *Douglassians* generally follow'd *Hamilton's* Example, and gave their Chief the slip, going where each thought it most convenient for his own Security; so that at length, the Castle, after much Loss on both Sides, was taken, and the Garrison being put to the Sword, it was left half demolished as a Monument of the Victory. *Douglas*, being thus deserted by almost all his Friends, with a few of his Familiars fled into *England*; from thence, not long after, he made an Inrode with a small Party into *Annandale*, which was then possess'd by the King's Garrisons; but, being worsted in a Skirmish, he and his Brother *John* escap'd; *Archibald*, Earl of *Murray*, was slain; *George* much wounded was taken Prisoner; and, after his Wounds were cured, was brought to the King, and put to Death. In an Assembly of the Estates held at *Edinburgh*, on the fifth of *June*, in the Year 1455, *James*, *John*, and *Beatrix*, all *Douglasses*, were again proscrib'd: The Publick Acts make *Beatrix* their Mother, which seems not very probable to me, unless perhaps they might be called her Sons by Adoption. Earl *James* having thus lost his Brothers, being deserted by his Friends, and distrusting the *English*, that he might leave no Stone unturned, apply'd himself to *Donald*, King of the *Æbude*; They met at *Dunstaffnage*; where the Earl easily perswaded *Donald*, a Man naturally prone to do mischief, to join with him in the War; whereupon they committed great Outrages on the King's Provinces near adjoining, without Distinction either of Age or Sex; there was nothing spar'd which could be violated by Fire or Sword; the like Cruelty was us'd in *Argyle* and *Arran*; *Douglas* being laden with Booty, return'd home; and afterward, ha-

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ving wasted *Loch-Abyr* and *Murray*, and making his Road to *Inverness*, he took the Castle, and pillag'd and burnt the Town.

NEITHER were the *English* quiet all this while, but watching their Opportunity, they made Incursions into *Merch*; where they slew some Men of Note, who endeavour'd to oppose their furious Ravages; and so returned home without Loss, but full of Plunder, from that opulent Country. The next Year after, *Beatriz*, Wife to the former Earl of *Douglas*, and also living for some Years with *James*, his Brother, as his Wife, came in to the King: She laid all the Fault of her former Miscarriages upon *James*; that she being a Woman, and helpless, was forc'd to that wicked Marriage; but at the first opportunity, as soon as *James* was absent, she fled that Servitude: That now she laid herself, and all her Concerns, at the King's Feet; and whatever Order he should please to make concerning her, or her Estate, she would willingly obey it. The King receiv'd her into his Protection; gave her an Estate in *Balvany*, and married her to his Brother, the Earl of *Atbole*, by the same Mother. The Wife of *Donald* the *Islander*, followed her Example: She was the Daughter of *James Livingstone*, and was married to *Donald* by her Grandfather the Regent, by the persuasion of the King; that so he might a little soften the rugged Disposition of the Man, and keep him firm to the King's Party: But then, her Kinsmen being restor'd to the Favours and Graces they formerly had, and her Husband having joyned in with the *Douglasian* Faction, he was every Day more and more despised by him; so that she implored the King's Assistance against his barbarous Cruelty. There was no need of her making any Apology, in regard the King himself had been the Author of the Match; so that she was nobly treated, and had a large Revenue settled upon her, such as might enable her to live honourably all the remaining part of her Life.

ABOUT the same time, *Patrick Thornton*, who had follow'd the Court a great while, yet was secretly of *Douglas's* Faction, having got a convenient Opportunity, at *Dunbarton*, slew *John Sandeland* of *Caldar*, a young Man of about 20 Years of Age, and *Alan Stuart*, of Noble Families both, and eminent for their Loyalty to the King. But soon after, he himself was taken by the Clans of the adverse Party, and executed for his Pains.

THIS Year was remarkable for the Death of many noble Personages; but especially of *William Creighton*. He, tho' born but of a Knight's Family, yet, by reason of his great Prudence, Fortitude, and his singular Loyalty to the King, even to the last Day of his Life, left a great Loss behind him to all good Men. The next Year, the *English*, encourag'd by their coming

ing off with Impunity for former Injuries, made great Spoil in *Merch*, under the Command of *Henry Percy*, Earl of *Northumbreland*, and *James Douglas* the Exile. In order to put a stop to these Devastations, *George Douglas*, Earl of *Angus*, gather'd a Party of his Countrymen together, and made an Assault upon the Plunderers, and drove that Part of them, which he assaulted, in great Confusion to their own Standards. The *English*, mov'd at this Indignity, march'd on their Army, before the rest had recover'd their Colours; and the *Scots* were as ready to receive them.

The Fight was manag'd on both Sides, with greater Courage than Force, for a great while together: Neither did any Odds appear, till the *English*, who were scatter'd up and down the Country, by the Noise and Tumult, perceiving that the * *Enemy* was come, for fear of losing the rich Booty they had gotten, hasten'd directly Home. Their Departure gave an easier, but yet not unbloody, Victory to the *Scots*, there being almost an equal Number slain on both sides; but many of the *English* taken in the Pursuit. The News of this Victory being brought to the King, somewhat rais'd his Spirits, which were oppress'd with the Insurrections of his own Subjects, as well as with the Invasions of Foreigners; and likewise dispos'd *Donald* the *Islander*, perceiving the ill Success of his Affairs, to send Agents to the King for a Peace. † They, in an humble Oration, commemorated the King's Clemency shew'd to *Craford*, and the rest of his Partisans, in the same Cause. As for their own Crimes, they laid them on the Evil Genius of the Times; but for the future, they made large Promises, how Loyal and Obsequious *Donald* would be. The King seem'd to be a little affected with their Speech, yet gave them no absolute Answer; neither quite pardoning *Donald*, nor utterly excluding all Hopes of his Pardon. He told them, ' That his
' many Crimes were very evident, but he had discovered no
' sign of his Conversion; if he would have the Penitence,
' which he pretended in Words, to be believ'd as really true
' and hearty, he should make Restitution for the Loss he had formerly caus'd, and restore their Estates to such as he had outed
' from the Possession of them; and thus cancel the Memory
' of his former Mischiefs, by some eminent and loyal Service. 'Tis true (said he) no Virtue becomes a King more
' than Clemency; but Care must be had, lest the Reins of
' Government be not let loose by too much Lenity; and so
' evil Men made rather more insolent, than good Men excis'd to

* A Party of the *English* worsted in Scotland.

† *Donald* the *Islander* submits to the King.

their Duty by it : That he would give *Donald* and his Party, time to manifest, by some Tokens, that they repented of their Miscarriages ; and that they should always find him acting towards them, just as their Actions, not their Words, shew'd they deserv'd from his Hands. In the mean time, they need not fear ; for now it was put into their own Power, whether they would every Man be happy, or miserable, for the future.

By this means, intestine Discords being either compos'd, or else laid asleep, the King now bends all his Care against *England*. Whilst he was consulting about carrying on a War with them, and concerning their frequent Violations of Treaties, Ambassadors came at that very Crisis, from the *English* Nobility, to desire Aid against *Henry* their King : For *Henry* had slighted the Nobles, and advanc'd Upstarts ; by whose Advice, his Wife, a Woman of a manly Spirit and Courage, order'd all Affairs. And besides, the King had incurr'd the Contempt of his People, and the Displeasure of his Friends, because things had not succeeded well in *Gascogne* and *Normandy* : for they, having lost so many Provinces, and being now pent up within the ancient Bounds of their own Island, murmuring gave out, That the King's Sluggishness, and the Queen's Pride, were no longer to be endur'd. The Heads of the Conspiracy, were *Richard*, Duke of *York*, with the Earls of *Salisbury* and *Warwick*. When the *English* Ambassadors had discours'd much concerning the Justice of their taking Arms against *Henry*, and also concerning their own Power, and the cowardly Temper of their King, they crav'd Aid against him, as against a common Enemy, who was fearful in War, sordid in Peace ; and who had nourished civil Discords amongst the *Scots*, and had assisted their Exiles. Withal, they promis'd, if they got the Victory, to restore the Castles and Countries, which were taken in former Wars from the *Scots*. The King, by Advice of his Council, made Answer, That he, before, knew the State of the *English* Affairs ; and that he was not ignorant of the Right or Demands of either Side ; but that he would not interpose himself as an Arbitr in another Man's Kingdom, unless he were chosen by both Parties to that Office. As to the War, he had long since determin'd to revenge the Injuries of former Times ; and, since he could not by Law obtain the Places he had lost, on the Occasion of these Discords, he would recover them by Force ; but if the Duke of *York*, and his Party, would promise to restore them, then he would assist him against *Henry*. The Ambassadors agreed to the Terms, and so return'd Home. The King prepar'd his Forces, and was about to enter *England* ; when, just in the nick

nick of time, an *English* Impostor, sent by *Henry*, met him. He had been a long time at *Rome*, and was well acquainted with the Speech and Customs of the *Italians*: His Habit and Train was all Outlandish, and he had counterfeit Letters, as from the *Pope*; whereby he was easily believ'd by unsuspecting Men, to be a * *Legate* sent from him: And to gain the greater Credit to his Impostures; he had a *Monk* with him, whose feign'd Sanctity made the Fraud less suspected. They were brought to the King, and in the *Pope's* Name, commanded him to proceed no further with his Army; if he did, they threatened to excommunicate him with *Bell, Book, and Candle*: For the *Pope* (said they) is wholly intent upon a War against the common Enemy of *Christendom*; and so would have the Differences compos'd all over *Europe*, that they might be free for that War; and that they were sent before, to give him Notice of it; but there was a more solemn Embassy, which would shortly arrive, and which, they believ'd, was already come as far as *France*, to decide the civil Discords in *England*, and to give Satisfaction to the *Scots*, for the Wrongs they had sustain'd. The King did not imagine any Fraud in the Case, and desiring nothing more than an honourable Peace, in regard things at Home were not quite settled to his Mind, obey'd the *Legate*, and disbanded his Army. He had scarce dismiss'd it, but he was advised from *England*, that this suppos'd Ambassador was a Cheat; so that he rais'd some Forces afresh; and, because he could not joyn with the Duke of *York*, that he might keep off some of the King's Forces from him, and also revenge his own Wrongs, he march'd directly to *Roxborough*; the Town he took, and destroy'd it at his first coming: But, whilst he was laying Siege to the Castle, Ambassadors came from the Duke of *York*, and his Associates, informing him, that their King was overcome, and the War ended in *England*. They gave him Thanks for his Good Will, and his Desire to assist them in the Maintenance of their Lives and Honours; and that they would, in time, be mindful to requite the Courtesy; but, at present, they desir'd him to raise the Siege, and draw off from the Castle; and likewise to forbear any other Act of Hostility against *England*; for otherwise they should draw upon them a Load of Envy from the People, who cou'd hardly be satisfy'd, but that an Army must presently march against the *Scots*. *James* congratulated their Victory; but ask'd the Ambassadors, Whether the Duke of *York* had given them nothing in Command, concerning the Performance of their

* He marches to their Assistance; but is diverted by a counterfeit *Legate* from *Rome*.

late

late Promises. They answer'd, Nothing. (Then said he) before your first Embassy came to me, I was determin'd to pull down that Castle, which is built upon my Land; neither, since that, am I so much obliged by the Courtesies of that Faction, as to give over an Enterprize, which is begun, and almost finish'd. As for the Threatenings, whether they are their own, or their People's, let them look to it: Go you, and tell them, That *I will not be remov'd hence by Words, but by Blows*. Thus the Ambassadors were dismiss'd without their Errand. And, whilst he did press upon the Besieg'd with all the Hardships of War, *Donald*, the *Islander*, came into his Camp, with a great Band of his Countrymen. He, to obtain the easier Pardon for his past Offences, and fully to atone and reconcile the King, promised him, that, if he would march forward into the Enemy's Countries, as long as he was there, he would march a Mile before the Royal Army, run the Hazard of the first Onset, and stand the greatest Shocks. But he was commanded to be near the King; yet some of his Troops were sent to prey upon the Country. It happen'd also, that at the same time, *Alexander Gordon*, Earl of *Huntley*, brought in new Forces to the King. This Accession of Strength made the King more resolute to continue the Siege, tho' a stout Defence was made by those within: So that, whereas before it was a *Blockade* only, a well-laid and close Siege was now made; And there being Soldiers enough, some presently succeeded in the Places of others; insomuch that the Garrison Soldiers (of whom many were slain, many wounded and unfit for Service, the rest tired out with continual Toil and Labour) were not so eager to run into the Places of most Danger, as before: And, to strike the more Terror into them, the King gave command to batter part of the Wall with Iron Pieces of Ordnance; which were then much us'd, and were very terrible: And whilst the King was very busy about one of them, to encourage and press on the Work, the Fire catch'd within it, and with its Force drove out a wooden Wedge or Plug, which immediately struck the King stone-dead on the Earth, without hurting any body else. Those Courtiers that stood next him, tho' they were terrify'd at this sudden Accident, yet they cover'd his Body, lest, if his Death were divulg'd, the common Soldiers should run away. The Queen, who that very Day came to the Camp, spent not the time in womanish Lamentations; but call'd the Nobles together, and exhorted them to be of good Courage; and that so many valiant Men should not be so dismay'd at the Loss of one; as counting it dishonourable to desert a Business, that was almost ended. She told them, she herself would speedily bring them another King in the Place of him that was slain; in the mean

mean time, they should press with might and main upon the Enemy lest they might grow more resolute, upon the News of the General's Death, and so imagine, that all the Courage of so many valiant Men was extinguish'd in the Fate of one Person only. The Officers were asham'd to be exceeded in Courage by a Woman. They assaulted the Castle with such Violence, that neither Party was sensible that the King was lost. In the mean time, *James*, the King's Son, being about seven Years of Age, was brought into the Camp, and saluted King. And 'twas not long after, before the *English*, quite tired out with Watching, and fatigued with continued Service, surrender'd up the Castle to the new King, upon Condition to march away with Bag and Baggage. The Castle, that it might be the Occasion of no new War, was levell'd to the Ground. This End had *James* the second, in the Year of Christ 1460, a few Days before the Autumnal Equinox, in the 29th Year of his Age, and the 23d of his Reign. * He had been exercis'd always, even from his Youth, in domestick or foreign Wars: He bore both Conditions of Life, the Prosperous and the Adverse, with great Moderation of Mind: He shew'd such Valour against his Enemies, and such Clemency to those that submitted themselves, that all Estates were much afflicted for his Loss: And his Death was the more lamented, because 'twas sudden, and that in the Flower of his Youth too; after he had escap'd so many Dangers, and when the Expectation of his Virtues was at the highest. And he was the more miss'd, because his Son was yet immature for the Government; whilst Men consider'd, what Miseries they had suffer'd these last twenty Years; the Ashes of which Fire were hardly yet rak'd up: So that from a Remembrance and a Reflection of what was *past*, they seem'd to divine the State of *future* Things.

* *James II.* his Character.

THE



James the 3^d
King of Scotland.



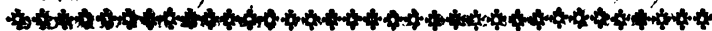
Tuesday March 6 **THE** *Tuesday Oct 26*
1838. 12

HISTORY

OF

SCOTLAND.

Tuesday Mar 6 1838



BOOK XII.



JAMES II, as I have related, being slain in his Camp, to prevent all Controversy concerning the Right of Succession (which had happen'd at other Times) his Son *James*, a Child of about seven Years old, who was the younger and survivor of Twin Brothers, enter'd upon his Reign in the Town of *Kelsoe*. Afterwards, when the Nobles, according to Custom, had taken the Oaths of Allegiance to him, eight Days after he began his Reign, he left his Army, and retired home to the Castle of *Edinburgh*, to be under the Care of his Mother, till an Assembly of the States could meet to determine the grand Affairs of the Kingdom. The Assembly was summoned later than ordinary, because Matters were not compos'd in *England*, and yet quiet in *Scotland*: So that the Nobility were of Opinion, That War was first of all to be thought on; that so

so they might revenge old Injuries, and punish the Enemies by some notable Loss, who always lay upon the catch, to take Advantages of the Distresses of others. For this End they march'd into the Enemies Country, without any Resistance; where they committed much Spoil, and demolish'd many Castles, from whence the Enemy was wont to make many IncurSIONS; the chief of which was *Werk*, situate on the Banks of the River *Tweed*, by its Neighbourhood very injurious to the Country of *Merch*. The Army ravag'd over the Enemy's Country, as far as they could, for the time of the Year; and, at the very beginning of Winter, return'd home.

THIS Year, *Henry*, King of *England*, was taken by the Duke of *York*, and brought to *London*; there a Form of Peace was concluded between them; for *Henry* durst not deny any thing; *That he, as long as he liv'd, should bear the Name, and Ensigns, and Badges, of a King; but the Power of Government should be in York, under the Name of a Protector. And, when Henry died, then the Name also of King was to be transferred to Edward* [rather *Richard*] *and his Posterity*. Whilst these Things were acted at *London*, News was brought, That the Queen was marching up with a great Army to redeem her Husband out of Prison. *York* went out to engage her, with King *Henry*, and about 5000 Men, leaving the Earl of *Warwick* behind. He march'd as far as *Torkshire*; and, lest he, who in *France* had defended himself against great Armies, not with Walls, but with Arms, should now shun a Battle with a Woman, he fought against a far greater Number than his own; and, in the Fight, he, his youngest Son, and a great many Nobles, were slain. The Heads of the Commanders were set up as a Spectacle, upon the Gates of *York*. The Queen thus victorious, and marching on further, to deliver the King, the Earl of *Warwick* met her, bringing the King along with him, as if he would defend the Pact made concerning the Kingdom, under his good Omen. Both Armies met at *St. Albans*, which is thought to be the *Old Verulam*; where the Queen was again Victorious. She slew the Commanders of the adverse Army, released her Husband, and march'd directly up for *London*: But considering that the Earl of *Pembroke* was sent by her to gather Forces; as was also *York's* Son by his Father; and that these two had a Fight in their March, wherein *Edward*, the Son of her Enemy, was victorious; and withal knowing, what cruel Hatred the *Londons* bore against her, she withdrew towards *Northumberland*, because she looked on that part of *England*, as the Seminary, or Source of her Strength. There she was also overcome in a bloody Fight; more than 36000 valiant Men being reported to be slain on both Sides, and the Enemy pressing upon her,

her, and giving her no Time to collect her Forces, She, her Husband, and Son, fled into *Scotland*.

The Conqueror call'd himself *Edward* the fourth, King of *England*. *Henry* desired Aid in his Distress, and, by the help of *James Kennedy*, Archbishop of *St. Andrew's*; who then surpassed all in *Scotland* in point of Authority, and whose Prudence was held in the highest Esteem, he was entertain'd with a great deal of Honour and Respect; so that he had some Hopes of recovering his former Design; and, to nourish that Hope, by all the mutual good Offices which he could do, he restored the Town of *Berwick* to the *Scots* (which the *English* had held ever since the Days of *Edward I.*) The *Scots*, upon this Obligation, assisted *Henry's* Faction in all things, not only in piecing up the Relicks of his former Misfortunes, but promising him more Aid, in time, to recover his Own. And, that the Friendship now begun might be the more firmly established; the two Queens, both of them of *French* Descent, began to treat concerning a Marriage between *James's* Sister, and *Henry's* Son, whom they called *Prince of Wales*, tho' neither of them, as yet, was Seven Years old. *Philip* of *Burgundy*, Uncle to the Queen of *Scots*, but a mortal Enemy to the Queen of *England*, endeavoured by all means to hinder this Marriage; and he sent *Grathusius* a Nobleman, his Ambassador, for that Purpose: For *Philip* was at such deadly odds with *Renatus*, Grandfather to the young Lady by the Mother's side, that he sought all Occasions to hinder his Family from encreasing; so that in favour of him the Matter was, at that time, rather delay'd, than broke off. But the Fortune of *Henry* kept off the Event, which *Philip* of *Burgundy* feared. For, being something encouraged by the kindness of the *Scots* towards him, and also by some comfortable Letters sent from his Friends out of *England*, he sent his Wife beyond Sea to *Renatus* her Father, to procure what Aid she could from her Foreign Friends. She prevailed so much in *France*, that her Faction was to have a safe Place of Retreat there, but her Adversaries were excluded; and, moreover, she obtained 2000 Men, as *Monstrelet* says, under *Warren* their General; but, as ours, and the *English* Writers (to whom I rather assent) 500, commanded by *Peter Brice*, or, as some call him, *Brace*, a *Briton*, rather as Companions for her Journey, than as any auxiliary Aid. With this small Band she returned into *Scotland*, and thought fit to attempt something, not doubting, but at the Noise of Foreign Assistance, her Countrymen would rise and join with her. Whereupon she made a Descent at *Tinmouth*; but this small

* Which having obtained, she enters *Scotland* and *England* again.

Company, being dismayed at the Report of a great Force coming against them, returned to their Ships, without the Performance of any thing remarkable; where also, as if Fortune had crossed them on all Hands, they met with a dreadful Storm, which drove the greatest Part of them, who followed the Queen to *Scotland*, into *Berwick*; but some of them were cast upon the Isle of *Lindisfarn*, where they were taken by the Enemy, and put to the Sword.

BUT the Manly-spirited Queen was not at all discouraged at this Misfortune, but levies a great number of *Scots* to join with her own Soldiers, and resolves to try her Fortune once again. Accordingly leaving her Son at *Berwick*, she and her Husband enter'd *Northumberland*, where she made great Devastation, by Fire and Sword, in all the adjacent Parts. At the Report of this new Army, some of the Nobles, as the Duke of *Somerset*, *Ralph Percy*, and many of *Henry's* old Friends besides, who, for fear of the Times, had retired to King *Edward*, came in to them; but there was a far greater Confluence from the adjacent Parts of *England*, of such Persons as had lived rapacious Lives, in Hopes of some new Plunder. To appease this Commotion, *Edward* made great Military Preparation both by Land and Sea; he commanded the Lord *Montague*, with a great part of the Nobility, to march against the Enemy, and he himself followed with his whole Army. Both Parties pitched their Tents not far from *Hexham*; but the Common Soldiery, who came in only for Booty, beginning to desert, *Henry* thought it best, in such a desperate Case, to put it to a Push; and accordingly a Fight began, wherein he was overthrown, his chief Friends were either slain, or taken Prisoners, and he himself made an hasty Retreat to *Berwick*; of the Prisoners, some had their Heads cut off presently; and some, a while after. *Edward*, having thus got the Day by the Generals of his Forces, came himself to *Darham*, that so he might prevent the IncurSIONS of the *Scots* by the Terrour of his neighbouring Army; and also that by his Presence he might quell any Domestick InsurreCTIONS, if any should happen. Whilst he was there, he sent out Part of his Army under several Commanders to take in Places possessed by his Enemies, of which having taken many by Storm, or by Surrender, at last he laid Siege to the Castle of *Alnwick*, which was greater and better fortified than the rest, and which was maintained by a Garrison of *French*, who defended the Castle very well, in hopes of Relief from *Scotland*, which was so near at hand. But the *Scots* having lately had ill Success in *England*, an Army could not be so soon levied, as the present Exigence required for the raising of the Siege; insomuch that whilst others were backward, and delayed to give their Opinion,

nion, *George*, Earl of *Angus*, with great Boldness and Bravery; undertook the hazardous Attempt. He raised about 10000 Horse, of his Friends, Vassals, and the neighbouring Province; of which he was Governor: He came to the Castle, and furnished the *French* that were in Garrison, with some Horses he had brought for that purpose, and so carried them off safe, even to a Man, into *Scotland*, whilst the *English* stood and looked on, as amazed at the Boldness of his miraculous Enterprize; either thinking that *Douglas* had Help near at hand; or rather hoping to have the Castle given up without a Battle, and so they would not put the whole to an Hazard, by joining in Fight with that small, though select, Party. *Edward* settled Guards at all convenient Places; that no rebellious Troops might march and counter-march; and then, as if he had quitted the whole Kingdom, he returned to *London*.

In the mean time, Exiled *Henry*, either flattered into Hopes by his Friends, or else weary of his tedious Exile, determines to shelter himself privately amongst his Friends in *England*. But Fortune frowning upon him to the last, he was there known, taken, brought to *London*, and committed Prisoner to the *Tower*. And his Wife *Margaret*, distrusting her present Affairs, with her Son and a few Followers left *Scotland*, and sailed over to her Father *Renatus*, into *France*.

To return then to the Affairs of *Scotland*: The time for the Assembly, which was summoned to be held at *Edinburgh*, was come; where there was a full Appearance, but the Body of them was divided into two Factions; Part of the Nobles followed the Queen; but the major part by far stuck to *James Kennedy*, and *George Douglas* Earl of *Angus*, the Heads of the contrary Faction. The Queen lodged in the Castle; the Bishop and the Earl lay in the Abby of *Holy-Rood-House*, at the farther part of the Suburbs, towards the East. The Cause of the Diffension was, That the Queen thought it equal and just for her to have the Tutelage, or Guardianship, of her Son; the other Party judged it most fit, that one should be chosen out of the whole Assembly, for that important Work. The Queen pleaded very strongly the Tenderness of the Mother, and the mighty Ties both of Interest and Blood. The adverse Party insisted on the old Law, confirmed by uninterrupted Custom. In the third Day of the Assembly, the Queen came down from the Castle with her Followers, and caused herself to be decreed *Tutress of the King, and Governess of the Kingdom, by her own Faction*; and so returns into the Castle again. When *Kennedy* heard of this, he hastened, with his Party, into the Market-place, and there, in a long Speech; he told the Multitude; which was thick about him; 'That he and

his Associates aimed at nothing, but the publick Good, and the Observation of their ancient Laws; but their Adversaries were led, each one by his private Advantage; And that he would evidently make appear, if he might have a Place allotted, and Freedom to dispute the Point.' This said, he retired with his Followers to his Lodging; but was not gone far from the Market-place, before he heard that the other Party was coming down armed from the Castle. *Douglas* looked upon this as an intolerable thing, that valiant Men should yield to the Threats of a few, and that their Retirement should be look'd upon as a Flight; therefore was hardly kept in by *Kennedy*, from assaulting the adjoining Gate of the City, and, Weaponless as he was, to attack armed Men; and, unless the three Bishops of *Glasgo*, *Galway*, and *Dumblane*, upon Noise of the Uproar had come in, his Indignation would not have been stopp'd, till they had come to Blows. But by the Mediation of those Bishops, the Matter was so far compos'd, that a Truce was agreed upon, for one Month.

THOUGH the Chiefs of the Faction were thus quieted, yet the Multitude could not be restrained from expressing their Wrath and Indignation, in rough and cutting Language; as, That the Desire of the Queen was dishonourable to the Kingdom, and indecent for herself. 'What (said they) is the Valour of the old *Scots* at so low an Ebb, That, amongst so many Thousand Men, there is none worthy to govern the Affairs of *Scotland*, but a Woman? What, was there no Man, that could rule over the Nation? And that would live the greatest part of his Life in Arms? What likelihood was there, that those who had not been altogether tractable to their King, when slack, should now yield Obedience to a Foreign Woman? What, had they they undergone so much Labour, and lost so much Blood, these many Years, by Sea and Land, that Men, born and bred up in Arms, should tamely give up themselves to the Servitude of a Woman? What if the *English* should invade them, as they had often done at other times, in revenge of their Losses, with a great Army? Who could (in that case) set up the Standard and lead out to Battle? Who could give, or accept, Terms of Peace or War?' These were the Discourses of the Commonalty in all their Clubs.

BUT in a Month's Time, their Minds were a little calmer; and the Truce being at an end, there was another Convention, where the Queen alledged this for her self, in Justification of her Cause, 'That, since she had not enter'd upon the Government the Year before by Force, or against the Minds of the Nobility, but being chosen to that Dignity by their unanimous

' mous Consent, had but used her own Right, she took it a-
 ' miss to be degraded, and no Crime at all imputed, as to her
 ' Male-administration. If (said she) as it is usual, Degrees
 ' of Relation be regarded in Guardianship, there is none near-
 ' er than a Mother; if the Safety of the King was in their
 ' View, none could be more faithful; for other Men might
 ' have their various and distinct Hopes from his Death; but
 ' nothing remained for her, but to mourn for the Loss of so
 ' dear a Son. And, if they had respect to the Good of the
 ' Publick, she was a Stranger, and concerned in no Interest of
 ' Feuds or Friendships; and that was what should be much
 ' considered in those, who sat at the Helm of Government,
 ' that they should not only be free from vicious Courses, but
 ' likewise from these Temptations, which might set a bias up-
 ' on their Mind to pervert Justice and Judgment. Some had
 ' opulent Parents, Kinsmen, Allies, by whose Interest they
 ' might hope for an Excuse of their Offences, or, at least, an
 ' easier Pardon; nay, sometimes Rulers were compelled to
 ' square and accommodate their Actions to such Friends Wills
 ' and Honours. As for her self, her Innocency alone was
 ' her only Advocate; she had but one Son to regard, and both
 ' their Benefits and Advantages were closely joined and in-
 ' terwoven together. And, were it not for these Considera-
 ' tions, she would choose much rather to live a quiet and hap-
 ' py Life in Retirement, with the good liking of all, than to
 ' undergo the Enmity of all Malefactors, by punishing their
 ' Crimes; nay, and sometimes to incur the Displeasure of the
 ' better sort. Neither was it a new thing for a Woman to de-
 ' sire the Regency of another's Kingdom, since not only in
 ' *Britain*, but even in the greatest and most puissant Kingdoms
 ' of the Continent, Women have had the supreme Power, and
 ' their Reigns have been such, that their Subjects never repent-
 ' ed of their Government.

WHEN she had thus spoken, many assented to her; partly
 to prepossess a Place in her future Grace and Favour; partly
 in Hopes, that the Fruits of other People's Envy would re-
 bound to their Advantage: Nay, there were some, who had
 an evil Jealousy, that, if the Election should be made out of
 all, they themselves might be passed by, as less fit; and there-
 fore they rather desired, that the Queen should be made Head
 over them all, than that others, of the same Rank with them-
 selves, or even of a superior Order, should be preferred be-
 fore them.

HOWEVER, the more uncorrupted Part of the Nobility,
 shewed both by their Countenances and Speeches, that they

were disgusted at the Queen's Oration ; but that which did vehemently affect the whole Assembly, was the Authority and Speech of James Kennedy Archbishop of St. Andrew's, who, 'tis reported, spoke in this manner ;

IT is my chief Desire, Noble Peers, That they, whose Aims are at the Good of all in general, might freely declare their Minds, without Offence to any one particular Person. But, in our present Circumstances, when the Sense of Things, delivered for the publick Good, is wrested and turned to the Reproach of those private Persons who speak them, it is a very difficult thing to observe such a Mean between disagreeing Heats and different Opinions, as not to incur the Offence of one of the Parties. As for me, I will so temper and moderate my Discourse, That no Man shall complain of me, without first confessing his own Guilt : Yet I shall use the Liberty of Speech, received from our Ancestors, so modestly, that as, on the one side, I desire to prejudice no Man ; so, on the other, neither for Fear nor Favour, will I pass by any thing, which is of use in the Debate before us. I see, that there are two Opinions which do retard and impede our Concord ; The one is of those, who judge, that in a matter relating to the Good of all, an Election out of all is to be made ; and, as we all meet to give our Suffrages in a Business concerning the Safety of the whole Kingdom ; so it is just and fit, that no Man should be excluded from the Hopes of that Honour, who seeks after it by honest and virtuous Ways. The other is of such, who count it a great Injury done to the Queen, who is so noble a Princess, and so choice a Woman, if she be not preferred before all others in the Guardianship of her Son, and the Administration of the Government of the Kingdom.

Of these two Opinions, I like the former best, and I will shew you my Reasons for it bye and bye. In the mean time, I so far approve the Mind of the latter, that they think it below the Queen's Grandeur, That any single Person should vye with her for this Point of Honour, lest her Authority, which ought to be, as in truth it is, accounted venerable should be lessened by coping with Inferiors, And indeed I would be wholly of their Mind, if the Dispute lay here, about the Honour of one, and not the Safety of all. But, seeing that we are, this Day, to make a Determination about that which concerns the Lives and Fortunes of all private Men, and the Safety of the whole Kingdom too, it is highly requisite, that all single Interests, and Concerns whatsoever, should stoop and give Way to this Consideration : And therefore I earnestly advise those, who are of this Opinion, so to consult the Dignity of the Queen, as not to forget at the same time the Reverence they owe to the Laws, to the old Customs, and to the universal Good of their Country : If they can shew, that it is lawful and publickly expedient,

dient, that the Guardianship of the King, and the Regency of the Kingdom, ought to be in the Queen's Hands, I will be of their Opinion. But, if what they plead for, be pernicious to the Publick, I hope the Queen first, and next, all good Men will pardon me, if (always saving the Majesty of the Queen, as Sacred, so far as, by Law, and the Custom of our Ancestors, I may) I do not conceal my Opinion, or, rather, if I speak out that, with Freedom, which it were the greatest Impiety in me to conceal. To begin then with the Laws; There is a Law made above 500 Years ago, by King Kenneth, a Prince no less eminent for his Wisdom and Prudence, than for his Military Performances; and it was assented and yielded to by all the Orders of the Kingdom; and approved of, even to this very Day, by the constant Observance of so many Ages, That, when the King happen'd to be a Minor, the Estates, or Parliament, of the Kingdom, should assemble, and choose some one Man, eminent for Wisdom and Power, to be his Guardian, and to govern the King, whilst he was yet unable to wield the Scepter with his own Hands. Tho' this Law be referred to Kenneth, as the Author of it; yet, it seems to me, that he did not so much Enact it first, as revive and confirm the Ancient Custom of the Scots by a New Sanction. For our Ancestors were so far from committing the supreme Power to the Hands of a Woman, that, if you look over our Chronicles, you shall not find the Name of a Woman Regent recorded among them all. For why, pray, should they mention such a Name, of which they never had any Occasion, and hoped they should never have any for the future? For those Females, whom other Countries call Queens, we only call Wives (or Consorts) of our Kings; neither do we entitle them to any higher Name; for, I guess, our wise Ancestors had this in their Eye, that as often as these Consorts heard their Names subjoined to that of their Husbands, they might remember, that they were subject to Men: And therefore, a Woman was never admitted to the Regency, or the Administration of publick Affairs to this very Day. The same Course hath been also constantly observed in less Magistracies, both as to their Appointment and Executions. For, tho' many Honours, and some Seigniories amongst them, have come by Inheritance to some Women, by reason of their great Deserts from their Country; and have also been allotted to them, as Dowries; yet it was never known, since the Memory of Man, that any Woman did ever preside in any publick Council, or in any Court of Judicature, or did ever take upon her any of those Offices, which are appropriated to Men. And truly, since our Ancestors, tho' not bound by Law to it, did constantly observe this Custom, only by the Impulse of Nature; if we their Posterity should bring the Common-wealth into an apparent Danger, by opposing a Law, re-

ceived by the Votes of all, and approved by so long an Usage; Who will free us from the Brand (I will not say, of Rashness, but) even of Madness itself? Especially, since we have been warned by Examples near at hand; for the Saxons, justly urged and provoked to it by the Wickedness of one Woman, viz. Ethelburga, made a Law, That, after that Time, no Woman should be called Queen, nor should set in Publick, next the King, in any Seat of Honour. I beseech you therefore, consider seriously, how much they degenerate from their Prudence, who; against a Law so ancient, and as advantageous to Women as honourable to Men, would put the Reins of Government into their Hands, to whom our Ancestors never gave so much as a Royal Name; and from whom our Neighbours took it away, after they had given it to them. Other Nations, I grant, have acted otherwise; with what Success I shall not declare, after I have first answered those, who dare not calumniate this Law openly; but in the Carpet-Conventicles of Women, do implead it, as unjust. But whosoever he be, that finds fault with it, he seems to reprehend, not some Sanction only, approved by the Suffrages of Men, but even Nature it self, i. e. That primary Law, imprinted in our Hearts by God himself; I say, Nature it self, whom our Law-maker had, as a Guide and Directress of all his Counsels, when he proposed and enacted this Law. For Nature, from the beginning, both not only distinguished Men from Women by the Strength of Mind and Body, but hath also appropriated distinct Offices and Virtues to each Sex, the same indeed for Kind, but far different in Degree; For 'tis no less unbecoming a Woman to pronounce Judgment, to levy Forces, to conduct an Army, to give a Signal to the Battle, than it is for a Man to teiz Wool, to handle the Distaff, to Spin, or Card, and to perform the other Services of the weaker Sex. That which is Liberality, Fortitude, and Severity in Men, is Profusion, Madness, and Cruelty in a Woman. And again, that which is elegant, comely, and ornamental in a Woman, is mean, sordid, and effeminate in a Man. Do not they therefore that endeavour to confound and mix those Things, which Nature, of her own accord, hath distinguished; do they not, I say, seem to you, not only to disturb, but also to overthrow, the State of the Kingdom, which is founded upon so good Laws and Customs? This they do, when they would obtrude on us, the Government of a Woman, which our Ancestors did not so much as once name. For the Maker of that Law (as I told you before) doth not seem so much to induce a new Sanction in the enacting thereof, as only to commit to Writing the perpetual Usage of our Ancestors, that it might be transmitted to Posterity; and, that which hath been always observed by the Guidance of Nature, in the making of a King, they have consecrated the same thing to be observed by publick Authority, in choosing a

Guardian

Guardian for a King under Age. Whoever go about to undermine and infringe this one Law, what do they, but endeavour at once to overthrow all the other Laws, Rites and Customs of our Ancestors, I speak this (that I may prevent all Cavil) not that I think all Laws are immutable, as if they were enacted to last for ever: No; Laws are of different Powers, Sorts and Kinds: Those which are accommodated to the Vicissitude of Times, are subject to the Inconstancy of Fortune; and are wont to last so long, as the Necessity lasts, which imposed them; and those which are abraded on Men, by the Wills of Tyrants, are commonly disannulled and abrogated with their Authors. But, as for that Instinct or Impress of Nature, which is, as it were, a Living Law, ordained by God and deeply imprinted and engraven in Mens Hearts, that no Consent of Multitudes, nor any Degrees of Men can abolish. For (as an excellent Poet is reported to have said) It was not born Yesterday or to day, but it grew up together with Dame Nature herself, and lives and dies with her. And seeing our Law, of which we now speak, is of that sort, and a principal one too, he doth not oppose the Dignity of the Queen, who desires, that she, of her own accord, would prescribe to herself those Bounds, which Nature hath appointed, her Sex requires, Custom hath established, and the Laws made by the Consent of almost all Nations do approve: But they who would have her forget her Sex, would persuade her to break through all Bonds of Law, and to disturb the Order of Things appointed by God, received by Use, and allowed in all well-govern'd Cities and Countries. And, certainly, whosoever slights that Order, will be grievously punished, not by Men only, but by God himself, who will assert his own Ordinances. For if good Laws threaten a Man with Death, who shall cloath himself with a Woman's Apparel; and a Woman, if she wear the Habit of a Man, what Punishment can be insisted on them too great for their Offence, who, by a preposterous Flattery, would overthrow the whole Force of Nature, and the everlasting Constitution of God himself? Will you understand, how these Flatterers do not speak what they cordially mean? In a publick Assembly, to give a Vote; to be President in a Court of Law; to enact or abrogate a Law: These are great Things in themselves; yet they are but a small Portion of publick Government. Why don't these Flatterers bring their Wives hither to us, to consult? Why do not they also preside in Judicatures? Why do they not persuade, or dissuade, Laws? Why don't these Men look after their domestick Affairs at Home, send their Wives abroad to the Wars? But if they would impose those Regiments upon us, whom they themselves dare scarce trust in the Management of their own Household Affairs, much less think them fit for the least part of any publick Business; consider, I pray, how they

they contradict themselves; but if conscious of their own Infirmary, they speak as they think; and so are restrain'd by Modesty, rather than Judgment; yet let them hope well of others, who both can, and will, perform their own, i. e. the Services proper for Men: But if (as I rather judge) they think by this kind of Complaisance to gratify the Queen, I advise and admonish them to lay aside their false Opinion of a Princess of so great Prudence, as she is, and not believe her to be so ignorant of things, as to reckon that an Increase and Accession of Dignity (to her) which would be the foulest thing imaginable in other Women. I enter upon this Part of my Discourse very unwillingly: Therefore since our Noble Princess hath so well deserved of the whole Kingdom, that it is fit she should bear nothing, which might justly offend her Ears or Heart; I will not mention those things, which ill Men do commonly alledge, in contemning and undervaluing the Sex; I shall rather insist on those Virtues which are proper to the Queen; and tho' these are many, and eminently illustrious, yet none of them have procur'd greater Praise and Commendation rather than her Modesty: Which is esteemed so proper to her Sex, that even in a private Person, it doth either cover, or at least much extenuate, other Faults. But in our Princess, none of whose Words or Deeds, in regard of the Eminency of her Birth and Condition, can be concealed; it doth shine out so illustriously, that all her other Virtues grow much more acceptable, and are more amply commended, merely for the sake of this one Virtue. And therefore I shall need to say but a few Words in reference to her, save only to warn and encourage her to persist in that way to Glory and Honour, which she hath already enter'd upon; and that she would not give Ear to the Flatteries of any, so as to be forgetful of herself; but that she would rather tread the sure and experienced Way to immortal Renown, than, by running upon unsafe and craggy Precipices, to hazard the Splendor of her former Life.

But my great Business is with you, my Lords, who, either out of Envy, are afraid that your Betters should be preferred before you; or else, out of a wicked Ambition, are laying artfully the Foundation of your future Favour with a good Princess. I will therefore, most noble Queen, under the shelter of your Prudence, speak freely my Thoughts in this Case: Such Persons do not Court You; but your Fortune; and whilst they think upon the Queen, they forget that the same Person is a Woman. When I name the Word Woman (I do not use it reproachfully, but) I mean a Person to whom Nature hath given many Blessings, and eminent Endowments; but withal, hath mingled them (as she usually doth, in the most usual and precious Things) with some Alloy of Infirmary; and therefore would have

have her to be under the Guardianship of another, as not sufficiently able to protect herself: So that she is so far from having an Empire over others allotted to her, That the Laws, in imitation of Nature, do command Women to be under the perpetual Tutelage of their Parents, Brothers, or Husbands. Neither doth this tend to their Reproach, but is a Relief to their Frailty: For that it keeps them off from those Affairs, for which they are unfit; it is a kind Regard had to their Modesty; not a Scandal detracting from their Honour. I will not take Notice how difficultly they are restrained by the Vigilance of their Husbands, and the Authority of Parents; neither will I mention, how far the Licentiousness of some Women hath proceeded, when the Reins have been laid on their Necks. I shall confine my Speech only to what the present Case offers; nor rather doth enact and require; and which, without Damage to the Publick, cannot be concealed. If there be any thing of private Concern amiss in the Sex, let their Husbands and Kindred look to that; I shall only briefly touch, what may be publicly prejudicial. Greatness of Mind was never required in this Sex. It is true, Women have their other proper Virtues; but as for this, it was always reckoned amongst Virile, not Female Endowments. Besides, the more they are obnoxious to Commotions, Passions, and other Efforts of Mind, by reason of the Imbecillity of their Nature; the more doth their Extravagancy, having once broke through the Restraints of the Law, fly out, and is hardly ever reduced, and brought back again within its due Bounds; in regard Women are alike impatient, both of Diseases, and of their Remedies. But if any of them seem more valiant and courageous, they are so much the more dangerous, as being liable to more impetuous and vehement Passions. For they, who being weary of their Sex, have put off the Woman, are very willing to extend their Liberty, even beyond the Presinets of a Masculine Genius. If you once exceed and pass over the Mounds and Limits, set by Nature, whatsoever is beyond, is infinite; and there is no Boundary left, either for Desire or Action. Moreover, there is a further Accession to this Infirmary of Nature; for, the less Confidence one hath in himself; the more easily he interprets the Words and Actions of others to his own Reproach; he is more vehemently angry, and hardly appeased. Such a Party doth also execute Revenge more immoderately, and doth punish his Despisers with greater Hate. Now, that all these Things are unfit for, nay contrary to Magistracy, there is none of you ignorant. And if any Man think that I devise these things of my own Head, let him consider what great Disturbances there were, not long ago, when Joan of Naples reigned. Look over the Histories of ancient Times. I will not mention Semiramis of Assyria; nor Laodice of Cappadocia;

dokia ; those were Monsters, not Women. The celebrated Zenobia Palmyrena, the Subduer of the Parthians, and a Match for the Roman Emperors, was at last overcome, taken, and triumphed over : And so she herself, and her Kingdom, which was enlarged, and increased by her Husband Odenatus, was lost in a moment.

Neither may I pass over in Silence, what is principally to be regarded in the Management of other Men's Affairs : That the chief Command is not to be intrusted to such sort of Persons, who cannot be called to account for their Male-administration. I do not at all distrust the Ingenuity, Faithfulness, nor Care of the Queen ; but, if any thing be acted amiss (as it often happens) by the Fraud of others ; and Matters be carried otherwise than the Publick Good, or the Dignity of her Place doth require ; what Mult can we exact from the the King's Mother ? What Punishment can we require ? Who shall censure her Miscarriages ? Shall the highest Matters be managed in the Meetings of Women ; in the Nursery, or the Dressing-Room ? Must you there, either each Man in particular, subscribe to Decrees ; or all in general make them ? How will you be able to bear Female Power armed with your own Authority, which now, when it is without Arms, and subjected to you by Laws and Customs, you can hardly contain within reasonable Bounds ? Don't think I speak this, as if I did fear any such thing from our Queen, who is the choicest, and modestest of all Women ; but because I think it base and unseemly for us, who have all Things yet in our own Hands, to place the Hope of our Safety, which we may owe to our selves, only in another's Power ; especially since both divine and human Laws, the Custom of our Ancestors, nay, and the Consent of all Nations throughout the whole World, make for us. 'Tis true, some Nations have endured Women to be their Sovereigns ; but they were not elected to that Dignity by Suffrages, but were cast upon them by their Birth ; but never any People, who had Freedom of Vote, when there was plenty of able Men to chuse, did ever prefer Women before them. And therefore, most eminent Patriots, I advise, and earnestly intreat you, that according to the Laws of our Country, and the Customs of our Ancestors, we chuse one ; or, if you think fit, more ; the BEST out of the Noblest and Best, who may undertake the Regency, till the King arrive at that Strength both of Body and Mind, as to be able to manage the Government Himself. And I pray God to bless your Proceedings in this Affair.

THUS spoke Kennedy, and had the Approbation of an undoubted Majority of the Assembly : And the rest, perceiving that it was in vain to oppose, went over to their Opinion. Now the Matter was thus composed, that neither Party might seem

seem to have the better of the other : Two of each Faction were chosen for the Guardianship of the King, who were to manage all publick Affairs with Fidelity ; to collect and expend the King's Revenue ; and to undertake the Charge of the Royal Family : Of the Queen's side, *William Graham*, and *Robert Boyd*, then Chancellor : Of the other, *Robert*, Earl of the *Orcades*, and *John Kennedy* ; all, on both sides, the Chief of their Families. To these were added the two Bishops of *Glasgo* and *Caledonia*. The Queen was allowed to be assisting in the King's Education ; but she was not to touch any Part of the publick Government. As for the other Children, which were Four, viz. *Alexander*, Duke of *Albany*, and *John*, Earl of *Mar*, and two young Females ; she had the Charge of their Education herself.

MATTERS being thus composed at home ; Ambassadors from *England* had their Audience, who desired a Truce : which was granted for fifteen Years. The next Year, which was 1463. the King's Mother died, and had the Unhappiness to be not well spoken of in point of Chastity. The same Year, *Alexander*, the King's Brother, returning from his Grandfather by the Mother's side, out of *France*, was taken Prisoner by the *English* ; but freed soon after, in regard the *Scots* urged it as a Breach of the Truce, and threaten'd a War should be the Consequence of it.

PEACE being obtained abroad, it was not long, before intestine Commotions rose at home : For, the Disputes betwixt the Nobility, concerning the State of the Kingdom, magnified by vulgar Rumours ; and the King's Minority, together with the fresh Remembrance of the Licentiousness of the late Times ; all put together, did easily let loose the Reins to Men, who were turbulent enough in their own Nature. *Alan of Lorn*, a seditious Person, desirous to enjoy the Estate of *John* his Elder Brother, kept him Prisoner ; intending there to detain him so long alive, till the Hatred of his cruel Practice did, with Time, abate, and so he yield to his Will and Pleasure. When *Calen Campbell*, Earl of *Argyle*, heard of it, he gather'd a Band of his Tenants together, freed *John*, and cast *Alan* into Prison, in his room ; resolving to carry him to Court, that he might suffer Punishment for that, as well as for his other noted Robberies : But he prevented his Punishment by Death, whether voluntary or casual, is not known.

In another part of the Country, *Donald*, the Islander, as being a more powerful Person, began to make a far greater Commotion ; for, after the King's Death, being free from Fear, and judging that turbulent State of Things to be a fit opportunity for

for him to injure his Inferiors, and to increase his own Powers, came to *Inverness*, with no great Train, and was kindly invited into the Castle by the Governor; who had no Thoughts, or so much as the least Fear, of any Hostility from him. When he was enter'd, he turned out the Garrison, seiz'd upon the Castle, and gathering his Islanders about him, proclaim'd himself *King of the Islands*. He sent forth Edicts into the neighbouring Countries, *That the Inhabitants should pay Tribute to none but himself; and that they should acknowledge no other Lord or Master; denouncing a great Penalty to those that did otherwise.* The News of it made Persons, debauched in their Principles, flock to him from all Parts: So that, having made up an Army great enough, he enter'd *Atthole*, with such wonderful dispatch, that he took the Earl of that Name, who was the King's Uncle, and his Wife, Prisoners, before they suspected any such thing. For the Earl, hearing the sudden Tumult of a War, distrusted the Strength of his Castle of *Blair*, and went into the Church of *St. Bride's* near adjoining, to defend himself there, as in a Sanctuary, by the Religion of the Place. Many also of his Vassals and Countrymen, being surprized at the sudden Dangers, carried and laid up their best Goods there. That Church was venerated, in those Parts, with great Ceremony; and it had remain'd inviolate to that very Day, by reason of the great Opinion of its Sanctity: But the consideration of Gain was more prevalent with that savage and avaricious Person, than any sense of Religion: For he violently pull'd out the Earl and his Wife from thence, and a great Number of Prisoners besides: And, after he had pillag'd the Church, he set it on Fire. And, when the Priests spoke to him, to deter him from that Sacrilege, he killed some of them, and sent the others away, but not without having received Tokens of his Barbarity. Then, having wasted the adjacent Countries up and down, with Fire and Sword, as he was returning home with a great Booty, a sudden Tempest arose, which sunk many of his Ships, and grievously distress'd the rest; so that he with a few only of his Followers were rather cast up, than landed, on the Island of *Ila*. They who surviv'd this Shipwreck, thinking that this Calamity happened to them by the manifest Anger of the Deity, because they had violated the Church of *St. Bride*, went barefooted, and cover'd only with a little Linen Garment, in an humble manner, to carry Gifts to her, whom a few Days before they had so contumeliously abus'd. 'Tis reported, That from that Day forward, *Donald* their Commander, fell out of his Wits, either for Grief that he had lost his Army and the Spoil; or because his Mind,

thought

though brutish, was at length gall'd with the Conscience of his irreligious Sacrilege, and Contempt of Divine Worship. This Misfortune of their Commander occasion'd his Kindred to set the Earl of *Athole* and his Children at liberty, and to atone *St. Bride* with many large and expiatory Gifts.

WHEN the News of these things was brought to Court, it broke off their Consultations of making any Expedition against the *Islanders*. The first Tumults being appeased, the Administration of *Scottish* Affairs was carried on with so much Equity and Tranquillity, that the oldest Man then alive, never remember'd more secure, quiet, and halcyon Days ; such was the Prudence and Gravity of *James Kennedy* (on whose Authority the Court did then principally depend) and such the Modesty of the rest of the Nobility, who did not grudge to yield Obedience to the wiser sort. For this *James Kennedy* had obtained such Reputation, by his many Merits and Services to his Country, and by his good Offices towards the former King ; nay, he had procured such a great Opinion of his Fidelity in all Matters, by reason of the Composedness of his Manners, and his near Alliance to the King, that the rest of the King's Guardians, that were to succeed one another, two and two by turns, did willingly admit and suffer him, whenever he came to Court, to be the sole Censor and Supervisor of the Pains and Diligence they took in that Service. By this their Concord, the King's Education was carried regularly on ; and his own Towardliness and Ingenuity being a Help to their Industry, all Men conceiv'd great Hopes of him.

THUS Matters were carried on, till about the sixth Year of the King's Reign. There was then at Court *Robert Boyd*, the Chief of his Family, who, besides his large personal Estate, was ally'd to many other great and noble Families : He had also a flourishing Stock of Children of his own, as *Thomas* and *Robert*. He had a Brother too, named *Alexander*, who was well instructed and vers'd in all polite Letters. This *Alexander*, at the Desire of *John Kennedy*, his Kinsman (who, by reason of his declining Age, was not so fit for youthful Exercises) and with the consent of the rest of the King's Tutors, was preferr'd to the King, to teach him the Rudiments of the Art Military ; in the Knowledge whereof he was esteem'd to exceed all his Equals. The *Boys*, upon the account of these Advantages, were not content with that Place and Authority, tho' it was very great and honourable, which they had at Court ; but farther sought to transfer all publick Offices into their own Family. To accomplish which, *Alexander* was desired by them, to incline the King's Favour towards

wards them. He, having to deal with a King, tender of Age, and very pliant, did so insinuate into him, by his flattering Complaisance, that he could do any thing he pleased with him. Being admitted into such familiar Intimacy and Converse, he would oft let Words drop before the King, That he was now fit to hold the Reins of Government himself; and that it was Time for him to be freed from the Servitude of old *Grey-Beards*, and to maintain a Company of Noble Military Youths about him; that so he might enter into those Studies betimes, wherein, whether he would or no, he was likely to pass the remaining part of his Life. Discourses of this kind were easily entertain'd by a Youth, unskilful in Matters, and in the slippery Part of his Age too, which was prone to Liberty; So that he began to be a little stubborn and headstrong, against his Governors: Some Things he would do without their Advice, many against it; as seeking an opportunity to be deliver'd from the Severity of those *Seniors*, as from a kind of Bondage and Imprisonment. Whereupon, going from *Linlithgoe* a hunting, unknown to *Kennedy*, whose turn it was then to wait; the old Man, being inform'd thereof, went forth to overtake him, not far from the Town; and, having done so, he took his Horse by the Bridle, and endeavour'd to stop, and bring him back; alledging, that 'twas no convenient Time, nor was his Company fitting for such an Exercise. Hereupon, *Alexander* ran in, and with the Bow, which he had in his Hand, broke the old Man's Head, tho' he deserv'd better Things at his Hands. *Kennedy* being thus beat off, as a troublesome Hinderer of their Sport, they proceeded on to the Place they intend'd to go; while *Kennedy* returned, with a Wound, into the Town. And when *Robert Boyd* came again to Court, he did not disapprove what his Brother *Alexander* had done. By this Means, the Seeds of Enmity were sown between two *Factions*, which grew up to the great Detriment of the Kingdom, and at length, to the total Destruction of one of them.

THE Fewd was first discover'd upon this Occasion; The *Boys* would have the King remov'd from that Place, to *Edinburgh*; but *Kennedy*, and his Party, would have *Sterlin* to be the Place of his Residence. The *Boys* could then do most at Court; and so, without publick Consent, they carry'd the King to *Edinburgh*, there to enter upon the Regal Government. The Attendants of the Journey were, besides their own Kindred, *Adam Hepburn*, *John Somervail*, and *Andrew Car*, all Heads of their respective Families. This was acted about the 10th of July, in the Year 1466. The *Kennedys*, having lost the Day in the Dispute, departed severally to their

their own Homes, *John* into *Carrick*, *James* into *Fife*; their Minds swelling with Anger, and resolving to omit no Opportunity of *Revenge*. The *Boys*, thus Conquerors, not contented with the Wrong they had done, sent *John* an Ape, in a Jeer, for the old Man to play and sport himself with at home; thereby upbraiding him, as if he had doted for Age.

Nor long after, *James Kennedy* departed this Life; maturely enough, if we respect his Age: But his Death was so lamented by all good Men, as if in him they had lost a publick Father. For in that Man, besides the Virtues above-mention'd, there was an high Degree of Frugality and Continnence at home; yet great Splendor and Magnificence abroad. He exceeded the preceding Bishops, nay, and all those that succeeded him in that See, to this very Day, in Liberality to the Publick; and yet notwithstanding, his own Ecclesiastical Revenues were not great: For as yet the *Scots* had not arrived at the ill Custom of heaping up Steeples upon Steeples; nor had learned to spend that *worse* upon Luxury, which was before ill gotten by Avarice. He left one eminent Monument of his Munificence behind him; and that was the publick Schools at *St. Andrew's*, which he built with great Expence, and endow'd with large Revenues, but issuing out of Church Incomes. He gave Order, that a magnificent Monument should be erected for himself there; which yet (such was the malignity of Men) he was envy'd for, tho' he had deserved so well privately of most Men, and publickly of all Men. They alledg'd, 'twas a thing of too much Vanity, to bestow so much Cost upon a Structure of no Use. His Death made his Virtues more illustrious, and increas'd Men's Desire after him: For when he, who was a perpetual Censor and Corrector of Manners was once remov'd out of the way, the publick Discipline began, by degrees, to grow weak and remiss; and at last to be so corrupt, as to bring almost all things, with itself, to Ruin.

THE *Boys* made use of Pretences in Law, to increase the domestick Power of their Family, and abate the Power of their Enemies. And first, *Patrick Graham* seem'd most pat for their Purpose: He was Brother of *James Kennedy* by the same Mother; and was also Cousin by the Mother's Side to *Robert Boyd*. He, as the Manner was in those Days, was elected Bishop by the Canons, in the Room of his Brother *James*; but was hinder'd by the Court Faction, from having the King's leave to go to *Rome*: So that he went privately to the Pope, without any Train, and so was easily admitted into his Brother's Place: For, besides the Nobleness of his Blood, and the great Recommendation of his high Virtues, he was also well

learned for those Times. And therefore, whilst he staid at *Rome*, fearing the Power of the adverse Faction; the old Controversy concerning the Liberty of the Church of *Scotland*, began to be reviv'd: For the Archbishop of *York* pretended, that the Bishops of *Scotland* were under his Jurisdiction: So that he endeavour'd to retain that Power in the time of Peace, which had been usurp'd in the licentious times of War. But a Decree was made at *Rome*, in favour of the *Scots*; and *Graham* was not only made Primate of *Scotland*, but also was constituted the Pope's Legate there for three Years, to inquire into the degenerate Manners and Conversations of Priests; and to restore decay'd Ecclesiastical Discipline to its pristine Integrity and State: And yet this great Man, tho' so illustrious for Endowments of Mind and Fortune, and having also the superadded Authority of the Pope to back him, durst not return home, till the Power of the *Boys* was in a declining Condition at Court.

THE *Boys* perceiving, that the Concourse of the Nobility to them, was not so great as they hop'd; to avert the Accusations of their Enemies, and provide for their own Security for the future, they caus'd a publick Assembly, or Parliament, to be summon'd against the 13th Day of *October*. There *Robert Boyd* the Elder fell down on his Knees before the King and his Counsellors of State; complaining, That his Service to the King, in bringing him to *Edinburgh*, was ill interpreted, and traduced by the malign Speeches of his Adversaries, who gave out threatening Words, That the Advisers to that Journey should one Day suffer Punishment for the same; and therefore, he humbly besought the King, That, if he had conceiv'd any Ill-will, or Disgust in his Mind against him for that Journey that he would openly declare it; that so the Calumnies of his Detractors might be either prevented, or allay'd. The King, having advis'd a little with the *Lords of the Articles*, made Answer, That *Robert* was not his Adviser in it, but rather his Companion in that Journey; and therefore, that he was more worthy of a Reward for his Courtesy, than of Punishment for his Obsequiousness and Compliance therein; and this he was willing to declare in a publick Decree of the Estates, so to put a Stop to all invidious Discourse. And, in the same Decree, Provision should be made, that that Matter should never be prejudicial to *Robert*, nor his Companions. *Boyd* desir'd, that this Decree might be register'd amongst the Acts of Assembly; and that the same might be confirm'd also by Letters Patent under the Great Seal. And accordingly the Decree was presently register'd amongst the Acts; and the Letters Patent were deliver'd to him soon after, viz. the 25th Day of the same Month.

Month. The same Day also, the King, by Advice of his Council, gave him other Letters Patent, wherein he was constituted Regent, and had the Safety of the King, his Brothers, Sisters, Towns, Castles, and all the Jurisdiction over his Subjects, committed to him, till he himself came to 21 Years of Age: And he dealt so with the Nobles then present, that they solemnly promised to be assistant to the *Boys* in all their publick Actions; and that they would be liable to Punishment, if they did not carefully, and with Faithfulness, perform, what they now promis'd. To this Stipulation, or Promise, the King also subscrib'd.

By this means, the King being declared their Friend, part of the Nobility in League with them, and also the Administration of the whole Government put into their Hands, they thought themselves sufficiently secured for a long time: Nay, and to lay a Foundation also for the future Greatness of their Posterity, they brought it about, that *Thomas Boyd*, the Son of *Robert*, should marry the King's eldest Sister. That Marriage, as it was opulent, and seem'd a Prop and Establishment of their Power, so it increased the Hatred of their Enemies; and gave Occasion to Variety of Discourse amongst the Vulgar. For, although by this Means all Passage to the King's Ear seem'd to be precluded, and they alone made the sole Arbiters of his Words and Actions; yet they did not flourish so much in Favour at Court, as they were prosecuted with publick Hatred abroad; which, after four Years Concealment, did at last break out, to the Destruction of their whole Family. And the wiser sort of the adverse Party did not much dislike their sudden Increase of Honour; for they hop'd (as 'tis usual) *That Arrogance would be the Companion of their Exaltation, which would not endure a Superior, would despise an Equal, and trample upon an Inferior: And when the Bounds of a Subject's Condition are exceeded, it also awakens Kings, who are impatient of Corrivals, to overthrow such suspected Persons.* The Noise of this Discord betwixt such potent Factions, let loose the Reins to popular Licentiousness: For the People accusom'd to Robberies did, by Intervals, more eagerly return to their former Trade. The Seeds of Hatred, which were suppress'd for a time, did now bud forth again with greater Vigour; and the Seditious willingly laid hold on these Occasions for Disturbances; so that there was a general Liberty taken to do what Men list-ed, in hopes of Impunity.

NEITHER was the *Kennedies* wanting to the Occasion, who partly spread abroad Rumors to enflame the People, and to cast all the Cause of their Disturbance and Miseries upon the *Boys*; and partly also (as some thought) were not much

fuel - from the Design of the Seditious, but silyly and secretly threw Fewel into the Fire. This was plain and evident by their very Countenances, that this troublesome State of Affairs was not unpleasant or unacceptable to them. There seem'd but only one thing wanting, utterly to subvert the flourishing Power of their Enemies, and that was, to make the King of their Party: For they had Strength enough, or too much; they knew that the *Commonalty, who affect Innovations, and love every thing more than what is present*, would crowd in to their Party. Upon this they agreed to try the King's Mind, by some crafty Persons, who should pretend themselves to be Lovers of the *Boydian* Faction.

IN the interim, Embassadors were appointed to go to *Denmark*, to desire * *Margaret*, the Daughter of that King, might be given in Marriage to King *James*; and that they should take all the Care they could, that the old Controversy concerning the *Orcades* and the Isles of *Scheotland*, which had cost both Nations so much Blood, might be accorded. The Chief of the Embassy was *Andrew Stuart*, Son to *Walter*, who was then Chancellor of *Scotland*. The *Danes* easily assented to the Marriage, and they quitted all their † Right which their Ancestors claim'd over all the Islands about *Scotland*, in the Name of a Dowry; only the private Owners of Estates, in those Islands, were to enjoy them upon the same Terms, as they had formerly done. Some write, that they were made over in a Mortgage, till the Dowry was paid, but that afterward the King of *Denmark* gave up all his Right in them for ever to his Grandson *James*, who was newly born.

WHEN the Chancellor had inform'd the King, that all things were finish'd according to his Desire, the next Consult was, to send an handsome Train of Nobles to bring over the new Queen. And here, by the Fraud of his Enemies, and Inadvertency of his Friends, ‖ *Thomas Boyd*, Son of *Robert* Earl of *Arran*, was chosen Embassador, his very Envyers purposely commending his Aptness for that Employment, by reason of his Valour, Splendor and Estate, fit for such a Magnificent Errand: He judging all things safe at Home, in regard his Father was Regent, willingly undertook the Employment; and, at the beginning of Autumn, with a good Train of Friends and Followers, he went a Ship-board.

* *James* by his Embassadors desires *Margaret*, Daughter of the King of *Denmark*, for a Wife.

† The King of *Denmark* resigns up the *Orcades* and *Scheotland* to the *Scots*, as a Dowry.

‖ *Thomas Boyd*, sent Embassador to bring the new Queen from *Norway*.

IN

IN the mean time, the *Kennedies* had loosened the King's Affection to the *Boys*; and, whereas these thought to retain his good Will by Pleasures and Vacation from publick Cares; those very Baits the others imputed as Crimes to them, and by magnifying their Wealth, great in it self, as too bulky, and even dangerous to the King; and withal alledging, what a great Addition would accrue to his Exchequer, from the Confiscation of their Estates, upon their Conviction, they put strange Scruples into the weak Mind of the King, who was naturally inclined to Suspicions and Avarice. The * *Boys* on the other side, tho' they endeavour'd by their obsequious Flatteries, and their hiding the publick Miseries from him, to banish all melancholy Thoughts out of his Mind; yet the Complaints of the Vulgar, and the Solitariness of the Court, both which were, of set purpose, contriv'd and increas'd by their Enemies, could not be hid. And besides, there were some, who, when the King was alone, discoursed him freely concerning the Publick Calamities, and the Way to remedy them; nay, the King himself, as now grown up to manly Cares, declar'd, That what was sometimes acted abroad, did not please him. But the *Boys*, though they perceiv'd that the King was every day less and less tractable to them than formerly; and withal, that popular Envy rose higher and higher against them, yet remitted nothing of their old Licentiousness, as trusting to the King's former Lenity, and to the Amnesty which they had for what was past.

WHEREUPON the contrary Faction, having secretly wrought over the King to their Party, and *Thomas*, Earl of *Arran*, being sent packing Embassador into *Denmark*, from whence he was not expected to return, till late in the Spring, because those *Northern Seas* are tempestuous and unpassable, for a great part of the Year; upon these Accounts, they thought it a fit Season to attempt the *Boys*, who were old and diseased, and therefore came seldom to Court; and besides, were destitute of the Aid of many of their Friends, who were gone away in the Train of the Embassy. The first Thing they did was, to persuade the King to call a Parliament, which had been much longed for by many, to meet at *Edinburgh* on the twenty-second Day of *November*, in the Year 1469. Thither the *Boys*, two Brothers, were summon'd to come, and make their Appearance; where Matters were variously carried in respect of them, just as Harred directed some, or Favour disposed others. But they were so astonished at this sudden Blow, as having made no great Provision against so imminent a Danger; that their Minds were quite dejected, not so much because of the Power of the adverse Fa-

* The *Boys* undermined in the Absence of *Thomas*.

tion, as by reason of the sudden Alienation of the King's Mind from them; so that *Robert*, in Despair of his Safety, fled into *England*; but *Alexander*, who by reason of his Sickness could not fly, was called to his Answer. The Crime objected to both the Brothers was, That they had laid Hands on the King, and of their own Heads had carried him to *Edinburgh*, *Alexander* alledg'd, That he had obtain'd his Pardon for that Offence in a publick Convention; and therefore he humbly desired, that a Copy of that Pardon might be transcribed out of the Parliament Rolls; but this was deny'd him. What his Accusers objected against that Pardon, the Writers of those Times do not record; and I, though a Conjecture be not very difficult to be made in the Case, yet had rather leave the whole Matter to the Reader's Thoughts, than to affirm Uncertainties for Truths. *Alexander* was condemn'd on his Tryal, and had his Head cut off. *Robert*, a few Years after, dy'd at *Alnwick* in *England*, the Grief of Banishment being added to the Pains of his old Age. His Son, though absent, and that upon a publick Business, was declared a publick Enemy, without being granted a Hearing; and all their Estates were confiscated. Thus stood the Matter of Fact: But I shall not conceal, what I have heard some good Men, and not ignorant of the History of those Times, affirm. They say, that the Amnesty given to the *Boys*, was thus worded in the Records, that the King forgave them all the Prejudice and Rancour of Mind (as they then phras'd it) which he might have conceived against them; which they, who were willing to gratify the King, did interpret (according to the Distinction then celebrated, amongst Divines, concerning the Remission of the Fault, and of Punishment) after this Manner, that, though the King forgave them his personal Resentment, yet they were not exempted from the Punishment of the Law. *Thomas Boyd*, when he heard of the Calamity of his Family, though some put him in Hopes of Pardon, in a Time of publick Rejoycing, yet durst not come ashore; but being inform'd by his Wife, who, upon the first News of the Approach of the Danish Fleet, went immediatly to him, that there was no Hopes of Re-admission to the King's Favour, his Enemies having stop't all Avenues thereunto, sail'd back into *Denmark*, whence he came, and so travelled through *Germany* into *France*, where he in vain endeavour'd to obtain the Mediation of *Lewis* the eleventh (who then had turned the Legitimate Empire of the *French* into a Tyranny) for his Reconciliation; and therefore he went to *Charles* of *Burgundy*, where he behaved himself valiantly, and did him much faithful Service in the Wars, for which he was well rewarded by him with Honour and Profit. There he lived a private, yet honourable, Life; and his Wife bore him a Son,

a Son, called *James*, and a Daughter called *Grekin*, of which in their Place.

THE Marriage of *James* the third, and Queen *Margaret*, was celebrated with a great Concourse of the Nobility, on the tenth Day of *July*, in the Year of our Lord 1470. Three Years after this Marriage, on *St. Patrick's Day*, in *March*, was born *James*, who succeeded his Father in the Kingdom.

IN the interim, the King, not yet satisfy'd with the Misery of the *Boys*, writes over into *Flanders*, to recal his Sister home; but knowing that she bore so great a Love to her Husband, that she would hardly be induc'd to part from him; he caus'd others to write to her, giving her some Hopes, that the King's Anger might, in time, be appeas'd towards her Husband; and that no doubt was to be made, but she herself might prevail much with her Brother, for his Relief; but that she must come to plead for him in Presence, and not commit his Apology to others. Upon these Hopes she return'd, and was no sooner arriv'd in *Scotland*, but the King transacts with her about a Divorce; and accordingly he affixed publick Libels and Citations, attested by many Witnesses, at *Kilmarnock* (which was the chief House of the *Boys*, before their Fall) where *Thomas* was commanded to appear in sixty Days; whereas all Men knew, that though the publick Faith had been given him, yet he would hardly have return'd; he not appearing at the Day, the former Marriage was pronounc'd *Null*, and a Divorce decreed, though the Husband were absent and unheard; and so *Mary* the King's Sister was compell'd, against her Will, to marry *James Hamilton*, a Man rais'd but a little before, and much inferior to her former Husband, in Estate and Dignity; yet she bore him a Son, nam'd *James*, and a Daughter called *Margaret*. The Children she had by her former Husband, were also recalled by the King: Nor did *Boyd* long survive this. He died at *Antwerp*, and having no Kinsman there to claim his Estate, *Charles* of *Burgundy* caus'd a magnificent Monument to be erected for him, with the Money which he had munificently bestow'd upon him, in the Church of . . . wherein an honourable Epitaph was inscrib'd. Thus the Family of the *Boys*, which then was the most flourishing one in all *Scotland*, within a few Years, grew up, and was cut down, to the great Document of Posterity, *What slippery Things the Favours of young Kings are.*

THEIR Ruin did not only amaze their Friends, but it also terrified their very Enemies; so that none would adventure to aspire to that Dignity, from whence they were cast down; partly, upon the account of the Instability of human Affairs; and partly, in Consideration of the King's sudden Re-

penitance for bestowing of his Graces and Favours, and his continu'd Perseverance in his Hatred, when once begun. This is certain, that they who were rais'd to great Hopes of Preferment, by this Change of publick Affairs, found themselves much mistaken : For the King, who, before that Time, had us'd himself to domestick Ease, and seldom appear'd in Publick, being now also newly married, spent a great part of his Time in the Pleasures of his Palace ; he excluded the Nobility, and was wholly govern'd by a few of his Servants ; for, being of an eager and fervid Disposition, he could not well bear to be contradicted in his own Will ; so that he avoided the Liberty which the Nobles would take, in advising him, and had only those about him, who would not reprehend, but rather approve of, what he did ; that so by avoiding any Occasion of Offence, and by using all the Flattery they could, they might gain his Favour. Amidst these Manners of the Court, the Ecclesiastical State was not much better. For, though the Ministers of the Church had been given of old to Luxury and Avarice, yet there was still some Shadow of ancient Gravity remaining ; so that some Encouragement was given to Learning, and Advantage to such as were good Proficients therein. For the Bishops were chosen by the Colleges of Canons, and the Abbats by their respective Sodalities. But now the Parasite Courtiers persuaded the King (for they only had his Heart and Ear) that it would be very advantageous to him, and that those, with whom he was to deal, would not be able to hinder his Design, if he recall'd and assum'd the Designation of such Offices to himself, and would not suffer Matters of so great Advantage to rest in the Hands of such a drowsy Generation of People, unfit for any publick Business, as Ecclesiasticks were. The King was easily persuaded to this, in regard they alledged, That by this means, besides other Advantages, he might have opportunity to curb the Contumacious, to confirm the wavering, and to reward the well deserving ; but (said they) in our present Circumstances, Promotions and Honours are in the Hands of the Dregs of the Vulgar, who are as parcimonious in Case of publick Necessities, as they are profuse in their private Pleasures ; that all Men should depend upon the King alone, so that he might have the sole Power of punishing, pardoning, and rewarding.

By these and the like flattering Arguments, they persuaded the King to their Opinion, for his Mind was not yet confirm'd by Ripeness of Years ; besides, 'twas weaken'd by ill Custom, and not fortify'd against the Temptations of Money-Matters : And moreover, he was naturally prone to Liberty. Hereupon, a new Face of Things presently appeared throughout the whole Kingdom, and all Matters, both Sacred and Civil, were brought to Court, to be huckster'd and sold, as in a publick Fair.

Fair. But *Patrick Graham* was the only Man, who endeavour'd to stop the precipitous Ruin of the Church ; when his Enemies sway'd all at Home, he staid at *Rome* some Years ; but being there inform'd by his Friends, in what State things were, he, trusting in his Alliance to the King, being the Son of his Great Aunt, resolv'd to return Home ; but, that he might make some Essay of the Minds of Men beforehand, he sent the Bull, which he had obtain'd from the Pope, for his *Legantine Power*, and caus'd it to be proclaim'd and publish'd in the Month of *September*, the Year of our Lord 1472, which rais'd up much Envy against him. For they that had bought Ecclesiastical Honours at Court, were afraid to lose both their Prey and Money too : And they who thought to make Advantage by this Court-sale, were griev'd to be thus disappointed : Nay, that Faction did no less storin, that had mercenarily obtain'd Ecclesiastical Preferments from the King, in order to sell them to others. Their fear was, that this gainful Practice would be taken out of their Hands. All these made a Conspiracy against *Patrick*, and, in his Absence, loaded him with Reproaches. They came to Court, and complain'd, that their ancient Laws, as well as the King's late Decrees, were violated ; and that the *Romanists* were carrying on many Matters, very prejudicial to the Kingdom ; and, unless the King did speedily oppose their Exorbitance, they would quickly bring all Things under their Power ; nay, make the King himself bend under them.

To prevent this Danger, there were some sent, by Order of Council, to *Patrick*, when he had scarce set his Foot on Shore, to forbid him to execute any part of his Office, until the King had heard the Complaints made against him ; and a Day was appointed him to appear, which was the first of *November*, at *Edinburgh*, in order to an Hearing.

In the mean time, when his Friends and Relations assured him, that the King would do what was equitable in so just a Cause ; the adverse Faction, hearing of it, did so engage the King, and his Courtiers, by the Promises of great Sums of Money, that *Patrick* could never have a fair Hearing afterwards. When he was come to the Assembly, he produc'd the Pope's Bull and Grant, wherein he was constituted Archbishop of *St. Andrew's*, Primate of *Scotland*, and the Pope's Legate for three Years, to order Ecclesiastical Affairs. The inferior sort of Priests were glad of the thing, that an Office so necessary was put into the Hands of so pious and learned a Man ; but they did not dare to speak it out, for fear of some powerful Persons, who had got the Ear of the King and his Counsellors. His Adversaries made their Appeal to the Pope, who alone could be Judge in the Case ; which they did on purpose to create

create Delay ; so that the Favour of the People towards *Patrick* might in time abate. He himself was sent back by the King to his Church, but forbid to wear the Robes of an Archbishop, till the Cause was determin'd : Neither was he to perform any Office, but what the former Bishops had done before him.

Whilst these things were acting, *William Sivez*, rose up, a new Enemy, against *Patrick*, but the bitterest of all the rest ; and that upon a light Occasion. He was a young Man of a ready Wit, and had lived some Years at *Lovain*, under the Tutorage of *John Sperinc*, a Man well skill'd in the Study of Physick and Astrology : And returning Home, he quickly insinuated himself into the Favour of the Courtiers ; partly upon the account of his other Accomplishments ; and partly because of his boasted Knowledge of Celestial Matters. This Endowment won him great Respect from the Court, which was then addicted to all sorts of Divinations, even to Madness : So that this *Sivez* being of an acute Wit, and in great Favour at Court, was soon made Archdeacon of *St. Andrew's* : But the Bishop would not admit him to that Office. Upon this, he enter'd into a Consultation with *John Lock*, Rector of the publick Schools there, and a back Friend of *Patrick's* ; and they two together imployed all their Engines to work his Overthrow. The Rector, having a Grant from the Pope, whereby he was privileg'd and exempted from *Patrick's* Jurisdiction, pronounced the Sentence of Excommunication against him. But he so slighted this Commination from one of an Inferior Order to himself ; that tho', when he came to Court, it was twice or thrice serv'd upon him, yet he went on in his ordinary Course of Life : Whereupon his Enemies (as is usual in Cases, where Ecclesiastical Cases are condemn'd) implored the Assistance of the King, and got *Patrick* excluded from all the Churches. Officers of the Exchequer were sent to, to take an Inventory of all his Goods. His Retinue was commanded, under a heavy Penalty, to depart ; and a Guard was set upon him, to observe, that he did nothing contrary to the Edict. The rest of the Bishops, that they might not seem ungrateful towards so benevolent a King, levied a great Sum of Money, which they violently extorted out of small Benefices, and presented him with it. The King being Master of such a Sum, seem'd to deal more mildly with *Patrick*, as if he took Pity on him ; and accordingly he sent the Abbat of *Holy-rood*, and *Sivez*, to him. Whereupon the Bishop was reconciled to the King ; and also *Sivez* and the Bishop were made Friends ; but his Friends Contributions were gather'd up before, and carried to the King. Now *Patrick* seem'd to be freed of all his Troubles, and so he retir'd to his Manor-House of *Monimul*, and prepar'd himself for

for the Execution of his Office, both publickly and privately : When, behold ! the *Roman Money-mongers* were sent in upon him, by his Adversaries ; and, because he had not paid his Fees for the Pope's Grant (or *Bull*, as they call it) they likewise Excommunicated him. The Man was reduced to Extreme Poverty ; for his Revenues, both before and after his Return, were, for the most part, gather'd up by the King's Collectors, and brought into his Exchequer, and whatever his Friends could make up, was given to the King and his Courtiers. And when the King's Officers were again sent to take Possession of his Estate, Guards were set upon him by the King : his Household Servants were discharg'd, and he was kept Prisoner in his Castle, and so was depriv'd, even of the Use of his Reason. *William Sivez*, his capital Enemy, was first impos'd upon him by the King, and afterwards approved by the Pope, as his Co-adjutor, as they call him, as of a Man that was beside himself. The said *Sivez* was made Inquisitor, by the Power of the adverse Faction, to enquire into his Life and Conversation ; many trifling, and many ridiculous and incredible things were objected against him ; and amongst the rest this was one, *that he had said Mass thrice in one Day* ; whereas, in that Age, there was hardly a Bishop who did the same in three Months. Thus his Enemy being his Judge, and the Witnesses against him hired, he was turn'd out of his Bishoprick ; and *Sivez*, who carried the Decree to the Pope, was made Bishop in his room. Neither were his Enemies contented with this Mischief they had done him ; but, perceiving he bore all their Contumelies with much Greatness of Spirit, they made an Order, that he should be shut up in some desolate Monastery, under four Keepers ; *Inch-Colm* was chosen to be the Place, a Rock rather than an Island : From whence, three Years after, he was remov'd to *Dunferlin*, for fear of the *English Fleet* ; betwixt whom and the *Scots*, a War had then broke forth. And from thence he was again carried to the Castle, which lies at *Lach Leven* ; where, being worn out with Age and Miseries, he departed this Life. He was a Man guilty of no known Vice ; and in Learning and Virtue inferior to none of his Age. The other good Men, terrify'd by his Calamity, and perceiving no Hopes of any Church-Reformation, went all about their own private Affairs. In the Court, Church Preferments were either sold, or else given away to Flatterers, and Panders, as a Reward for their vile and filthy Services.

Tho' these things were acted at different times, yet I have put them all together in my Discourse, that so the Thread of my History might not be broke too often ; and also, that by one memorable Example, we might have an entire View of the

the Miseries of those Times; for one may easily imagine how miserable the ordinary sort of Men were, since a Man that was so eminent for all Kind of Virtue, and besides, had the Advantage to be allied to the King, and so many Noble Families was, by a few Scoundrels of the lowest sort, expos'd to the Reproach and Cruelty of his Enemies. But to return to the other Occurrences of those Times.

In the Year 1476, there was a publick Decree made against *John*, Lord of the *Islands*, who had seiz'd upon some Provinces, and had done great Spoil on the Maritime Coasts; inso-much that the King resolv'd in Person, to march against him by Land, and commanded the Earl of *Craford* his Admiral, to meet him by Sea. Hereupon *John* perceiving, that he was too weak to withstand such Preparations, by the Advice of the Earl of *Atthole*, the King's Uncle, came in an humble manner to Court, and surrender'd up himself to the King's Mercy. The Provinces which he had forcibly enter'd upon, were taken from him, as *Ross*, *Kintire*, *Cnapdale*: But he was suffer'd still to continue in the Command of the *Islands*. The same Year, the Dispute with the *English*, which was just about to break out into a War, was decided. The Occasion was this; *James Kennedy* had built a Ship, the biggest that had been seen to sail upon the Ocean. At that time as she was at Sea, a Tempest cast her upon the *English* Shore, and her Lading was rifled by the *English*: Restitution was often sought for, but in vain. This bred a Disgust betwixt the Nations for some Years. At last, the *English* sent Ambassadors into *Scotland*; the chief of which were the Bishop of *Durham*, and *Scroop* a Nobleman. By these Ambassadors, King *Edward*, who had been toss'd by the Inconstancy of Fortune, and whose Exchequer was drain'd by continual Wars, desir'd a Treaty of Peace; which was easily renew'd, upon Condition that a due Estimate might be made of the Ship that was rifled, and its Lading, by indifferent Persons, and just Satisfaction made.

The same Year Ambassadors were sent to *Charles*, Duke of *Burgundy*, in behalf of the Merchants who were disturb'd in their Trade. When they came into *Flanders*, they were honourably receiv'd by him. One *Andrews* a Physician, and a great Astrologer too, being occasionally invited by them to Supper, understanding the Cause of their coming, took them aside, and told them that they should not make too much haste in their Embassy; for, in a few Days they should hear other News of the Duke. And accordingly his Prediction was fulfilled; for within three Days after, the Duke's Army overthrown by the *Switzers*, at the City of *Nants* in *Lorain*; where he was kill'd. Hereupon the Ambassadors return'd, without effecting.

effecting their Business, And when they came to the King, and told him how highly skill'd that *Andrews* was, in predicting Things to come, they persuaded him, who of himself was inclinable to those Arts, to send for the Man, upon promises of a good Reward : And accordingly he came, was well receiv'd, and gratify'd with a rich Parsonage, and other Boons. He (as 'tis reported) told the King, that he should speedily be destroyed by his own Subjects. And that Speech agreed with the Vaticinations of some wizardly Women (to which the King was immoderately addicted) who had prophesy'd, *That a Lyon should be kill'd by his Whelps*. Hereupon from a Prince, at first, of great Ingenuity and good Hopes, and as yet not wholly depraved, he degenerated into a fierce and cruel Tyrant ; for when his Mind had entertain'd and was stuffed with Suspensions, he accounted even his nearest Kindred, and all the best of the Nobility, as his Enemies. And the Nobles were also disgusted at him, partly by reason of his Familiarity with that rascally sort of People ; but chiefly because he slighted the Nobility, and chose mean Persons to be his Counsellors and Advisers. The chief of them was *Thomas Preston*, one of a good Family ; but who resolv'd to humour the King in all things ; *Robert Cockrain*, a Man endued with great Strength of Body and equal Audacity of Mind ; he came to be known to the King by a Duel which he fought with another ; and presently from an Architect came to be made a Courtier, and was put in a fair Way of rising to some greater Advancement ; for, having perform'd some lighter Matters, intrusted to him, with Diligence, and also accommodating himself to the King's Humour, he was soon admitted to advise concerning the Grand Affairs of the Kingdom ; insomuch that *Preston* chose him to be his Son-in-law. The Third was *William Rogers*, an *English* Singing-Man, or Musician, who coming into *Scotland* with the *English* Ambassadors, after the King had heard him once or twice, he was so taken with him, that he would not suffer him to return, but advanc'd him to Wealth and Honour ; and in a short time made him a Knight. The rest of his Intimates were the most despicable sort of the meanest Tradesmen, who were only known by their Improbability, and had nothing to recommend them but their Boldness. Whereupon the Nobility had a Meeting, wherein the King's two Brothers were chief, to purge the Court from this sort of Cattle : And some notice of it being divulged abroad, *John* the youngest of the Brothers, more unwary than the rest, speaking a little too boldly and rashly concerning the State of the Kingdom, was seiz'd upon by the Courtiers, cast into Prison, condemn'd by the King's Privy Council, and put to Death, by having a Vein open'd

open'd till he expir'd. The cause of his Death was given out amongst the Vulgar, to be, because he had conspir'd with Witches against the King's Life: And, to make the Matter more plausible, twelve Witches of the lowest Condition, were try'd and burnt. The Death of *John* did rather stifle, than dissipate the Conspiracy, which seem'd almost ready to break forth.

Alexander, the next, as in Blood, so in Danger, tho' he endeavour'd to avert all Suspicion from himself, as much as he could; yet the King's Officers thought they could never be secure, as long as he was alive; and therefore they presently clap'd him up Prisoner in the Castle of *Edinburgh*; where he was strictly kept up by those who judged his Power would be their Destruction: And seeing he could not appease the King's Wrath by the Mediation of his Friends, he began to think of making an Escape: He had but one of his Servants left to wait upon him in his Chamber. Him, and none else, he acquainted with his Design; who hired a Vessel for him, to be ready fitted in the adjoining Road; then he suborn'd Messengers to make frequent Errands to him from the Court, who should tell him Stories before his Keepers (for he was forbid to speak with any body, but in their Presence) that the King was now more reconcileable to him, than formerly; and that he would speedily be set at Liberty. When the Day appointed for his Escape approach'd, he compos'd his Countenance to as much Mirth, as in that calamitous Condition he was able to do; and told his Keepers, that now he believ'd by the Messages sent him from the King, that he was reconcil'd to him; and that he hop'd he should not be held much longer in Durance. Accordingly he invited them to a noble Supper, and himself drank freely with them, till late at Night; then they departed; and being all full of Wine, fell into the sounder Sleep. Thus left entirely to himself, he made a Rope of the Sheets of his Bed, long enough, as he thought, for the Height of the Wall; and first, to make a Tryal, he made his Servant slide down by it; but perceiving by his Fall, that 'twas too short, he lengthen'd it out, as well as he could in those Circumstances, and himself slid down too, and took up his Servant, who had broke his Leg by his Fall, upon his Shoulders, and carried him about a Mile to the Vessel, where they went aboard; and having a fair Wind, they sail'd to *Dunbar*; there he fortify'd the Castle against any forcible Assault, and, with a small Retinue, went over into *France*. In his Absence, *Andrew Stuart*, the Chancellor, was sent with an Army, to take the Castle: They besieg'd it closely some Months, and 'twas defended as bravely: But at last the Garrison, for want of Necessaries, were forced to get

Vessels,

Vessels, and in the Night to depart privately for *England*; So that in the Morning the empty Castle was taken by the Besiegers. Some Men of Note, of the Besiegers, were slain there.

Much about this time it was, that the Kings both of *England* and *Scotland*, weary'd out with Domestick Troubles, had each of them a Desire to make Peace, and an Embassy from *England* was appointed to compleat it; which was kindly received: And the Peace was not only agreed upon, but an Affinity accorded to confirm it; that *Cecilia*, the Daughter of *Edward*, should be married to *James* the Scots King's Son, as soon as they were both marriageable. Part also of the Dowry was paid, on this Condition, that *if, when they came to Years, the Marriage were not consummated, the Dowry should be paid back to the English*. And Hostages were given for Performances of Conditions; which were some *Burghers* of Towns. But this Peace lasted not long, for, by reason of the Grudges remaining since the last Wars, Incursions were made, Plunders committed, and Villages burnt. Both Sides were so enflamed by these mutual Injuries, that it broke out at last into an open War. And besides, each King had other peculiar Provocations. *Douglas* the old, and *Alexander* the late Exile, the King's Brother, stirred up the *English* King to War. For *Alexander*, as I said before, going into *France*, married the Daughter of the Earl of *Bulloign*; but not being able to procure Aid from *Lewis* the twelfth, then King of *France*, for the Recovery of his own, he sailed over into *England*, hoping, from thence, to make some Attempt upon *Scotland*. As for *James* of *Scotland*, *Lewis* of *France* incited him to make War, having sent *Robert Ireland*, a Scotsman, and Doctor of the *Sorbonne*, with two *French* Knights, to him, on that Errand. Thus the Peace came to be violated: And altho' the *Scottish* Affairs, in regard some of the Country was wasted; were in none of the best Condition; and a great Army was decreed to be sent against *Scotland* by the *English*, under the Command of the Duke of *Gloucester*; yet the King, and those who were about him, did levy Forces, but with no great Heart: For the Upstarts (such they lately were, and very poor too) whose Greatness was founded on the Calamities of others, and who had been the Authors of desperate Counsels to the King, fear'd nothing more than a numerous Assembly of the incensed Nobility. When they came to *Lauder*, a Town near the Borders of *Merch* and *Teviotdale*, Countries either wasted by the Enemy, or else by Force necessitated to submit to him; the King yet proceeded on in his wonted Course of Exactions from them: He

distrusted

distrusted the Nobility, and manag'd all by his Cabinet-Council. This Indignity the Nobles would endure no longer; and therefore, in the third Watch, they met in a Church in the Town, where, in a full Assembly, *Archibald Douglas*, Earl of *Angus*, is reported to have declar'd the Cause of their Meeting, in this Manner.

‘ I think it not necessary, *Noble Peers*, to make a long Oration concerning the State of the *Scottish* Affairs, you yourselves partly remember it, and you partly see it now before your Eyes; the chief of the Nobility are either banished, or else compelled to suffer intolerably, and to act nefarious things; and you, in whom the Strength of the Kingdom rests, are left without an Head, as a Ship without a Steersman, subject to all the Storms and Tempests of Fortune: Your Lands are burnt, your Estates plunder'd; the Husbandmen either slain, or else, perceiving no other Remedy, have submitted to the Enemy. And the King, a Man of a generous Spirit, and singular Prudence, if you take him as he is in himself; yet carried away by poisonous Insinuations, refers all things pertaining to the Good of the Commonwealth, to Peace, War, and the like, not to an Assembly of the Nobles, but to inferior Upstarts. These Men consult Soothsayers and Wizards, and carry their Answers to the King, whose Mind is infirm and sickly, and easily taken with such vain Superstitions; and thus Decrees are made under the Influence of such Authors, concerning the Safety of us all, for they knowing that they are deservedly hated by all, bear the like hatred to all; and their endeavour is, not only to undermine your Authority, but to cut you all off, by all the possible Arts and Practices they can; they have remov'd some of you by Death, others by Banishment. Neither do they ascend gradually to play their Pranks, as inferior Persons, when they are promoted, are wont to do; but immediately exercise the Tryals of their Cruelty and Avarice upon the Royal Blood: One of the King's Brothers they have most inhumanly put to death; they have robb'd our Country of the other, by banishing him, and so have given him as a General to our Enemies. These being thus taken out of the Way, their next Work is, to deal with the Nobility: For, being of low Estate and Condition themselves, they would have no Men of Excellence, none of high Birth, to survive them. All those that have either Riches to satisfy their Avarice, or Power to resist their Audaciousness, them they account as their Enemies; and yet, in the mean time, we are undertaking a War against the *English*, as our Publick Enemy, as if any
Enemy,

Enemy were more deadly than that, who is never satisfy'd, in point of Covetousness, with your Estates, nor, in point of Cruelty, with your Blood. Now to make it clear to you, that this intestine Plague is more dreadful than that foreign one; suppose (which God forbid) that the King of *England* should conquer us, doubtless he would remember old Grudges, and, in pursuance of that Conquest, what End of his Successes would he propound to himself? or what Reward of his Victory? Would he aim at the Life of the King his Enemy, or at our Lives? I think, at neither. For the Dispute between us is (not for Life, but) for Glory and Empire; and a generous Mind, as 'tis vehement and eager against those that resist it, so 'tis easily mitigated and inclin'd to Lenity by Submission and Obsequiousness, even upon the account of remembring the Instability of all human Affairs. But suppose that the Enemy's Rage should aim at the King's Life and Destruction, I pray, which of the two do act more mercifully, either he that, together with Life, takes away all Sense of Misery; or they that reserve him, whom they ought principally to love and reverence next to God, to a daily Butchery and Execution? Who arm his Mind, already prepossess'd with Witch-crafts, to the Destruction of his Friends? who keep the King, now almost encompass'd by the Arms of his Enemies, in the nature of a Prisoner, and do not suffer him to see the Faces of his Friends, that he may understand their Affection to him, and experience their Loyalty? They are not so much Enemies, who pitch Camp against Camp, and so openly profess their Hostility, as they who at home do treacherously contrive our Destruction. They alienate the King's Mind from his Friends, and betray him to his Enemies; and thus they deprive us of our Commander, and expose us as a Prey to our Enemy's Arms, by whom if your Lives are given you, after you are conquer'd, yet you will fall into Shame and Servitude; and, if you overcome them, yet you will not procure Quiet to yourselves, Strength to your Country, nor Glory to your King, but a greater Liberty to your Enemies, to play their Pranks at present, and that in Security, for the future; and thus we shall bring a Plague and Misery on our selves, and a stricter Servitude on our King, so that Victory will not free us from foreign Miseries, but will increase our domestick ones. And therefore, in short, my Opinion is, That we shake off the Yoke at home, before we venture to engage the Enemy; for otherwise, we shall all be made Slaves to the Lusts of a few Men; we shall strengthen the Enemy, and betray the Common-wealth. God bless your Consultations in this Matter.

AFTER *Douglas* had ended his Speech, there followed (not a Debate but) a confus'd Noise, over the whole Assembly, crying out, *To your Arms against the Publick Enemy*; for the Minds of all present were so inflam'd, that though they had none to lead them, yet they were about to break in upon the King's Quarters. But the graver sort, who by reason of their Honour and Authority had a great Interest in the rest, appeas'd the Tumult; for they feared lest, in an impetuous Assault of the People, the King himself should come to some Harm: And therefore they agreed, that the principal Commanders should take a small Number of their chiefest Confidants, and, without any general Remove of the whole Army, should go to the King's Pavilion, and seize the Offenders, who had the Management of things, and then bring them forth to be judged before the whole Army, that so they might suffer condign Punishment, according to the Laws.

WHILST these things were in agitation, News was brought to the Court, that the Nobles were assembled before Day, in the Church; for what, was not known; but it must certainly be some great Matter, which engag'd such Persons to assemble, unknown to the King and his Counsellors. The King was waked, and rose in great Fear out of his Bed, and ask'd those about him, *What was best to be done?* In the mean while, he sends *Cockran* before, to observe what was a doing, and to bring him certain word. Just as this *Cockran* was got pretty nigh the Church with a small Retinue, he meets with the Chief of the Nobility coming to Court. *Douglas* presently laid hands on him, and took him by a massy Gold Chain, which he wore about his Neck, whereby he somewhat strain'd his Throat, and gave him up a Prisoner to the *Marshal*, and then he went directly to the King's Bed-Chamber. They, who were there, made no Opposition, either because they were astonished at his sudden coming, or else out of Reverence to the Man; so that there the rest were seiz'd upon, who were thought to have corrupted the King by their wicked Counsels; only one young Man hung about the King's Neck, and he desired them to pardon him, his Name was *John Ramsy*, of a good Family; who being excus'd upon the account of his Age, was dismiss'd. Whilst the rest were led on to their Tryals, there was a Tumult and Noise rais'd over the whole Army, crying out, *Hang them, Rogues*; whereupon they were presently hurry'd away, and ended their Lives in an Halter; nay, the Army in general was so intent upon their Execution, that when they wanted Ropes, upon so sudden an Occasion, they all offer'd the Reins of their Horse-Bridles and their Baggage-Horse Tackle for that Use; and they strove much, who should have the honour to offer his own first.

THIS

THIS Court-Faction had committed many Injuries against private Persons; but their Wrongs to the Publick lay chiefly here; They had been the Authors of coining new Brass-Money, which the common People did call by the invidious Name of *Black-Money*. Upon this Coinage, there first ensued a Dearth of all things, and afterwards a Famine; for the Sellers had rather suffer their Commodities to be spoil'd at Home, than, under a Pretence of Sale, to give them away to the Buyers. But, that all Commerce might not wholly cease amongst the People, this one Remedy was found out for Dealers and Chap-men; that they should mention, in their Contracts, in what sort of Money the Payment should be made. 'Tis true, some of our former Kings had coin'd that sort of Money, but 'twas more for the necessary Use of the Poot, than for their own Gain: And also Provision was made by a Law, appointing such a Sum, beyond which Sellers should not be compell'd to take it in Payment. Thus the Buyers of small Commodities had a Benefit; and Care was taken, that the richer sort should have no Damage by this way of Change or Sale. It was also objected against them, that they had alienated the King's Heart from the Nobility; and had set him upon the Study of Magick, and hurried him on to the Destruction of his own Kindred. But that which made *Cockran* most envy'd, was his Earldom of *Merch*; which Country the King had either given to him, or at least committed to his Trust, upon the Death of the King's younger Brother.

WHEN these evil Counsellors were remov'd out of the way, the King having no great Confidence in the Soldiery; nor the Soldiery in him; the Army was dismiss'd, and return'd home: And the King, tho' for the present he suppress'd his Anger, and made many large and fair Promises to the Nobility, yet his Heart inwardly boil'd with Blood, Slaughter, and Revenge. And therefore, as soon as he thought himself at Liberty, he retir'd, with some few of his Confidants, into the Castle of *Edinburgh*, and the Nobility, not knowing what to think of it, had also their Consultations apart. The King of *England*, by the Persuasion of *Alexander* chiefly, who inform'd him of the Dissension betwixt the *Scotch* King and his Nobles; and also assured him, that as soon as ever he enter'd *Scotland*, great Numbers of Horse and Foot would come in to him; rais'd Forces in the Winter, over which he made *Richard* his Brother, Duke of *Gloucester*, General, and commanded him to march into *Scotland*. He began his March when it was about Midsummer; and, understanding in what Condition the *Scottish* Affairs were, he turn'd aside to *Berwick*. He was receiv'd immediately into the Town; and left

left 4000 Men to besiege the Castle ; and with the rest of the Army he march'd directly to *Edinburgh*, making a dreadful Devastation in all Places, where he came. But *Alexander* leading them on, they enter'd the City without committing any Rapine ; and, by a publick Proclamation made in the Market-place, he advis'd *James* (seeing he could not speak with him) first, to perform what he had promis'd to *Edward* ; and then, that before the first of *September* he would cause Satisfaction to be made for all the Wrongs and Injuries he had offer'd to the *English* ; and, unless he would do so, *Richard*, Duke of *Gloucester*, would persecute him and his Country with Fire and Sword. To all this *James*, perceiving at present that he was not able to perform what was required ; and, on the other side, that he was as unable to withstand the Power of the Enemy ; return'd no Answer at all, either by Writing or Message. But the Nobles of *Scotland*, being thus forsaken of their King, that they might not be wholly wanting to the publick Safety, levy'd another Army, and form'd a Camp at *Haddington* : And, that they might somewhat alleviate the imminent Danger and Pressure, and stop the Enemy in his Career of Victory, they sent Agents to the Duke of *Gloucester*, to desire, *That the Marriage, so long proposed, might be consummated*. They were also to declare, that it should not be their fault, if the Agreements made between the two Nations, were not punctually perform'd. The *English* General knowing that the *Scots* would not put things to the Hazard of a Battle, in regard part of their Strength was with him upon the account of *Alexander*, a popular Man, and that the rest were divided into several Factions, return'd this Answer, That he did not know what his King had resolv'd in reference to that Marriage ; but he thought it fit that the Money, paid to *James* upon the account of the Dowry, should be presently repaid to him ; and, if they would have Peace, they should promise to surrender up the Castle of *Berwick* ; or, if they could not do that, then solemnly to swear, that they should not attempt to relieve the Besieged, nor to hinder the Besiegers, until the Castle was either taken by Storm, or surrender'd upon Conditions. The *Scots* return'd answer by their Ambassadors, that it was not their fault, the Marriage was not consummated ; but it happen'd, because both Bride and Bridegroom were under Age ; that the Money was not yet due, because the Day of Payment was not yet come, and if there were not sufficient Security given for the Payment thereof, they would give more ; but the Castle of *Berwick* was built by the *Scots*, and that in the *Scottish* Soil ; and for many Ages having been under their Jurisdiction, they could not part with it ; and tho' the *English* had taken it, and possess'd it sometimes

times by Force, yet their Injury did not prejudice the ancient Right of the *Scots*. But *Gloucester*, who was superior in Strength, resolv'd to carry the Point, and to admit of no legal Dispute in the Case. The same Day, *Calen Cambel*, Earl of *Argyle*; *Andrew Stuart* the Chancellor, and the Bishops of *St. Andrew's* and *Dunblane*, sent to *Alexander*, who was in the *English* Camp at *Lebington*, a Chart, sign'd with their own Hands and Seals, promising him, if he would be loyal to the King, in the next Assembly, they would take care that his Estate should be restor'd, and an *Amnesty* given for what was past; in Assurance of which they solemnly interposed their Faith. *Alexander* acquainted *Gloucester* with the Thing, who was very friendly, and dismiss'd him upon it; and so he returned into his own Country; where, in the next Assembly of Estates, he was made *Regent* by an unanimous Consent; and presently a Proposition was made concerning raising the Siege of *Berwick*. The wiser sort were of Opinion, that in so dangerous a Time, when Things were thus unsettled by reason of domestick Seditions, it was best to clap up a Peace upon any Terms; for they saw plainly, that if they should have the better of so powerful an Enemy, yet it would rather provoke, than dishearten him; but, if they themselves were overcome, it was uncertain how an Enemy, fierce by Nature, and farther elevated by Success, would use his Victory. Some that were more hot-spirited than they had reason to be, opposed this Opinion; yet it was carried in the Parliament. After many Conditions had been canvass'd to and fro, at length it was agreed, That on the 26th of *August* 1482, the Castle of *Berwick* should be surrender'd up to the *English*, and a Truce made for a few Months, till they could have more Time to treat of a Peace. Thus *Berwick* was lost, after it had been enjoy'd by the *Scots* 21 Years, since they last recovered it. Then the Duke of *Gloucester*, having made a prosperous Expedition, returned in Triumph home.

Edward, by the Advice of his Council, judg'd it more for the Advantage of *England*, to disannul the Marriage Contract; for he feared that the intestine Discords of the *Scots* were so great, that *James's* Issue might be in Danger of losing the Crown; and he was most respectful to *Alexander*, because, if he should be made King, he hop'd to have a constant and faithful Ally of him, in regard of the great Kindness he had received at his Hands. Hereupon an Herald was sent to *Edinburgh*, to renounce the Affinity, and to demand the Repayment of the Dowry. When he had declar'd his Errand publicly on the 25th of *October*, the *Scots* obtain'd a Day for the Payment thereof, and restor'd it to a Penny; and withal, they sent some to convoy the Herald as far as *Berwick*. *Alexander*, that he

might extinguish the Remains of the old Hatred of his Brother against him, and so obtain new Favour by a new Courtesy, brought him out of the Castle, and restor'd him to the free Possession of his Kingdom. But the Memory of old Offences prevail'd more with *James's* proud restless Spirit, than this late Courtesy : Moreover, besides the King's old Jealousies, there were those that did daily calumniate *Alexander*, and buz into the King's Ear his too great Popularity ; as if now 'twas very evident, that he affected the Kingdom : He being advised by his Friends, that Mischief was hatching against him at Court, fled privately into *England* ; and gave up the Castle of *Dunbar* to *Edward*. In his Absence he was condemn'd. The Crimes objected against him were, first, That he had often sent Messengers into *England* ; and then, that he had retir'd thither himself, without obtaining a Pass-port from the King ; and that there he joined in Council against his Country, and his King's Life. All his Partizans were pardon'd, and amongst the rest, *William Creighton*, who was accus'd not only to be an Abettor of his Designs against his Country, but also the chief Author that urged him on to them. But when he had obtained Pardon for what was past, he was again accused of encouraging *Alexander* by his Advice and Counsel, after he was condemn'd ; (frequent Letters passing between them, by the means of *Thomas Dickson* a Priest) and of causing his Castle of *Creighton* to be fortified against the King, and commanding the Garrison Soldiers not to surrender it up to the King's Forces. Wherefore he was summon'd to answer the 14th Day of *February*, in the Year 1484. But he not appearing was outlaw'd, and his Goods confiscated. These were the Causes of his Punishment, mention'd in our pulick Records. But 'tis thought that the Hatred the King had conceiv'd against him, upon a private Occasion, did him the most Mischief of all. It was this ; *William* had a very beautiful Wife, of the noble Family of the *Dunbars* ; when her Husband found that the King had had the Use of her Body, he projected a Revenge, which was rash enough in itself, but yet not improper for a Mind sick of Love, and also provok'd by such an Injury as his was ; for he himself lay with the King's young Sister, a beautiful Woman, but ill spoken of for her too great Familiarity with her Brother ; and on her he begat *Margaret Creighton*, who died not long since. In the interim, *Creighton's* Wife died at his own House ; and the King's Sister, whom, as I said, the King had vitiated, was so much in Love with *William*, that she seem'd sometimes to be out of her Wits for him. The King, partly by the Mediation of *William's* Friends, and partly being mindful of the Wrong he himself had done him, of the like sort, and being willing also

also to cover the Infamy of his Sister under a Vail of Marriage, permitted *William* to return home again to Court, upon Condition that he would marry her: *William* was persuaded by his Friends; and, for want of better Views, especially since *Richard* of *England* was dead, came to *Inverness*, where he had a Conference with the King, not long before both their Deaths; and great Hopes were there given of his Return. His Sepulchre is yet there to be seen. These Things were done at several Times, but I have put them together, that so the Thread of my History might not be discontinued and broken off. Let us now return to what was omitted before.

Edward of *England* died in the Month of *April*, next after *Dunbar* was delivered to him, in the Year 1483, leaving his Brother *Richard* Guardian to his Sons. He was first content with the Name of *Protector*, and under that Title govern'd *England* for two Months: But afterward having, by several Practices, engaged a great part of the Nobility and Commonalty to his side, he put his Brother's two Sons in Prison; the Queen and her two Daughters being forc'd to retire into a Sanctuary near *London*. The next *June* he took upon him the Name and Ornaments of a King.

Alexander of *Albany*, and *James Douglas*, being willing to try how their Countrymen stood affected towards them, came with 500 select Horse to *Loch-Maban*, on *Maudlin's Day*, because a great Fair used that Day to be there held. There a Skirmish began between the Parties with enraged Minds on both sides, and the Success was various, as Aid came in out of the neighbouring District, either to this or that Party. They fought from Noon till Night, and the Issue was doubtful; but at last the Victory inclin'd to the *Scots*, tho' it was a bloody one, as having lost many of their Men. *Douglas* was there taken Prisoner, and sent away to the Monastery of *Lindors*: *Alexander* was set on a Horse, and escap'd, but staid not in *England* long after that. In the mean time, many Incursions were made, to the greater Loss of the *English*, than Benefit of the *Scots*. *Richard* was uncertain of the Event of Things at home, and withal fear'd his Enemy abroad; for many of the *English* favour'd the Earl of *Richmond*, who was an Exile in *France*, and had sent for him over, to undertake the Government of the Kingdom: So that *Richard* was mightily troubled: Neither was he less vext with the Guilt of his own Wickedness; and because he could not quell domestick Seditions, as soon as he hop'd, therefore he thought it best to oblige Foreigners by any Conditions whatsoever; that so, by their Authority and Power, he might be safer at home, and more formidable abroad.

abroad. For this Cause he sent Ambassadors into *Scotland*, to make Peace, or at least a Truce for some Years. There he found all Things more easy than he could have hoped for; For *James*, who for his many and notable Crimes was grievously hated by his own People, as well as *Richard* was by his, willingly gave Ear to his Ambassadors; for he hoped that, if once he had Peace with *England*, he could revenge his Wrongs at home at leisure, when *England* could not be a Refuge to his Opposers. For these Reasons especially, both Kings sent some of their Confidants to the Borders; where, after many and long Disputes concerning Compensation for Losses, seeing Peace could not be made, by reason of the Multitudes of Complainants, and the Weakness of their Proofs, they made a Truce for three Years.

And because Matters could not then be adjusted, for the Difficulties above-mentioned, and also the Straitness of Time; Arbiters were appointed on both sides, who, together with the Commanders of the Borders, should see all Things done according to Equity. One Condition in the Truce was set down very intricately, about the Castle of *Dunbar* to be restored to the *Scots*; for the *English* interpreted it, that they might keep it; and the *Scots*, that they might reduce it by Force, notwithstanding the Truce: For when the *Scots*, after the Expiration of six Months allotted, sent Ambassadors to demand the Castle, *Richard* by his Letters made them Promises of his good Will, but he delay'd the Restoration of it (alleging sometimes this, and sometimes other things, as an Obstacle in the Way) till his Death, which follow'd not long after. He was slain by his Countrymen; and *Henry* the seventh not yet fully in his Throne, when *James* laid Siege to the Castle in a very sharp Winter; the Garrison Soldiers, seeing that they were not like to have Relief from *England*, in regard of the present Distractions, surrender'd it up. But *Henry*, being troubled with many Cares, that he might cut off the Occasion of foreign Wars, and extirpate the Seeds of old Hatred, came to *Newcastle* upon *Tine*; from thence he sent Ambassadors to *Scotland*, either to make a perpetual League, or, at least, a long Truce with them; for he, being a Man of great Prudence, and having experienc'd many Vicissitudes of Things in his Life, judg'd it highly conducing to the Establishment of his Kingdom, to make Peace with his Neighbours, and especially with the *Scots*; because commonly, those two Kingdoms lay upon the Catch for Advantages against each other, and protected rebellious Fugitives; and entertained those who were exiled; and maintain'd Sedition, by giving the Authors of it hope of Refuge and Supply. And as for *James*, he desir'd nothing more, than to be free from the
Fear

Fear of Foreigners, that so he might punish his own disobedient Subjects as he pleased. And therefore he kindly receiv'd the Ambassadors, and told them that he desired nothing more than a Peace; but his Opinion was, that his Subjects would not yield that either there should be a perpetual Peace, or any long Truce betwixt them; partly because it was forbid by an ancient Law; lest, when all Fear of an Enemy was remov'd, their Minds might languish in Idleness, and the Sinews of their Industry be remitted; and partly, because they could not so suddenly lay down that fierceness of Spirit, which they acquir'd by so long use of Arms: But, if they could be brought to this, to yield to a Truce for 6 or 7 Years, he would not have them refuse it: But as for himself, he was willing to maintain a firm and inviolate Peace with them, as long as he liv'd; and he would also take care, that the Truce should be renewed, before the Date of it was quite expired; but he earnestly desired the Ambassadors, not to divulge abroad the Discourse which they had in Secret with him, lest his Nobility should be more backward from coming into a Peace, if they saw him forward in the Case. When this was told *Henry*, who knew in what a tumultuous plunge the Affairs of *Scotland* were, and how convenient it was for the King to have a Peace; imagining likewise that he spoke really, and from his Heart, he accepted of the Truce for seven Years, and so retir'd back to *York*. In the mean time the Queen of *Scots* died, a Woman of a singular Beauty and Probity; by her good Graces she was thought sometimes, to have moderated the unbridled Appetites and Efforts of her Husband. *Alexander* also, the King's Brother, died in *France*, leaving two Sons behind him, *Alexander*, by his first Wife, the Daughter of the Earl of the *Orcades*, and *John* by his second, who was afterwards the Regent King of *Scotland* for some Years.

James, having thus settled Peace abroad, and at home being freed from two troublesome Interrupters of his Designs, return'd to his own disorderly Nature: He excluded almost all the Nobility, and had none but Upstarts about him: Upon them he bestow'd great Honours and Preferments; the Care of all Publick Affairs, and the Ways and Means of raising Money were wholly and solely left to them, whilst he himself lay as it were drown'd in Voluptuousness. The chief of this Court-Faction was *John Ramsy*, who was preserved at *Lander* by the King's Request, and then escaped Punishment. He was grown so insolently proud, that, not content with the *Stewardship* of the *Houshold* (a Place of prime Honour amongst the *Scots*) which the King had given him, and
many

many rich Lordships besides ; he obtain'd an Edict, that *none but he and his Retinue should wear a Sword, or other Weapon, in those Places where the King lodged* ; that so, by this means, they might strengthen themselves and their Retinue, against the Nobility, who kept their distinct and frequent Meetings by themselves ; and walk'd up and down in their Arms. But that Edict made the People hate *Ramsy* more than fear him : For now they had nothing but the Image of perfect Slavery before their Eyes. In the mean time the King meditated nothing more, than how to satiate himself with the Blood of those Men, who were believ'd to be the Authors of Rebellion against him. And, seeing he could not do it by an open Force, he thought to effect it by Subtilty ; and therefore he feign'd himself to be reconcil'd to this, and to the other Man ; and treated them with more Familiarity than became the Dignity of a Prince. To others who were eminent in Power, he gave Honours and Largeesses. He made *David Lindsey* Earl of *Craford*, Duke of *Montross* ; endeavouring to win him by that means, being so powerful a Man in his Country. As for *George* Earl of *Angus*, he had him frequently about him ; and, as if he had been wholly receiv'd into his Favour, he acquainted him with his private Designs ; yet none of his Rewards and Flatteries could persuade Men that he was sincere. For they that knew his Disposition, did not at all doubt that his simulation of Benevolence and Respect tended to no other End, but that he might either arrest the Nobility one by one, or else might set them together by the Ears, one with another ; which his assembling the chief of the Nobility at *Edinburgh* made more plainly appear : For he called *Douglas* to him into the Castle, and told him, that he had now an eminent Opportunity to revenge himself ; for, if the Leaders of the Faction were apprehended and put to Death, the rest would be quiet ; but, if he omitted this Opportunity, which was so fairly put into his Hands, he could never expect the like again.

Douglas, who knew that the King's Mind was no more reconcil'd to himself than to others, did craftily reason with him, concerning so cruel and so ruinous a Design ; alledging, that Men would judge it to be a base and flagitious Act, if he should hurry so many Noble Persons to Death, without any Hearing or Tryal, to whom he had pardon'd their former Misdemeanours ; and now they also rested secure, in that they had the Publick Faith given them for their Safety. For the fierce Minds of his Enemies would not be broken by the Death of a few ; but rather, if his Faith should be once violated, all Hope of Concord would be cut off ; and, if once Men despair

spare of Pardon, their Anger would be turn'd into Rage; and from thence a greater Obstinacy, and Contempt both of the King's Authority, and of their Lives too, would infallibly ensue. But if you will hearken to my Counsel (said he) I will shew you a Way, whereby you may save the Dignity of a King, and set revenge your self too. For I will gather my Friends and *Clans* together, and so openly, and in the day-time, I will lay hold upon them, and you may try them where you will, and inflict what Punishment you please, upon them. This Way will be more creditable, and also much more safe, than if you should set upon them secretly and by Night; for then it would look, as if they were murder'd by Thieves. The King thought the Earl had been sincere in what he spake (for he knew that he was able to perform what he had promised) and therefore he gave him many Thanks, and more Promises of great Rewards, and so dismiss'd him. But he presently acquainted the Nobility with their imminent Danger, and advis'd them to withdraw themselves, as he himself also did. The King perceiving that his secret Projects were discover'd, from that Day forward would trust no body: But after he had staid a while in the Castle of *Edinburgh*, he sallied over into the Countries beyond the *Forth*; for they as yet remain'd firm in their Obedience to him, and there levied a considerable Force. And the Nobles, who before had sought his Amendment, not his Destruction, now setting all Hopes of any Agreement were cut off, manag'd all their Councils for his utter Overthrow and Ruin; Only there was one thing which troubled them, and that was, who should be their General, that after the King was subdu'd, might be Regent, or *Vice-King*, who might be acceptable to the People; and, on the account of the Honour of his Family, would load the Faction with as little Envy as might be. After many Consultations about this, at last they pitch'd upon the King's Son. He was enticed to a Complaisance by the Supervisors and Tutors of his Childhood; and he did it out of this Fear, that, if he refus'd, the Government and Command would be made over to the *English*, the perpetual Enemies of their Family.

THE King by this time had pass'd over the *Forth*, and pitch'd his Tent by the Castle of *Blakenes*; and his Son's Army was not far off, ready for the Encounter; when, lo! the Matter was compos'd by the Intervention of the Earl of *Arbole*, the King's Uncle; and *Arbole* himself was given up as an Hostage for the Peace, to *Adam Hepburn*, Earl of *Bothwell*; with whom he remain'd till the King's Death:

But

But Suspicions increased on both sides, the Concord lasted not long; however Messengers passed between them; and at last the Nobility gave this Answer; 'That since the King acted nothing sincerely; a certain War was better than a treacherous Peace: There was but one *Medium* left, upon which they could agree; and that was, that the King should resign the Government, and his Son be set up in his Place; and, if he would not consent to that, 'twas in vain for him to give himself the trouble of any more Messengers or Disputes." The King communicated this Answer to his Ambassadors, which he sent to the *French* and to the *English*, making it his Request to them, that they would assist him against the Fury of a few of his rebellious Subjects, by their Authority, and, if need were, by some Auxiliary Forces, that so they might be reduc'd to their Obedience; for they ought to look upon it as a common Concern; and that the Contagion, by this Example, would quickly creep to the Neighbour-Nations. There were also Ambassadors sent to *Eugenius* the eighth, Pope of *Rome*, to desire him, that out of his Fatherly Affection to the *Scottish* Name, he would send a Legate into *Scotland*, with full Power, by Ecclesiastical Censures, to compel rebellious Subjects to lay down Arms, and obey their King. The Pope writ to *Adrian* of *Castell*, then his Legate in *England*, a Man of great Learning and Prudence, to do his endeavour for composing the *Scottish* Affairs: But these Remedies came too late: For the Nobles, who were not ignorant what the King was a doing, and knew that he was implacable toward them, resolv'd to put it to a Battle, before any more Forces came to him. And, tho' they had the King's Son with them, both to countenance their Matters with the greater Grace amongst the Vulgar, and also to shew, that they were no Enemies to their Country, but only to their misl'd King: Yet, lest the Hearts of the People might be weaken'd by the Approach of Foreign Ambassadors, they were solicitous Night and Day, how to decide it by a Battle. But the King's Fearfulness was an Hindrance to their hasty Design; who having levied a great Strength in the Northern Parts of the Kingdom, resolv'd to keep himself within the Castle of *Edinburgh*, till those Aids came to him. However, he was taken off from that Resolution, tho' it seem'd the safest for him, by the Fraud, or at least the Simplicity of some about him; for in regard of the frequent *Washes* and *Firths*, which gave delay to those who were coming in to him, they perswaded him to go to *Sterlin*, the only Place in the Kingdom fit to receive Aids coming from all Parts thereof. And there

there he might be as safe, as he was in the Castle of *Edinburgh*, seeing his Enemies were unprovided of all Materials requisite for the storming of Castles, and there also he might have his Fleet, which he had fitted out against all Hazards, to ride in some convenient Harbour near adjoining. This Counsel seem'd faithful, and was safe enough; if *James Shaw*, Governor of the Castle, being corrupted by the contrary Faction, had not refus'd to give him Entrance; so that the Enemy was almost at his Heels; and before he knew where to betake himself, he was forced, with that Strength which he had, to run the hazard of a Fight. At the beginning they fought stoutly; and the first Ranks of the Nobility's Army began to give Ground; but the Men of *Annandale* and the neighbouring Parts, inhabiting the West of *Scotland*, came boldly up, and, having longer Spears than the adverse Party, they presently routed the King's main Forces: He himself was weaken'd by the Fall of his Horse, and fled to some Water-Mills near the Place where the Battle was fought. His Intent was (as is suppos'd) to get to his Ships, which lay not far off; here with a few of his Men he was taken and slain. There were three that pursued him very close in his Flight, *i. e.* *Patrick Grey*, the Head of his Family, *Sterlin Car*, and a Priest named *Borthwick*. 'Tis not well known, which of them gave his Death's-Wound. When the News of his Death, tho' not as yet fully certain, was divulged through both Armies, it occasion'd the Conquerors to press violently upon those who fled away; so that there were the fewer of them slain: For the Nobles manag'd the War against the King, not against their Fellow Subjects. There was slain of the King's Party, *Alexander Cunningham*, Earl of *Glencarn*, with some few of his Vassals and Kindred; but there were many wounded on both sides.

THUS *James* the Third came to his End, a Man not so much of a bad Disposition by Nature, as corrupted by ill Habits, into which he was brought up by vicious Acquaintance. For having at first given a *Specimen* of great and notable Ingenuity, and of a Mind truly Royal, he degenerated by degrees, the *Boys* being the first Occasion of it, into all manner of Licentiousness. When the *Boys* were removed, then Persons of the lowest sort were his Advisers to all kind of Wickedness; and besides, the Corruption of the Times, and the ill Examples of his Neighbour Kings, contributed not a little to his Overthrow and Ruin: For *Edward* the fourth in *England*, *Charles* in *Burgundy*, *Lewis* the eleventh in *France*, *John* the second in *Portugal*, had all of them laid the Foundations of Tyranny in their respective Kingdoms. And *Richard*

Edward the third exercised it to the highest degree of Cruelty in *England*. His Death was also branded with this Ignominy, that, in the then next Assembly, the whole Parliament voted, that he was justly slain; and Provision was made for all that had borne Arms against him, that neither they nor their Posterity should be prejudic'd by it. He died in the Year of our Lord 1488, and in the Twenty-eighth Year of his Reign; and the Thirty-fifth of his Age.



THE



James the 4th
King of Scotland.



THE
HISTORY
OF
SCOTLAND.



BOOK XIII.



JAMES the third being thus slain, near *Sterlin*, in the Month of *June*, they who were his Opposers, being as yet uncertain what was become of him, retreated to *Linlithgo*. There word was brought them, that some Boats had passed to and fro, from the Ships to the Land; and that they had carried off the wounded Men. Upon this a Suspicion arose amongst them, that the King himself also was gone a Shipboard; which occasioned them to remove their Camp to *Leith*: From thence the Prince (for that's the Title of the King of *Scot*'s eldest Son) sent some Agents, to require the Admiral of the Fleet to come ashore to him. His Name was *Andrew Wood*; he was a Knight; and being

mindful of the King's Kindness towards him, remained constant in his Affection to him, even after he was dead; he refused to come ashore, unless Hostages were given for his safe Return. *Seaton* and *Flemming*, two Noblemen, were the Hostages. When he landed, the King's Council asked him, if he knew where the King was? and who were they that he carried off to his Ships after the Flight? As for the King, he told them he knew nothing of him, but that he and his Brothers had landed out of their Boats, that so they might assist the King and all his good Subjects; but having endeavour'd in vain, to preserve him, they then returned to the Fleet. He added, if the King were alive, they resolv'd to obey none but him; but if he were slain, they were ready to revenge his Death. He uttered also many reproachful Speeches against the Rebels; yet nevertheless they sent him away in Safety to his Ships, that so his Hostages might not suffer. When the Hostages were returned, the Inhabitants of *Leith* were called up to the Council, and pressed by promises of great Reward, to rig out their Ships, and subdue *Andrew Wood*. They all in general made Answer, That they had two Ships so fitted with all things for a Fight, and so well furnished with able and valiant Seamen; and withal, that he himself was so skilful in Naval Affairs, that no ten Ships in *Scotland* were able to cope with his two; So that that Consultation was put off, and they went to *Edinburgh*. There they were fully inform'd of the King's Death, and appointed a magnificent Funeral to be made for him at *Kambus-Kenneth*, a Monastery near *Sterlin*, on the 25th Day of the Month of *June*.

JAMES the Fourth.

IN the interim, an Assembly was summoned to meet on a certain Day in order to create a new King. There were few who came together to perform this Service, and those were mostly of the Party that had conspired against the former King. The new King, just after his Accession, sent an Herald to the Governour of *Edinburgh* Castle, commanding him to surrender it; which he accordingly did; and then he marched to *Sterlin*; and that Castle was also deliver'd up to him by the Garrison. When it was noised all over *England* how great the Troubles in *Scotland* were, five Ships were chosen out of that King's Fleet, who enter'd into the *Firth of Forth*, and there plunder'd the Merchantmen, obstructing their Commerce, and made many Descents on both Shores, extremely infesting the Maritime Parts; for they expected greater Disturbances on Land, by the

Scots

Scots going into Parties one against another. For, seeing the adverse Party were rather shattered than broken in the late Fight, in regard they were not all there; and of those that were, there were not many slain, they thought a fiercer Tempest would have arisen from Minds, which yet continued to be inflamed with Hatred and Envy, and which were elevated by Confidence in their own Strength. And it increased the Indignation, that now the Power over so many noble and eminent Persons was so easily fallen, not into the King's, but a few particular Mens Hands: For tho' the King might retain the Name and Title of a King, yet being but a Youth of fifteen Years old, he did not govern, but was himself governed by those that killed his Father: For the whole Management of Matters center'd in the Hands of *Douglas, Hepburne,* and *Hume*: And their Confidence was the more increased, because all the Shores were infested with the two Fleets; the *Scottish* and the *English*. To obviate these Difficulties, first of all the new King endeavour'd to reconcile the Naval Forces to himself, lest, when he was absent in the farther Parts of the Kingdom, to settle Matters there, they should raise new Commotions; to pave a Way for the *English* to penetrate far into his Dominions; and so spoil the Mid-land Countries. When the old King's Death came to be publicly divulged abroad, the new one thought that *Andrew Wood* would grow more flexible, and therefore he sent for him, giving him the publick Faith for his Security. When he was a-shore, he told him, what a great Dishonour, Loss, and publick Shame, it was to the whole Nation, that a few *English* Ships should, in spite of them, ride under their very Noses; and by that means he drew over *Andrew* to his Party, and set him forth in good Equipage against the *English*. Many advised him, that he would equip an equal Number of Ships at least, against the Enemy, whose Vessels were more, and bigger than his. No, says he, *I'll have only my own two*. And, as soon as the Wind serv'd, he made directly toward the *English*, who rode before *Dunbar*; he fought them bravely; took, and brought them all into *Leith*; and presented their Commanders to the King. *Andrew* was liberally rewarded by the King; and his Skill in Engagements at Sea, with the singular Valour of his Soldiers and Seamen, was highly magnified: And yet there were not wanting some of those sort of Creatures, who always admire the Achievements of Kings, whatsoever they be; and if they be great, yet they view them in a multiplying Glass; who foretold, that this Victory did but precede a greater. Mean while the adverse part of the Nobility sent Messages into all Parts of the Kingdom, to persuade the Country to rise, and not to endure the present State of

VOL. II. H Things;

Things, nor to suffer so many valiant Men to be, illuded by such publick Parricides, who had murdered one King, and made a Captive of another; nay, who accused the Defenders of the King's Life as Traytors; whereas they, who were indeed Violators of all divine and human Laws, gave out themselves to be the only Asserters of the Rights of their Country, and the sole Maintainers of its Liberty: Amongst whom the King himself was not a Freeman, in regard he was forced by them to take Arms against his Father, and King; and, after the Monarch fell a Sacrifice to Impiety, he was compelled to prosecute, by a nefarious War, those who were the Friends of his Father, and the Defenders of his Life. Many such Discourses they spread abroad amongst the Vulgar, And, to excite a greater Flame of Indignation and Hatred; *Alexander Forbes*, Chief of a noble Family, carried the King's Shirt upon a Spear (all over bloody and torn, with the Marks of the Wounds he received) through *Aberdeen*, and all the chief Towns of the adjacent Country; and excited all Men, by this Declaration, and by the Voice of an Herald, to raise in Arms to revenge so black a Deed. And *Matthew Stewart*, Earl of *Lenox*, a Man of great Wealth and Power, and who, by an honest kind of Popularity, was equally dear to high and low; was as active in the Countries on this side the *Forth*; for he raised up the Earls that were his Neighbours, and with a good Force endeavouring to pass over the Bridge at *Sterlin*, to join his Associates; but that Bridge being possess'd by the King's Forces, he try'd to pass a Ford, not far from the rise of the River, at the Foot of Mount *Grampius*. His Design was discover'd to *John Drummond*, by *Alexander Macalpin*, his Vassal, who had joined himself to the Enemy; by whom also Information was given, that Things were secure and ill guarded in the Enemies Camp; that every one straggled up and down, as they pleas'd; that they had no Watch set in convenient Places, nor used any Military Discipline at all. Upon these Advices *Drummond*, with some Volunteers who came in to assist him, set upon them when they were asleep. Many were kill'd in their Sleep, the rest run headlong away without their Arms, and so return'd from whence they came: Many were taken Prisoners, but a great part of them dismissed, by their Friends that knew them: Those only were severely dealt with, who had either written or spoke more contumeliously than others.

THE Joy for this Victory was increased by the News of another, at the same Time, which *Andrew Wood* had got over *Stephen Bull*, in an Engagement at Sea. For *Henry King of England*, hearing that five of his Ships were taken by two of the *Scots*, and those much less than his, was willing to blot out the

the Infamy of this Defeat, and yet could find no just Pretence for a War ; however he called his ablest Sea-Commanders together ; he offered them what Ships and War-like Provisions they pleased, exhorting them to purge away this Stain cast upon the *English* Name ; promising them great Rewards, if they could bring *Wood* to him, dead or alive. But when those that knew the Valour of the Man, and his prosperous Successes, made some Delay in the Case, *Stephen Bull*, a Knight of known Courage, undertook the Expedition : And Opportunity seemed to favour his Design, because he knew that *Wood* was shortly to return out of *Flanders* ; and he thought it would be a Matter of no great Difficulty to attack him at unawares in his Passage. For this End, he pitch'd upon three Ships out of the Royal Navy, and equipp'd them well in all Points, and so stood for the Isle of *May*, an Island uninhabited, in the Bay of *Ferth* ; choosing that Place for the Conveniency of it, because on every side of the Island there is safe Riding, and Harbour for Ships against bad Weather ; and there the Sea also grows so narrow, that no little Vessel could pass by, without being discover'd. Whilst he rode there, he continually kept some of his skilfullest Mariners abroad in Fisher-boats, to watch, and to discover to him his Enemy's Ships. He had not rode at Anchor there many Days, when *Wood's* Ships appear'd with full Sail making towards him. *Bull* knew them, and presently weigh'd Anchor ; and, as Victor already in his Mind, he prepared himself for the Fight : *Wood* stay'd no longer but till his Men had arm'd themselves, and so made up to him. Thus did these two valiant Commanders engage, as if they had had the Courage of mighty Armies, and they fought obstinately, till Night parted the Fray, the Victory inclining to neither Side. The next Morning each of them encourag'd their Party, and renew'd the Attack with redoubled Fury. They threw grappling Irons into one another's Ships, and so fought Hand to Hand, as if they had been at a Land Fight, and that with so much Eagerness, that neither of them took Notice of the falling back of the Tide, till they came to the Heaps of Sand at the Mouth of the River *Tay*. There the Water being shallower, the great Ships of the *English* could not be so easily managed, but were forced to surrender ; and so they were tow'd up the Stream of the *Tay* to *Dundee*, where they stay'd till the dead were buried, and the wounded were placed under the Hands of Surgeons for their Cure. This Battle was fought the 10th Day of *August*, in the Year of our Redemption 1490.

A few Days after, *Wood* went to the King, and carried with him *Stephen Bull*, with the other Commanders of the Ships, and the most noted of his Soldiers, whom he presented to him.

H a

Wood

Wood was highly commended by the King for this Exploit, and was honourably rewarded. The King freely dismiss'd the Prisoners and their Ships, and sent them back to their King, with an high Commendation of their Valour: For, in regard they fought for Honour, not for Booty, he therefore would shew, that Valour ought to be honoured, even in an Enemy.

KING *Henry*, tho' he was highly concern'd for the Loss of his Men in this unhappy Fight, yet gave the King of *Scots* Thanks, and told him, that he gratefully accepted his Kindness, and could not but applaud the Greatness of his Mind.

ABOUT this Time a new kind of Monster was born in *Scotland*; in the lower Part of its Body it resembled a Male Child, nothing differing from the ordinary Shape of a human Body; but, above the Navel, the Trunk of the Body, and all the other Members, were double, representing both Sexes Male and Female. The King gave special Order for its careful Education, especially in Musick, in which it arriv'd to an admirable Degree of Skill: And moreover it learned several Tongues; and sometimes the two Bodies did discover several Appetites, disagreeing one with another; and so they would quarrel, one liking *this*, the other *that*: And, yet sometimes again, they would agree and consult (as it were) in common, for the good of both. This was also memorable in it, that, when the Legs or Loins were hurt *below*, both Bodies were sensible of this Pain in common; but, when it was pricked or otherwise hurt *above*, the Sense of the Pain did affect one Body only; which Difference was also more perspicuous in its Death; for one of the Bodies died many Days before the other; and that which surviv'd, being half putrified, pined away by degrees. This Monster lived twenty-eight Years, and then died, when *John* was Regent of *Scotland*. I am the more confident in relating this Story, because there are many honest and credible Persons yet alive, who saw this Prodigy with their Eyes.

WHEN the People of the North of *Scotland* heard of this Naval Victory, they gave over all Thoughts of War, and return'd each to his own Home. This Tumult and Broil being so easily quieted, the King applied his Mind, not only to quell all Seditions for the *present*, but also to prevent all Occasions of them for the *future*. He summon'd his first Parliament to be held at *Edinburgh* the 6th Day of *November*: There many wholesome Laws were made for the establishing of publick Concord; and, to the end that Peoples Minds might the better agree in general, the Fault was cast but upon a few particular Persons: and the Punishments were either very easy, or else wholly remitted. When a Dispute arose concerning the Lawfulness of the War,

John

John Lyon, Lord *Glames*, rose up, and shewed several Heads of Articles, which the Nobles had formerly sent to the King, in order to a Pacification, to which *James* the third had often both assented and subscribed; and that indeed he had struck up a Peace with his Nobles upon those Terms, unless some evil Counsellors had drawn him away from it, and so persuaded him to call in the old Enemy to fight against his own Subjects. And, by reason of this his Incontinency, the Earls of *Huntley*, *Arrol*, Earl of *Marshall*, and *Lyon* himself, with many other Noble Persons, had forsaken him at that time, and had set up *James* the 4th his Son, as being a Lover of the publick Peace and Welfare. After a long Dispute, at last they all consented to a Decree, wherein those that were slain in the Battle of *Sterlin*, were affirmed to have been cut off by their own Fault, and that their Slaughter was just; and that they who had taken up Arms against the Enemies of the Publick (for so they cover'd their hidden Fraud under honest Pretences) were guilty of no Crime, nor consequently liable to any Punishment. All who had Votes in the Assembly, subscribed to this Decree, that so they might give a better Account of the Fact to foreign Ambassadors, of whose coming they had Information. Many other Statutes were then also made, to restore to the Poor what had been taken violently from them; to inflict small Fines on the Rich; and to indemnify both Parties, that their taking up of Arms at that time, might never turn to the prejudice of them or their Posterity. This moderation of Spirit was highly commended in a young King, of but fifteen Years old, and who was also a Conqueror, and had the Command of all: But it was further heightened by his Benignity and Faithfulness in performing his Promises. To this we may add a thing (which commonly takes most with the Vulgar) that he was of a graceful well-set Body, and also of a lively and quick Apprehension. So that by his using his Victory neither with Avarice nor Cruelty, and by his real pardoning of Offenders, in a short time there grew up a great Concord amongst both Factions, both of them equally striving to shew their Love and Duty to the King; a few only, who were most obstinate, were punished with a small Fine, or with the Loss of part of their Estates, but none at all were deprived of their whole Patrimony; neither were the Fines brought into the King's Exchequer, but applied to defray the Charges of the War. This his Royal Clemency was the more grateful, because Men did yet retain fresh in their Memories, upon what slight occasions in the former King's Reign, many eminent Men were outed of all; and how much inferior to them those were, who came in their Places. Moreover, to engage the chief Leaders of the contrary Faction to a

Greater Fidelity, he joined them in Bonds of Affinity to himself; for whereas his Aunt had two Daughters, by two several Husbands, he married *Gracina Boyd* to *Alexander Forbes*, and *Margaret Hamilton* to *Matthew Stuart*. Thus in a short time the Minds of all Men were reconciled, and a happy Peace and Tranquillity did ensue: Nay, as if Fortune had submitted herself to be an Hand-maid to the King's Virtues, there was so great an Increase of Grain and Fruits of the Earth, as if a *golden Spring* had suddenly started up, out of a more than *Iron Age*. Thus, after the King had suppressed Robberies by Arms, and other Vices by the Severity of the Laws, lest he might seem a sharp Avenger of others, but indulgent to himself, and withal, to make it appear, that his Father was slain against his Will, he wore an Iron Chain about his Waist as long as he lived, and every Year he added one Link more to it: And tho' this Practice might give an Umbrage to those that were the Instruments of his Father's Death; yet they had such Confidence, either in the Gentleness of the King's Disposition, or in their own Power, that it occasioned no Insurrection at all.

AMIDST this publick Jubilee, and private Rejoycings of particular Persons, about the seventh Year of the King's Reign, *Perkin Warbeck* came into *Scotland*. But before I declare the Cause of his coming, I must fetch things farther back.

Margaret, the Sister of *Edward* the fourth, King of *England*, having married *Charles*, Duke of *Burgandy*, endeavoured all the ways she could, if not to overthrow, yet at least to vex *Henry* the seventh, the Leader of the contrary Faction: In order to this, she raised up *Perkin Warbeck*, as a Competitor for the Kingdom. He was a Youth born of mean Parentage at *Tornay*, a City of the *Nervii*; but of such Beauty, Ingenuity, stature of Body, and manliness of Countenance, that he might easily be believed to have been descended of Royal Stock. And, by reason of his Poverty, he had travelled up and down in several Countries (so that he was known but by few of his own Relations) and there he had learned several Languages, and had improved both his Face and his Mind to the most consummate Confidence. When *Margaret* (who was intent on all occasions to disturb the Peace of *England*) had got this Youth, she kept him awhile privately by her, till she had informed him with what Factions *England* laboured at that time; what Friends, and what Enemies she had there: In a word, she made him acquainted with the whole Genealogy of the Royal Progeny, and what Happiness or Misfortunes had attended each of them. When things seemed thus to be somewhat ripe, she was resolved to try Fortune, and gave private orders that he should be sent, with a decent Equipage, first into *Portugal*, then into *Ireland*: There he had

had a great concourse of People flock'd about him, and was received with huge Applause, as the Son of King *Edward of England*; either because his own Disposition, assisted by Art, was inclined to personate such a one; or because being there amongst the credulous *Kenns*, he was soon likely to raise great Commotions. When a War suddenly broke out betwixt the *French* and the *English*, he was called for out of *Ireland* by *Charles* the eighth, and had great Promises made him; so that, coming to *Paris*, he was there honourably received in the Garb and Equipage of a Prince, and had a Guard appointed him: Nay, the *English* Exiles and Fugitives, who were numerous at that Court, put him in sure hope of the Kingdom. But that Quarrel between the Crowns being made up, he departed privately out of the Court of *France*, for fear he should have been delivered up; and so retired to *Flanders*, where he was highly caressed by *Margaret*, as if it was the first time that ever she had seen him; and was diligently shewed to all the Courtiers; and several times, when there were enow to make a large Audience, he was desired to relate the Story of all his Adventures. *Margaret*, as if this was the very first time she ever heard it, so accommodated her well-dissembled Affections, in compliance with each part of his Discourse, both when he related his Successes, and also his Misfortunes, that every body thought she believed what he had spoken, to be certainly true.

AFTER a Day or two, *Perkin* was equipped to go abroad in the Habit of a Prince, and had thirty Men to be his Guard, wearing a *white Rose* (which is the Badge of the *York Faction* amongst the *English*) and so was every where declared as the undoubted Heir of the Crown of *England*. When these things were divulged, first in *Flanders*, afterwards in *England*, the Minds of Men were so stirred up, that a great Concourse of People flock'd in to him; not only those who lurked in Holes and Sanctuaries for fear of the Laws, but even of some Noblemen, whom their present State did not please, or who desired Innovations: But, when a longer Delay, which *Perkin* hoped would bring in more Forces to him, was likely to lessen those about him, the Cheat beginning to take air, he determined to try his Fortune in a Fight: so that having gotten a pretty great Party together, he landed some few of them in *Kent*, to try the Affections of the *Kentish* men; but in vain. All those who landed, were taken; so that he was forced to steer his Course for *Ireland*; and there also he met not with the Entertainment he hoped for; so that he sailed over into *Scotland*, well-knowing that Peace between *Scotland* and *England* never used to continue very long. He being admitted into the King's Presence, made a lamentable Complaint of the Ruin of the *York* Family, and

what miserable Calamities he himself had suffered; and therefore he earnestly besought him, to vindicate Royal Blood from such Contumely and Shame. The King bid him be of good heart, and promised he should shortly find, that he had not desired Help, in his Distresses, in vain. A few Days after a Council was called, where *Perkin* made a sad Story of his Misfortunes, That he being born of a King, the most flourishing of his Time, and that of the highest Hopes too, was left destitute by the untimely Death of his Father, and so was like to have fallen into the tyrannical Hands of his Uncle *Richard*, before he was sensible, almost, what Misery was. That his elder Brother was cruelly murdered by him; but that he himself was stoln away by his Father's Friends; so that now he durst not live, no not a poor and precarious Life, even in that Kingdom, of which he was the lawful Heir: That he had lived so miserably amongst foreign Nations, that he preferred the Condition of his deceased Brother before his own, in regard he was snatch'd away from all other Calamity, by a sudden and violent Death: That he himself was reserved as the Ridicule of Fortune; and that his Sorrow had not that Alleviation, that he durst bewail his miserable State amongst Strangers, to incline them to pity him; for, after he had begun openly to profess what he was, Fortune had assaulted him with all her Darts; and, to his former Miseries had added a daily fear of Treachery; for his crafty Enemy had sometimes tampered with those who entertain'd him, to take away his Life; and sometimes he had privily suborned his Subjects, under the Name of Friends, to discover his secret Designs, corrupt his true Friends, and to find out his secret ones, and to calumniate his Stock and Pedigree, by false Accusations amongst the Vulgar; to reproach his Aunt *Margaret*, and those English Nobles that owned him; and yet notwithstanding, that she, being supported by a good Conscience against the Revilings of Enemies, and also out of compassion to her own Blood, had supported him in low Estate with her Assistance. But at last, when he perceived that he could not have Aid enough from her to recover his Kingdom (being a Widow, and old too) he had solicited neighbouring Kings and Nations, desiring them to respect the common Chances of Man's Life, and not to suffer Royal Blood to be oppressed by tyrannical Violence, and to pine away with Grief, Fear and Misery: And that he, tho' for the present afflicted with great Evils, yet was not so dejected in his Mind, but that he hoped, the Time would come, that being restored to his Kingdom by the Aid of his Friends (of whom he had many both in *England* and *Scotland*) he should be able to consider every particular Man's Service, and reward him

him accordingly ; especially if the *Scots* would join their Forces with his : and if ever he was restored to his Kingdom by their Arms, they should soon understand, that they had won a fast Friend ; and that at such a time too, when the Tryal of true Friendship is wont to be made ; for he and his Posterity would be so gratefully mindful of the Obligation that they would ever acknowledge, that the Accession of his better Fortunes was due to them alone. Besides, he added many things in Praise of the King, part of them true, and part accommodated to their present Condition.

HAVING thus said, he held his Peace : But the King called him up to him, and bid him take heart, for he would refer his Demands to the Council, whose Advice, in grand Affairs, he must needs have ; yet, whatever they determin'd, he promised him faithfully, that he should not repent that he made his Court his Sanctuary. Upon this, *Perkin* withdrew, and the Matter being put to a Debate, the wiser sort, who had most Experience in State Affairs, thought it best to reject the whole Business, either because they judg'd he was a Counterfeit ; or else, that they foresaw there would be more Danger by War, than Advantage by the Victory, tho' they were sure of it. But the major part, either through Unskilfulness in Affairs, or Inconstancy of Spirit, or else to gratify the King, argued, that *Perkin's* Cause was most just, and that they greatly pitied the Man : They added also, that now Matters were in some Confusion in *England*, and Men's Minds were yet fluctuating, after the Civil War, and therefore it was good to lay hold of this Opportunity ; and that, since the *English* were wont to do the like to them, they themselves ought to try, for once, to make use of the Enemy's Distractions for their own Advantage ; nay, they foretold a Victory, preconceived in their Minds, before they had put on their Armour ; especially, if great Forces of *English* came in to join them ; nay, if they should not come in, in such Numbers as they hoped, yet one of these two things must necessarily follow, that either they should conquer *Henry*, and so settle this new King on the Throne, who, in recompence for so great a Benefit, must needs grant them all that they desired : Or, if they could end the Matter without Blows, yet *Henry*, upon the quelling Domestick Tumults, not being yet fully settled in his Throne, would submit to what Conditions they pleased : But if he refused so to do, when War was once begun, many Advantages might offer themselves, which now were unforeseen.

THIS was the Opinion of the major part ; and the King himself inclining to them, his Vote drew in the rest. After this, he treated *Perkin* more honourably than before, gave him the

Title

Title of Duke of *York*; and as such shewed him to the People. And not contented with that, he gave him *Katharine Gordon*, Daughter to the Earl of *Huntley*, to Wife, a Woman of as great Beauty as Nobility; and by this Affinity, put him in full Hopes of Success. *James* therefore, by Advice of his Council, levied an Army, and marched for *England*; first of all carrying it warily, and having his Troops ready to engage, if any sudden Assault should be made upon him. But afterwards, when he understood by his Scouts, that the Enemy had no Army in the Field, he sent out Parties to plunder, and in a short time pillaged almost all *Northumberland*, and the Countries thereabout. He staid some Days in those Parts, and not an *English* Man stirred in behalf of *Perkin*: And it being told him, that an Army was levying against him in the adjacent Countries, he thought it dangerous to venture his Soldiers, who were laden with Booty, against the new and fresh Forces of the *English*; and therefore he resolved to return into *Scotland*, and there to leave their Booty; and, as soon as the Time of the Year would permit, to undertake a new Expedition. Neither did he fear that the *English* would follow him in his Retreat, for he knew that new-raised Soldiers would not be long kept together, neither could they march after him, through a Country so lately harassed and made quite desolate by the Wars; especially having no Provisions prepared before-hand. And besides, *Perkin* was afraid, because none of the *English* came to him, as he hoped, that if he staid any longer in his Enemy's Country, his Cheat would be discover'd; so that he himself seeming to approve of the King's Resolution, came cunningly to him, and composing his Speech and Countenance so, as might best express his Compassion, he humbly represented to the King, That he would not make such Havock in a Kingdom that was his own by Right; and that he would not so cruelly shed so much Blood of his Subjects, for no Kingdom in the World was of so much worth to him, as to have so many Peoples Blood spilt for the sake of it, and his Country so wasted with Fire and Sword, to procure it. The King began now to smell out and understand, whither this unreasonable Clemency tended; and therefore told him, That he feared he would preserve that Kingdom, in which not a Man did own him as a Subject, much less a King, not for himself, but for his capital Enemy; and so by common Consent, they returned Home, and the Army was disbanded.

Henry, being thus acquainted with the Invasion, and also the Retreat of the *Scots*, appointed an Expedition against them the Year after, and in the mean time levied a great Army; and that

that he might not be idle in the Winter-time, he summoned a Parliament, who approved of his Design to make War with *Scotland*, and granted a small Subsidy upon the People for that end. The Tax raised up a greater Flame of War upon him at Home, than that which he designed to quench Abroad. For the Commonalty complained that their Youth were exhausted by so many Wars and Impressments, which had been within these few Years, that their Estates were impaired, and ran very low: But that the Nobles and Counsellors to the King were so far from being moved with these Calamities, that they sought to create new Wars in a Time of Peace, that so they might create new Taxes on them, who were already in great Want and Necessity; and thus, whom the Sword had not consumed, Famine and Poverty would. These were the public Complaints of all the Commons; but the *Cornish* were more enraged than all the rest, for they, inhabiting a Country which is in great part barren, are wont rather to gain than lose by Wars: And therefore, that warlike People, having been accustomed rather to encrease their Estates by military Spoils, than to lessen them by paying Taxes and Rates, first of all rose against the King's Officers and Collectors, and slew them; and then, being conscious that they had engaged themselves in so bold an Attempt, that there was no Retreat, nor Hopes of Mercy, the Multitude flocking in daily more and more to them with Arms in their Hands, they began their March towards *London*. But 'tis not my Business to prosecute the Story of this Insurrection; it is enough for my purpose to tell you, that the King was so busied this whole Year by the *Cornish*, that he was forced to employ the Army against them, which he had designed against *Scotland*.

In the mean time *James* foreseeing that *Henry* would not let the Injuries of the former Year pass unrevenge'd, and being also informed from secret Intelligence, that he was raising great Forces against him; He, on the other side, levied an Army, to the intent that if the *English* invaded him first, he might be in a Posture to defend himself; if not, then he himself would make an Inroad into his Enemy's Country, and there so waste and destroy the bordering Counties, that the Soil (poor enough of itself) should not afford sufficient Necessaries, even for the very Husbandman. And hearing of the *Cornish* Insurrection, he presently began his March, and enter'd *England* with a great Army, dividing his Forces into two parts; one went towards *Durham* to ravage that Country; and with the rest he besieged *Norham*, a strong Castle situated upon a very high Hill, by the River *Tweed*. But neither here nor there was there any thing considerable done: For *Richard Fox*, Bishop of *Durham*,

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a very prudent Person, foreseeing that the *Scots* would not omit the Opportunity of attempting somewhat during the civil Broils in *England*, had fortify'd some Castles with strong Garrisons, and had taken care that the Cattle, and all kinds of Provisions should be conveyed into Places, either safe by Nature, or else made safe by being guarded on the Sides with Moors and Rivers. Moreover he sent for the Earl of *Surrey*, who had great Forces in *Yorkshire*, to assist him; and therefore the *Scots* only burnt the Country, and not being able to take *Norham*, which was stoutly defended by those within, raised the Siege, and without any considerable Action returned Home. Not long after the *English* followed them, and demolished *Ayton*, a small Castle, seated almost in the very Borders, and then they returned out of their Enemy's Country also, without any memorable Performance.

AMIDST these Commotions, both foreign and domestick, *Peter Hialas*, a Man of great Wisdom, and, as Times were then, not unlearned, arrived in *England*; he was sent by *Ferdinand* and *Isabel*, King and Queen of *Spain*. The Purport of his Embassy was, That *Katharine*, their Daughter, might marry *Arthur* King *Henry's* Son, and so a new Affinity and Friendship might be contracted betwixt them. The *English* willingly embraced the Affinity, and therefore were desirous to bring the War with *Scotland* to a Conclusion; and, because *Henry* thought it was below his Dignity to seek Peace at the *Scots* Hands, he was willing to use *Peter* as a Mediator. *Peter* willingly undertook the Business, and came into *Scotland*; there he plied *James* with several Arguments, and at last made him inclinable to a Peace; and then he wrote to *Henry*, That he hoped a good Peace would be agreed upon without any great Difficulty, if he pleased to send down some eminent Person of his Council to settle the Conditions. *Henry*, as one that had often tried the Inconstancy of Fortune, and knowing that the Minds of his Subjects were grown fierce by these late Tumults, and rather irritated than humbled, commanded *Richard Fox*, who resided in his Castle at *Norham*, to join Counsels with *Hialas*. These two had many Disputes about the Matter with the Ambassadors of *Scotland*, at *Jedburgh*, and, after many Conditions had been mutually proposed, they could agree upon nothing. The chief Impediment was the Demand of *Henry*, that *Perkin Warbeck* should be given up to him; for he judged it to be a very reasonable Proposition, in regard he was but a Counterfeit, and had been already the Occasion of so much Mischief. *James* peremptorily refused so to do; alledging, That it was not honourable in him to surrender up a Mn of the Royal Progeny, who came to him

as

as a Suppliant; whom he had also made his Kinsman by Marriage; to violate his Faith, and let him be made a Laughing-stock by his Enemies. And thus the Conference broke off; yet the Hopes of an Agreement were not altogether lost; for a Truce was made for some Months, till *James* could dismiss *Warbeck* upon honourable Terms.

WHEN now, by Conference with the *English*, and other evident Indications, it plainly appeared, that the Tale concerning *Perkin's* State and Kindred was a mere Falstiy; the King sent for him, and told him, what singular Good-will he had borne him, and how many Courtesies he had bestowed upon him, of which he himself was the best Witness; as first, That he had undertaken a War against a potent King for his sake; and had now managed it a second Year, to the great Inconvenience of his Enemy, and the Prejudice of his own Subjects. That he had refused an honourable Peace, which was freely offered him, merely because he would not surrender him up to the *English*; and thereby he had given great Offence, both to his Subjects and his Enemy too; so that now he neither could nor would any longer withstand their Desires. And therefore, whatever his Fate might be, whether Peace or War, he desired him to seek out some other and fitter Place for it, for he resolved to make Peace with the *English*; and when it was once solemnly made, to observe it as religiously; and to remove from him whatsoever might be an impediment to so great and good a Work: Neither ought he to complain, that the *Scots* had forsaken him, since the *English* had done so first, in confidence of whose Assistance the *Scots* had begun the War: And yet, notwithstanding all these Circumstances, he was resolved to accommodate him with Provisions, and other Necessaries, to put to Sea.

Warbeck was mightily troubled at this unexpected Dismission; yet he remitted nothing of his feigned Height of Spirit, but in a few Days sailed over into *Ireland* with his Wife and Family: From whence soon after he passed into *England*, and there joined himself with the Remnant of the *Cornish* Rebels; but after many Attempts, being able to do no good, he was taken; and having confessed all the Artifice and Pageantry of his former life, he ended his Days in an Halter.

THE Seeds of War between *England* and *Scotland* being almost extinguished, and a great likelihood of Peace appearing, on a sudden there arose violent * Animosities of Spirit, upon a very light Occasion, which was very near breaking out into a

* A War like to arise on a small Occasion, betwixt *England* and *Scotland*; but accommodated by *Fox* Bishop of *Durham*.

most bloody War. Some *Scottish* Youths went over to the Town of *Norham*, which was near the Castle (as they us'd to do frequently in Times of Peace) there to recreate themselves in Sports and Pastimes, and to junket together with their Neighbours, as if they had been at Home, for there was but a small River which divided them. The Garrison in the Castle, out of the Rancour yet lodging in their Breasts since the former War, and being also provok'd by some passionate Words, accused those *Scots* as Spies, and so from Words they came to Blows; many were wounded on both Sides, and the *Scots*, being fewer in number, were forced to return home with the Loss of some of their Company. This Business was often brought upon the Carpet in the Meetings between the *Lords* of the *Marches*; and at last *James* was very angry, and sent an Herald to *Henry*, to complain of Breach of Truce, and how inconstant the *English* were in keeping Covenant; and, unless Satisfaction was given, according to the just Laws which were made by general Consent about Restitution betwixt the Borderers, he commanded his Herald to declare War. *Henry* had been exercised by the Violence of Fortune, even from his Cradle, and was therefore more inclined to Peace: His Answer was, That whatever was done of that kind, was against his Will, and without his Knowledge; and, if the Garrison-Soldiers had offended in this Case by their Temerity, he would issue out proper Orders for an Examination, and that, the Leagues being kept inviolate, the guilty should be punished. But this Reparation went on but slowly, and *James* looked upon the Answer as dilatory, and that the Aim was to give the Resentment Time to cool, by putting off the Punishment: which was rather a Provocation than a Satisfaction. Hereupon *Richard Fox*, Bishop of *Durham*, who was Owner of the Castle, being much troubled that any of his Tenants should give any Occasion of breaking the League, did, in order to prevent it, send several Letters to *James*, full of great Submission, Modesty and Civility, which so inclined the Mind of *James*, that he wrote him word back, that he would willingly speak with him, not only about the late Wrongs done, but also about other Matters which might be advantageous to both Kingdoms. *Fox* acquainted his King herewith, and, by his Consent, he waited upon *James* at *Mitrofs*, where he then was. There *James* made a grievous Complaint of the Injury at *Norham*; yet by the prudent and grave Discourse of *Fox* he was so pacified, that for Peace sake, of which he shewed himself very desirous, he remitted the Offence. Other Things were acted privately betwixt them; but it appear'd after ward, that the Sum of them was this, That *James* did not only desire a Peace, but (both

(both before, and also now) an Affinity with *Henry*, and a stricter Bond of Union : And if *Henry* would bestow his Daughter *Margaret* upon him in Marriage, he hoped that the Thing would be for the Benefit of both Kingdoms ; and if *Fox*, whose Authority he knew to be great at home, would but do his Endeavour to accomplish the Affinity, he did not doubt but it would be soon effected. He freely promised his Endeavour, and coming to the Court of *England*, acquainted the King with the Proposition, and thereupon gave hopes to the *Scotts* Ambassadors, that a Peace would easily be agreed upon betwixt the two Kings. Thus at length, three Years after, which was *Anno* 1500, even about one and the same Time, *Margaret*, *Henry's* eldest Daughter, was betrothed to *James* the fourth, and also *Katharine*, Daughter to *Ferdinand* of *Spain*, to *Arthur*, *Henry's* eldest Son, and their Marriages were celebrated with great Pomp the next Year after.

AFTER the Marriage, all Things were quiet, and the Court turned from the Study of Arms to Sports and Pastimes ; so that there was nothing but Masks, Shews, Feastings, Dancings, and Balls ; it was a continued Jubilee, and upon that Account every Day was a Holy-day : There were also frequent Tilts and Tournaments, mostly according to the *French* Mode, betwixt which (as tragical Acts) some, who were wont to live upon Spoil, came upon the Stage, and challeng'd one another ; which Sport the King was pleased to behold, because he judg'd that the killing of them was a Gain to him. When the Noise of these Tournaments came to foreign Nations, many Strangers, and especially from *France*, came daily over to shew their prowess, who were all liberally entertained by the King, and as bountifully dismiss'd. Neither did he rest in these ludicrous Exercises, but he laid out a great deal of Money upon Building, at *Sterlin*, *Falkland*, and several other Places, and especially in building of Monasteries ; but his Cost about Ships was greatest of all, for he built three stately ones of a great Bulk, and many also of a middle Rate ; one of his great ones was to Admiration, the biggest that ever any Man had seen sail on the Ocean, it being also furnish'd with all manner of costly Accommodations. Our Writers have given a Description of it (which I pass over) and the Measure of it is kept in some Places : But the Greatness of it appear'd by this : That the News thereof stirr'd up *Francis* King of *France*, and *Henry* the 8th King of *England*, each of them to build a Ship in Imitation of it, and each endeavouring to out-vie the other ; when the Ships were finish'd and fitted with all Necessaries for sailing, and brought to Sea, they were so big, that they stood there like unmoveable Rocks, unfit for any Use.

THESE

THESE Works, being very expensive, exhausted *James* his Treasure; so that he was forc'd to devise new Ways and Means to get Money, and, amongst the rest, he pitch'd upon one, by the Persuasion, as it was thought, of *William Elphinstone*, Bishop of *Aberdeen*, which was very displeasing to all the Nobility. Amongst the Tenures of Land in *Scotland*, this is one by which the Owner holds what he buys, or is given him, that if he die and leave his Son and Heir under Age, the Wardship of him should belong to the King, or to some other superior Lord; and all the Revenue to be receiv'd by him, till the Heir come to the Age of 21 Years. There is also another Badge of Slavery annex'd to this Tenure, that if an Owner do sell *above half* his Estate, without the Consent of the Chief Lord, then he is to forfeit the whole to him. This Law was introduced by Court-Parasites, to advance the King's Exchequer; but being look'd upon as unjust, had laid dormant a long time: But the King, being inform'd that Money might be got out of those that broke through it, commanded it to be put in Execution: That *Process* they call *Recognition*. This Way of raising Money by the King, tho' it out-ed no Man of his whole Estate, yet was a greater Grievance to the Country, than his Father's Covetousness had been; for the Wrong redounded to very many, and to the worthiest People most; because under the two last Kings, by reason of their foreign; and also of their Civil Wars, the Memory of that Law was almost quite abetish'd; and so by reason of this new Project, they were forc'd either to redeem their Lands from the Officers of the King's Exchequer, or else to relinquish part of them. And yet the Love of the Subjects towards their King was so great, that, tho' they suffer'd great Inconvenience by it, his other Virtues procur'd him such Reverence amongst them, that their Indignation did not proceed to a natural Insurrection.

BUT as the King set no Bounds to his Expences; and there were not wanting Flatterers (a perpetual Mischief to the Courts), who cover'd this vicious Excess under the plausible Names of Splendor and Magnificence; he at last determin'd to undertake a Voyage into *Syria*, that so he might put an End to his vast Expence (which he could neither continue without Ruin, nor retrench without Shame) and so, by his Absence, to abridge it. He made an honest Pretence for his Journey, that was to expiate the Fault he had committed in bearing Arms against his Father. And indeed he had given some Evidence of his Penitence (whether true or pretended) upon this Account, from the very Beginning of his Reign (as I said before) and he would often speak of it in his common Discourse. He had rigg'd a Navy
for

for this Voyage, and had nominated the chief of his Retinue; and had acquainted his Neighbour-Kings, by his Ambassadors, of his Intent; and many of his Followers, as if they had oblig'd themselves by the same Vow, suffered the Hair of their Heads and Beards to grow to a length; and, it was thought, he would immediately have taken Ship, if some Obstacles had not interven'd, even whilst he was most intent on his Journey. * For, at that time, there arose a vehement Suspicion of a War like to ensue betwixt *France* and *England*; for *Henry* did not like the Successes of the *French* in *Italy*; and besides, he was sollicit-ed by *Julius* the second, then Pope, and by *Ferdinand* of *Spain*, his Father-in-law, to join with them; and with the *Venetians*, *Swiss*, and *Maximilian* too (tho' he commonly regulated his Counsels according to Events;) for it was likely, that the Junction of so many Nations, in Alliance against *France*, would almost swallow it up.

THE King of *England*, being in the Prime of his Age, and sensible and proud of the Power of his Kingdom, and in his Nature very forward for Action, had a mighty mind to enter into this Alliance, but wanted a fair Pretence to fall out with *France*. Both of them soon knew one another's Minds by their Spies; and when *France* could not be persuaded to desist from carrying on a War against the Pope, who was *Henry's* Friend, at length an Herald was sent into *France*, to demand *Normandy*, *Aquitain*, and *Anjou* (as the old Possessions of the *English*) in *France*. But as *France* was not moved by these Threats neither, to intermit the Wars in *Italy*, *Henry* immediately declared War against him, and sent an Army in *Biscay*, to join his Father-in-law *Ferdinand*; and he himself prepared for an Expedition into *France*.

Now *James* of *Scotland*, tho' he resolv'd to side with neither of them, yet, as more inclinable to the *French*, he sent his Navy afore-mentioned, as a Present to *Ann*, Queen of *France*, that so it might seem rather a Mark of his Friendship, than any real Assistance for military Action. And moreover; the *Scots* Clergy, who were used to the handling of *French* Gold, were willing to shew themselves in behalf of *Lewis* of *France*: And, since they durst not openly do it, they sought out proper Occasions to alienate the King's Mind from the *English*.

IN order to this, *Andrew Forman*, then Bishop of *Murray*, one of their Faction, and a Friend to *Lewis*, was sent into *England*, to demand a vast Sum of Gold and Silver; the greatest part of it consisted in Womens Jewels and Ornaments; which were reported to be given by Will, by *Arthur*, *Henry* the

* The Execution of it prevented, and how

eighth's elder Brother, to his Sister *Margaret*, now married to *James*, as I related before. *Henry* (as 'tis probable) looked upon this Demand only as a Pretence for a Quarrel; and therefore he answer'd *James* very mildly, That, if any thing was due to him, he would not only pay it, but, if he wanted a greater Sum, or any other Assistance, he would not fail to supply him. When *James* had receiv'd this Answer, he resolv'd to assist *Lewis* in any other way, but by no means to invade *England*: And he sent over the same *Forman* into *France*, to acquaint *Lewis* with it. Mean while, because he had heard that great Naval Preparations were making on both sides, he resolv'd to send the Fleet afore-mentioned to *Ann* immediately; that so it might arrive there before the War actually broke forth: He made *James Hamilton*, Earl of *Arran*, Admiral of it, and caused him to set sail the first Opportunity. But *Hamilton*, tho' a Man good enough, yet being more skill'd in the Arts of Peace than War; either out of fear of Danger, or else out of his habitual Backwardness, left his Voyage for *France*, and turned for *Knockfergus*, a Town in *Ireland*, situate over-against *Galway* in *Scotland*; which Place he pillag'd and burnt: And afterward, as if he had been a mighty Conqueror, he hoisted sail for *Air* (in *Scotland*) a Port-Town in *Kyle*. When the King heard of his Return, he was very much exasperated against him, and could not forbear to threaten and upbraid him: And he was the more enraged against him, because he had received a Letter from Queen *Ann* out of *France*; the Tendency of which was to cajole him into a War against *England*. And he had also other Letters from *Andrew Forman*, which inform'd him, that he was generally upbraided with the Promise of sending the Fleet, which they now look'd upon as vain, in regard no such thing was done. The King was willing to obviate this Mischiefe, as well as he could; and therefore, seeing *Hamilton* had broke off the Course he was commanded to take, and had destroy'd a Town that had never been an Enemy to the *Scots*, and was then also in Alliance with them; and so had made War upon his Friends, without making any Declaration of it beforehand; he cashiered him from the Admiralship, and summon'd him to appear before him. *Archibald Douglas*, Earl of *Angus*, was design'd to succeed him in that Command; and *Andrew Wood* was sent with him to take the Fleet into his Care: But *Hamilton* had Notice by his Friends, before their coming, of the King's Displeasure against him, and therefore presently hoisted Sail, resolving rather to commit himself to the wide Sea, than to an enraged King. He was a long time sailing for *France*, his Ship being tossed with contrary Winds, and sore Storms in the Way; so that

that he arriv'd not there till the *French* had laid aside the Thoughts of any naval Preparations ; and then he landed in *Base-Britain*, where the Ship, which cost so much Money and Labour to build, had her Tackle taken out, and so rotted in the Harbour of *Brest*.

IN the interim, other Causes of Discord arose at home, which wholly alienated *James* from *Henry*. In the Reign of *Henry* the seventh, there was one *Robert Carr*, a worthy Knight; so much in *James's* Favour for his excellent Virtues, that he made him his chief Cup-bearer, and Master of his Ordnance; and Lord Warden of the middle Borders or Marches. He was a severe Punisher of all Robbers ; which more and more procured him the King's Affection, but increased the Hatred of the Borderers. So that both *English* and *Scots*, whose Licentiousness he restrained, by putting the Laws in Execution against them, jointly sought all Occasions to take away his Life : And, at length, at a solemn Meeting of *Scots* and *English*, which used to be kept, to adjust and recompense Damages received, a Quarrel began, and three *Englishmen*, bold Fellows, *John Hern*, *Lilburn*, and one *Starbed*, set upon him ; one came behind, and ran him through his Back with a Lance; and, when he was wounded, the other two dispatch'd him quite. This Business was likely to create a War ; but *Henry*, as he was just in other things, so in this was as angry as *James*, at the Foulness of the Fact ; and therefore he caused *John Hern*, the Brother of the other *John*, Lord of *Foord*, and Governor of the * *English* Borders, to be deliver'd up to the *Scots*, with *Lilburn* ; for the other two had made their Escape. They were shut up in † *Fest-Castle*, and there *Lilburn* died. And, for the Expiation of so manifest a Crime, it was decreed, That in future Assemblies of that kind, the *English* should first crave the publick Faith for their Security, and so enter *Scotland*; and have their Meetings there ; and the Ambassadors of *England*, by many solemn Protestations and Ceremony of Words, should declare, That the Publick was not concerned, as guilty of that particular Murder. The other two Murderers lurked in the inland Parts of *England*, till the Reign of *Henry* the eighth ; and yet they went not unpunished ; for when they had got a young King, fierce and potent, and saw that he was willing to shew the Greatness of his Strength, they ventured out of their Retirements. *Hern*, by the Mediation of his Kindred, lived openly at his own House, and privately sent in Robbers to *Scotland*, to disturb the publick Peace ; hoping that, if a War were once begun, he should obtain In-

* In *Northumberland*.

† Standing on a Rock above the *Firth* of *Forth*.

demnity for his *old* Offences, and even a Freedom to commit *new* with Impunity. But *Starbed* got a Place to live in, about 90 Miles from the Borders, thinking to be safe, by reason of the Remoteness of his Habitation : But *Andrew Carr*, the Son of *Robert*, who saw that the Seeds of Hatred, which would soon break out into a War, were then sown, and fearing that if once they entered into Arms, he should lose the avenging of his Father's Blood, persuades two of his Tenants, of the Family of the *Tates*, to disguise themselves, and kill *Starbed*. They undertook to do it ; and so enter'd his House securely in the Night (for living so far from the Borders, he thought he needed no Watch ;) where they kill'd him, cut off his Head, and brought it to *Andrew* : He, in Testimony of his desired Revenge, sends it to *Edinburgh*, and sets it up there, upon a high and conspicuous Place. Of *Hern* I shall speak in due time.

JUST upon the Heels of this *old* Injury, succeeded a *new one* ; which awakened the Anger of the King of *Scots*, that was rather asleep, than extinguished, before. At that time there was one *Andrew Breton*, a *Scots* Merchant, whose Father had a Ship rifled by the *Portuguese*, and was himself barbarously murder'd : *Andrew* got the Cause heard in *Flanders* (because there the Murder was committed) where the *Portuguese* were cast ; but they, not paying what was adjudged, and their King, tho' *James* sent an Herald to him for that end, not compelling them so to do, *Andrew* obtain'd Letters of Mart from *James*, to satisfy himself for the Damages and Murder ; and it was directed to all Princes and Cities lying near the Sea, That they should not account him as a Pirate or Robber, if, by open Force, he revenged himself on the *Portuguese*, who were such Violators of common Right and Equity : So that in a few Months he did much Mischief to the *Portuguese*. Their Ambassadors, in the height of the War the *French* made against Pope *Julius* the second, and which was soon like to break out against the *English*, as siding with *Julius*, came to *Henry*, and told him, That this bold and impudent Fellow, *Andrew*, who had done to them so much Mischief, who were the ancient Allies of the *English*, would assuredly be his Enemy, when he warred against *France* ; but now he was secure, and might easily be subdued and cut off ; and, if the Fact happen'd to be condemned as illegal, it might be excused, under a Pretence of his exercising Piracy. That if he would do this, he might prevent the Losses of his own Subjects, and also gratify their King, his Friend and Ally, very much. *Henry* was thus easily persuaded, by the *Portuguese*, to entrap *Andrew* : In order to compass it, he sent his Admiral, *Thomas Howard*, with two strong Ships of the Navy-Royal, to way-lay him in the *Dowes* (so they call the
heaps

heaps of Sand, which appear a-loft when the Tide is out) in his return from *Flanders*. It was not long before they espied him coming in a small Vessel, with a less in his Company, and set upon him: *Howard* himself attack'd *Andrew*; between whom there was a sharp Fight; and although *Howard* had all the Advantage imaginable against him, yet he had much ado to take the Ship; neither could he do that, till *Andrew* and many of his Men were slain. This is certain, that *Andrew* was a Man of that Courage, even when his Case was desperate, that tho' he had several Wounds, and one of his Legs was broken by a Cannon Bullet, yet he took a Drum and beat an Alarm, and a Charge to his Men, to encourage them to fight valiantly: This he did, till his Breath and Life failed him together. The less Ship, finding that she was no way able to cope with the Enemy, endeavoured to save herself by flight, but was taken with much less Opposition. They who were not killed in the Fight, were thrown into Prison at *London*; from whence they were brought to the King, and humbly begging their Lives of him, as they were instructed to do by the *English*, he, in a proud ostentation of his great Clemency, dismissed and sent the poor innocent Souls away. Upon this, Ambassadors were sent into *England* by *James*, to complain, that his Subjects Ships were taken in a time of Peace, and the Passengers slain. They were answered, That the killing of Pirates was no Violation of Leagues; neither was it a justifiable Cause for a War. This Answer shewed the Spight of one, that was willing to excuse a plain Murder, and seemed as if he had sought an occasion for a War: Upon which the *English*, who inhabited the Borders, by that which was acted above-board, guessed at their King's Mind; and, being also accustomed to sow Seeds of Dissension in the times of the firmest Peace; and besides, being much given to Innovation, began to plunder the adjacent Countries of the *Scots*.

At that time there was one *Alexander Hume*, who had the sole Command of all the *Scots* Borders, which were wont to be distributed into three Mens Hands; He was mightily beloved by *James*; but his Disposition was more fierce than was expedient for the good of those Times. The King was intent upon War, and very solicitous how to blot out the Ignominy received by those Incurfions; and *Hume* promised him, That he, and some of his Kindred and Vassals, would, in a little time, make the *English* repent of the Loss and Damage they had done, as being resolved to turn their Mirth into Sadness. To make good his Word, he gathered together about 3000 Horse, enter'd *England*, and ravaged Seven neighbouring Villages, before any Relief could come in; but as he was returning, his Men, being

accustomed to pillaging, and then also laden with a great deal of Booty, being impatient to stay there any longer, divided their Spoil, even in their Enemy's Country, and went their ways severally Home. *Alexander*, with a few, brought up the Rear, to see that no Assault might be made upon them in their Retreat; but perceiving none to follow, he was the more careless; and so fell into an Ambush of 300 *English*, who taking the opportunity, set upon them, and struck such a sudden Terror into them, that they routed and put them to flight. In this Skirmish, a great many of the *Scots* were slain, and 200 taken Prisoners; amongst whom was *George Hume*, *Alexander's* Brother, who was exchanged for the Lord *Hern* of *Feord*, who had been Prisoner many Years in *Scotland*, for the Murder of *Robert Carr*: But all the Booty came safe into *Scotland*, because they who drove it, were marched on before.

The King's Mind, which was not easy before, upon the account of what I formerly related, being much irritated by the Addition of this new Offence, he grew unruly and headstrong, and immediately called a Convention, to consult concerning the War. The wiser sort were against it; but *La Motte*, the Ambassador of *France*, earnestly pressed it, by Entreaties and Promises: And also frequent Letters from *Andrew Forman* urged the same thing; and the King himself shewing a very good Will to it, many, to gratify him, fell in with his Opinion; the rest, being a minor part, and left by a fruitless Opposition they should incur the King's Displeasure, gave also their assent: So that a War was voted to be made against *England* by Land and Sea (whether worse in Resolution or Event is hard to determine) and a set Day was appointed for the Army to Rendezvous. An Herald was sent into *France* to *Henry*, who was then besieging *Tournay*, to declare War against him. The Causes of it were assigned to be these, That Satisfaction for Losses had been required, but not given: That *John Hern*, the Murderer of *Robert Carr*, appeared publicly: That *Andrew Breton*, in violation of the Leagues betwixt the two Crowns, had been pillaged and slain by the King's own Command: And tho' he should not mention any of those Wrongs, yet he should never endure that the Territories of *Lewis*, King of *France*, his ancient Ally, nor *Charles* Duke of *Gelderland*, his Kinsman, should be so miserably harrass'd with all the Calamities of War; and therefore, unless *Henry* desisted from these Hostilities, he bid him Defiance. *Henry* being young, and having a flourishing and puissant Kingdom, and besides, a general Combination of almost all *Europe* against *France* alone; these things kindled a desire in his Mind, which was otherwise ambitious enough of Glory, to continue the Progress

gress of his Arms; and therefore he gave the Herald an Answer more fierce than suited so young a Prince; *That he heard nothing from him, but what he long before had expected from such a Violator of all divine and human Laws, and therefore he should do as he thought fit: For his part, he was resolved not to be threatened out of proceeding in a War, wherein he had so well prospered hitherto; and besides, he did not value his Friendship, as having already had sufficient proof of his Levity.*

THIS Declaration of War being brought into Scotland, as the King was going to the Army at Linlithgoe, whilst he was at *Vespers* in the Church (as the manner was then) there enter'd an old Man, the Hairs of his Head being Red inclining to Yellow, and hanging down on his Shoulders; his Forehead sleek, through baldness, bear-headed, in a long Coat, of a russet Colour, girt with a linen Girdle about his Loins; in the rest of his Aspect he was very venerable: He pressed through the Crowd to come to the King: When he came to him, he leaned upon the Chair, on which the King sat, with a kind of rustick Simplicity, and bespoke him thus. *O King, said he, I am sent to warn thee, not to proceed in thy intended Design; and if thou neglectest this Admonition, neither Thou, nor thy Followers, shall prosper. I am commanded also to tell thee, That thou shouldst not use the Familiarity, Intimacy, and Counsel of Women; which, if thou dost, it will redound to thy Ignominy and Loss.* Having thus spoken, he withdrew himself into the Crowd; and, when the King enquir'd for him, after Prayers were ended, he could not be found; which Matter seemed more strange, because none of those who stood next, and observed him, as being desirous to put many Questions to him, were sensible how he disappeared: Amongst them, there was *David Lindsey of Mont*, a Man of approved Worth and Honesty, and of a learned Education, who in the whole Course of his Life abhorred Lying; and, if I had not received this Story from him as a certain Truth, I had omitted, as a Romance of the Vulgar.

But the King notwithstanding went forward in his March, and near *Edinburgh* mustered his Army; and in a few Days after enter'd *England*, took the Castles of *Norham, Werks, Etesl, Foord*, and some others near the Borders of Scotland, by Storm, and demolished them, and spoiled all the adjoining part of *Northumberland*. Mean while the King falls in Love with one of the Ladies he had taken Prisoner (she was *Hern's* Wife of *Foord*) and neglected his present Business; insomuch, that Provision beginning to grow scarce, in a not very plentiful Country, and it being very difficult to fetch it from afar, the greatest part of the Army stole away, and left their Colours very

thin ; only the Nobles, with a few of their Friends, Clients, and Vassals, and those not very well pleased neither, remained in the Camp. The major part advised him, That he should no longer punish himself and his Men, by abiding in a Country that was wasted by War, and, if it had not been so, yet was poor of itself, but rather that he would retreat, and make an Attempt upon *Berwick* ; the taking of which one Place would turn more to Account, than all the Towns and Castles thereabouts : Neither, said they, would it be very difficult to take it, because both Town and Castle were unprovided for Defence. But the King thought that nothing was too hard for his Arms, especially since the *English* were intangled with the War with *France*. So that, some Court-Parasites soothing him up in his Vanity, he judg'd that he might easily reduce that Town in his Retreat.

WHILST he thus lay unactive at *Foord*, there came Heralds from the *English*, desiring him to appoint a Place and Time for the Battle. Upon that, he called a Council of War ; and the major part were of opinion, that it was best to return Home, and not to hazard the State of the whole Kingdom with so small a Force, especially since he had abundantly satisfied his Credit, his Renown, and the Laws of Friendship : Neither was there any just Cause, why he should venture his small Army, and which had also been harassed with the taking of so many Castles, against the more numerous Forces of the *English*, who had also newly received an Addition of fresh Men ; for it was reported that at that very time, *Thomas Howard* arrived in the Camp with 6000 very stout Men, sent back out of *France*. Besides, if he retreated, the *English* Army must of necessity disband ; and then they could not bring them together again, from such distant Places as they were levied, till the next Year : But if he would needs fight, it were better so to do in his own Country, where Place, Time, and Provision, were more at his command. But the *French* Ambassador, and some Courtiers whom *French* Gold had bribed and wrought over to him, were of another Mind, and easily persuaded *James*, who longed to fight, to stand the Enemy in that Place. In the mean time, the *English* came not at the Day appointed by the Herald ; and then the *Scots* Nobles took that Opportunity to go again to the King, and told him, That it was the Craft of the Enemy to protract the time from one Day to another, whilst their own Force encreased, and the *Scots* were diminished ; and that therefore he should use the same Art against them. That it was now no Dishonour to the *Scots* to retreat (since the *English* had not kept the Time appointed) without fighting ; or else, not to fight but when they themselves thought fit. The first of

of these Advices was, in many respects, more safe ; but if that did not please him, he had a fair opportunity offered him to comply with the latter. For seeing the Kiver Till had very high Banks, and was almost no where fordable, there was no passing for an Army over it within ten Miles, but by one Bridge, where a few Men might keep back a great Body : And if some of the *English* should get over, he might so place his Ordnance as to beat down the Bridge, and so they who had passed over, might be destroyed, before they could be relieved by those on the contrary side. The King approved of neither Advice, but answered resolutely, *That if the English were 20000 strong, he would fight them.* All the Nobility were offended at this temerarious Answer ; and *Archibald Douglas*, Earl of *Angus*, who was far superior to all the rest in Age and Authority, endeavoured to appease the King's Fury by a mild Oration, and to open the Nature and Reason of the two former Advices : ' You have (said he) sufficiently satisfied your Alliance with *France*, in that you have called off a great part of their Enemy's Army from them ; for, by this means they cannot run over all *France*, as by the multitude of their Forces they hoped to do ; neither can they do any great Damage to *Scotland*, because they cannot long keep their Army together in a cold Country, already wasted by War, and otherwise not very fruitful ; and moreover, the Winter now approacheth, which in the Northern Parts useth to begin betimes. As for the *French Ambassador* (said he) I do not wonder that he is so earnest to press us to a Battle ; for he being a Stranger, studies not the common Good of his Master's Allies, but the private Advantage of his own Nation ; and therefore it is no News, if he push us on to fight, and so be prodigal of other Mens Blood. Besides, his Demand is shameless ; for he requires that of us, which his own King (tho' highly wise and prudent) doth not think fit to do, for the maintenance of his whole Kingdom and Dignity. Neither ought the loss of this Army to be accounted small, because we are but few in Number : For all that are any ways eminent for Valour, Authority, or Counsel, in the whole Kingdom of *Scotland*, are here summ'd up in a Body : If these are lost, the rest of the Commonalty will be but an easy Prey to the Conqueror. Besides, to lengthen out the War, is at present more safe, and more conducive to the main Chance : For, if *La Motte's* Opinion be, that the *English* are to be exhausted by Expences, or weary'd out by Delays, what can be more adviseable in the present Posture of Affairs, than to compel the Enemy to divide their Forces ? Part of them must be kept upon their Guard, for fear of us, as if we were

‘ were continually likely to invade them ; and the fear of that
 ‘ would take off a great stress of the War from the *French*,
 ‘ tho’ with no small Toil of ours. Besides, we have sufficient-
 ‘ ly consulted the Glory and Splendor of our Arms, which
 ‘ these Men (who, I am afraid, are more forward in *Words*
 ‘ than *Actions*) pretend, as a Disguise and Veil of their Teme-
 ‘ rity : For what can be more splendid, than for the King
 ‘ to have demolished so many Castles, to have destroyed the
 ‘ Country with Fire and Sword ; and, from so large Deva-
 ‘ stations, to bring home so much Booty, that many Years
 ‘ Peace will not restore a Country, so desolated, to its former
 ‘ Condition ? And what greater Advantage can we expect in a
 ‘ War, than that, to our own great Honour and Renown, but
 ‘ to the Shame and Disgrace of our Enemies, we give our
 ‘ Soldiers leave to refresh themselves, having gotten Estates
 ‘ and Glory to boot ? And this kind of Victory, which is
 ‘ obtained rather by Wisdom than Arms, is most proper for
 ‘ a Man, especially for a General, in regard the common Sol-
 ‘ diers can challenge no part of the Fame belonging to it.

ALL that were present assented to what he spoke, as ap-
 ‘ peared by their Countenances ; but the King had taken a so-
 ‘ lemn Oath that he would fight the *English* ; and therefore he
 ‘ entertained his whole Discourse with great Disgust ; and bid
 ‘ him, * *Get Home again, if he was afraid.* Douglas immediately
 ‘ fell a weeping, as foreseeing the Ruin of our Affairs, and of
 ‘ the King himself, by his Rashness ; but, as soon as he was able
 ‘ to speak, he utter’d these few Words ; ‘ If my former Life
 ‘ has not sufficiently vindicated me from any Suspicion of Co-
 ‘ wardice, I know not what will ; as long as my Body was
 ‘ able to undergo Hardship, I never spared it for the good of
 ‘ my Country, and to maintain the Honour of my King ; but
 ‘ since now I am useful only for Advice, and the King’s Ears
 ‘ are shut against it, I will leave my two Sons, who, next to
 ‘ my Country, are most dear to me, with my other Kinsmen
 ‘ and Friends, as sure Pledges of my Fidelity to you and my
 ‘ Country ; and I pray God, that my Fears may prove vain,
 ‘ and that I may be rather accounted a false Prophet, than what
 ‘ I dread, and do as it were foresee in my Mind, shall come
 ‘ to pass.

HAVING thus spoken, he took his Convoy and Retinue and
 so departed. The rest of the Nobles, because they could not
 bring over the King to their Opinion, endeavoured to secure
 things the best they could ; and that was, in regard they were

* Repartees between the King and Douglas, concerning a present
 Fight.

inferior

inferior in Number (for they had Intelligence by their Spies, that the *English* were 26000 Men) to advantage themselves by the opportunity of the Ground and Place, and so to encamp upon an Hill that was near them: It was where *Cheviot Hills* do gently decline into a Plain, a small Spot, with a narrow Entrance into it, gradually sloping downwards. This Passage they defended with their Brass Guns: Behind them were the Mountains; at the Foot of them there was a moorish piece of Ground, which secured their left Wing; on the right ran the River *Till*, whose Banks were very high; over which there was a Bridge for Passage, not far from the Camp. When the *English* had Intelligence by their Scouts, that they could not attack the *Scots* Camp, without great Damage, or rather certain, they marched off from the River, and made a Shew as if they intended to leave the Enemy, and retire towards *Berwick*, and so directly into the neighbouring Parts of *Scotland*, which was the best part of the Country; there to damage the *Scots* more than the *Scots* had done the *English* before. And *James* was most inclinable to believe they would do so, because there was a Rumour spread abroad, which either had an uncertain Birth among the common People, or else was devised on purpose by the *English*, that their Design lay that way, in order to draw the Enemy down into the plain and champian Country. *James* would not endure that, and therefore set Fire to the Straw and Huts, and removed his Camp. The Smoak occasioned by the Fire, covered all the River, so that the *Scots* by means of it could not see the *English*. These marched farther from the River, through Places more unpassable; but the *Scots* had a level and open March near the Side of it, till hardly observing each other, they both came at last to *Fludon* or *Floddon*, a very high Hill. There the Ground was more level, and stretched itself out into a large Field; and the River was also passable by a Bridge at *Tuisil*; and there was a Ford also at *Misford*. The *English* commanded their *Forlorn*, first to draw their Brass Pieces over the Bridge, the rest marched through the Ford, and taking their Ground, they set themselves in Battle array, so as to cut off their Enemies retreat. Their Numbers were so great, that they divided themselves, as it were, into two Armies, distinct from one another: either of which was almost equal to the whole Army of the *Scots*. In their first Brigade, Admiral *Thomas Howard*, who a little before came in to his Father with some of his Sea-Forces, commanded the main Battle; *Edward Howard* led on the Right Wing, and *Marmaduke Constable* the Left: Behind them the rest were placed as Reserves, being divided into three Bodies; *Dacres* commanded the Wing in the Right; *Edward Stanley* that on the Left;

Left ; and the Earl of *Surrey*, General of the whole Army, the main Body. The *Scots* had not Men enow to divide their Army into so many Parties, unless they would extremely weaken their Front ; and therefore they divided their Army into four Bodies, at a moderate distance one from another ; of which *three* were to charge *first*, and the *fourth* was for a Reserve. The King led on the main Body ; *Alexander Gordon* commanded the Right Wing ; to whom *Alexander Hume* and the *Merch-men* were joined. *Matthew Stewart*, Earl of *Lenox*, and *Gillespy Campbell*, Earl of *Argyle*, led on the third Body. *Adam Hepburn*, with his Clans, and the rest of the Nobility of *Lothian*, were in the Reserves. The *Gordons* began a very sharp Fight, and soon routed the left Wing of the *English* ; but, when they returned from the Pursuit, they found almost all the rest of their Brigades defeated ; for one of them, in which was *Lenox* and *Argyle*, being encouraged by the Success of their Fellows, regardless of their Ranks, fell upon the Enemy in a very disorderly manner, leaving their Colours far in their Rear : Tho' *La Motte*, the *French* Resident, cried out much against it, and told them, they would run headlong to their own Destruction ; for they were received not only by the *English* standing in Array before them, but were set upon by another Party in the Rear, and so almost all cut off. The King's Body, and *Hepburn's* Brigade, with the *Lothianers*, fought it out stoutly. There was a great Slaughter on both sides, and the Dispute continued till Night ; by which time both sides were weary. There were a great many slain of the King's main Body. They who reckoned the full Number of the slain, as their Names were taken, according to the several Parish Registers, out of which they came, say, that there were slain above 5000 of the *Scots*. The Loss was most of the Nobility, and of the most valiant of them too ; who chose rather to die upon the Spot, than to survive the Slaughter of their Men. 'Tis reported that the *English* lost as many, but that they were mostly common Soldiers. This is the famous Fight of *Floddon*, one of the most memorable of the few Overthrows which the *Scots* have received from the *English* ; not so much for the Number of the slain (for they had lost more than double that Number in former Battles) but for the Quality of the Persons, the King, and the prime of the Nobility falling there ; so that few were left to govern the Rabble, who were fierce by Nature, and lawless also in hope of Impunity.

And yet there were two sorts of Men that gained Advantage by this Calamity of others : For the richer sort of Church-men grew so insolent upon it, that, not contented with their own Function, they sought to draw all the Offices of the Kingdom into their own Hands : And the *Mendicant Fryars* (for that sort

fort of Monks were *then* counted most superstitiously religious) had received much Money of those that were slain, to keep for them ; but it being delivered without Witnesses, they were mightily enriched by this Booty, and remitted the severity of their ancient Discipline. Nay, some there were amongst them, who counted that Gain, as a pious and holy Fraud ; alledging, that the Money could never be better bestowed, than to be given to devout Persons, that they might pray (forsooth) for the Redemption of their Souls out of Purgatory:

THE Fight was carried on so obstinately, that, towards Night, both Parties were weary, and withdrew, almost ignorant of one another's Condition ; so that *Alexander Hume*, and his Soldiers, who remained untouched, gathered up a great part of the Spoil at their Pleasure. But the next Day, in the Morning, *Dacres* being sent out with a Party of Horse, to make Discovery, when he came to the Place of Fight, and saw the *Scots* Brass Guns without a Guard, and also a great part of the Dead unstripp'd, he sent for *Howard*, and so gathered up the Spoil at leisure, and celebrated the Victory with great Mirth.

CONCERNING the King of *Scotland*, there goes a double Report ; the *English* say, he was slain in the Battle. But the *Scots* affirm, that, in the Day of Battle, there were several others clothed in the like Coat of Armour, and the Habit of the King ; which was done on a double Account ; *partly*, lest the Enemy should principally aim at one Man, as their chief Opponent, on whose Life the Safeguard of the Army, and Issue of the Battle did depend ; and *partly* also, if the King happened to be slain, that the Soldiers might not be discouraged, and sensible of his Loss, as long as they saw any Man armed and clothed like him, in the Field, and riding up and down, as a Witness of their Cowardice or Valour. And that one of these was *Alexander Elphinston*, who in Countenance and Stature was very like the King ; and many of the Nobility perceiving him armed in Kingly Habilliments, followed him in a Mistake, and so died resolutely with him ; but that the King re-passed the *Tweed*, and was slain by some of *Hume's* Men, near the Town of *Kelsoe* ; but it is uncertain whether it were done by their Master's Command, or else by the forwardness of his Soldiers, who were willing to gratify their Commander : For they, being desirous of Innovation, thought that they should escape Punishment, if the King were taken off ; but if he should survive, they should be punished for their Cowardice in the Fight. Some other Conjectures are added ; as that the same Night after this unhappy Fight, the Monastery of *Kelsoe* was seiz'd upon by *Carr*, an Intimate of *Hume*, and the Ab-

bot

bot of it ejected; which it was not likely he would dare to have done, unless the King were slain; and moreover, *David Galbreth*; one of the Family of the *Humes* some Years after, when *John* the Regent questioned the *Humes* and was troublesome to their Family, is said to have blamed the Cowardice of his Fellows, who would suffer that Stranger to rule so arbitrarily and imperiously over them; whereas he himself had been one of the six private Men that had put an end to the like Insolency of the King at *Kilsnoe*. But these Things were so uncertain, that when *Hume* was afterwards tried for his Life, by *James* Earl of *Murray*, the King's Natural Son, they did not much prejudice his Cause.

HOWEVER the Truth of this Matter stands, yet I shall not conceal what I have heard *Laurence Tufser*, an honest and a learned Man, report more than once, That being *then* one of the King's Servants, and a Spectator of the Fight; he saw the King, when the Day was lost, set upon an Horse, and pass the *Tweed*. Many others affirmed the same thing. So that the Report went current for many Years after, that the King was alive, and was gone to *Jerusalem*, to perform a religious Vow he had made; but would return again in due time: But that Rumor was found as vain as another of the same broaching, which was formerly spread abroad by the *Britons*; concerning their *Arthur*: And, but a few Years since, by the *Burgundians*, concerning *Charles*. This is certain, That the *English* found the Body of the King, or of *Alexander Elphinston*, and carried it into *England*; and retaining an inexpiable Hatred against the Dead, they left it unburied in a Leaden Coffin (I know not whether their Cruelty was more foolish, or more barbarous) because he had borne sacrilegious Arms against Pope *Julius* the second, whose Cause the *English* zealously espoused; or else, as some say, because he was perjured, as having, contrary to the Oath and League between them, taken up Arms against *Henry* the eighth: Neither of which Exprobrations ought to have been cast upon him; especially by such a King, who during his Life, was not constant or true to any one Religion; nor by such a People, who had taken up Arms so often against the Bishops of *Rome*. Not to speak of many of the Kings of *England*, whom their own Writers do accuse as guilty of Perjury; as *William Rufus*, who is charged with that Crime by *Polydore* and *Grafton*; *Henry* the first, by *Thomas Walsingham*, in his Description of *Normandy*. King *Stephen* hath the like Brand of Infamy cast upon him by *Neobrigensis*, *Grafton*, and *Polydore*: *Henry* the second by the same: *Richard* the first, by *Walsingham*, in his *Hypodigma Neustrie*: *Henry* the third, by *Neobrigensis*, *Grafton*, and

and *Walsingham* : *Edward* the first, by *Walsingham*. I cull out these few for Example-sake, not out of the first Kings of the *Saxon* Race, of which I might instance a great many ; but out of those of the *Norman* Family, whose Posterity enjoy the Kingdom to this Day, and who liv'd in the most flourishing Times of *England's* Glory ; to put them in mind, not to be so bitter against Foreigners, while with so much Indulgence they bear the Perjuries of their own Kings ; especially since the Guilt of the Crime objected lies principally on those, who were the first Violaters of the Truce. But to return to our Narrative.

Thomas Howard, Earl of *Sarrey*, had gone off with great Renown for that Victory over the *Scotts*, if he had us'd his Success with Moderation ; but being a Man almost drunk with his vast Success, and little mindful of the Instability of human Affairs, he made his Household Servants (as the *English* Custom is) to wear a Badge on their left Arms, which was a *White Lion* (his own Arms) standing upon a *Red one*, and rending him with his Paws. God Almighty seem'd to punish this his insolent Bravado ; for there were scarce any of his Posterity of either Sex, but what died in great Disgrace or Misfortune.

BUT King *James*, as he was dear to all whilst Living, so he was mightily lamented at his Death ; and the Remembrance of him stuck so fast in the Minds of Men, as the like was not known of any other King that we have heard or read of. 'Tis probable that it happen'd, by making a Comparison with the Evils which preceded his Reign ; or else were likely speedily to follow after it ; considering also his eminent Virtues : Nay, his Vices were popular, and easily deceiv'd vulgar Minds, under a specious Resemblance and Affinity to Virtue. He was of a strong Body, just Stature, a majestick Countenance, of a quick Wit, which by the fault of the Times was not cultivated by Learning. He greedily imbibed one ancient Custom of the Nation ; for he was skilful in curing Wounds ; for in old Times, that kind of Knowledge was common to all the Nobility, as Men continually accustomed to Arms. The Access to his Presence was easy ; his Answers were mild ; he was just in judging, and moderate in punishing ; so that all Men might easily see he was drawn to it against his Will. He bore the malevolent Speeches of his Enemies, and the Admonitions of his Friends, with a Greatness of Mind, which arose in him from the Tranquillity of a good Conscience, and the Confidence of his own Innocency ; insomuch that he was so far from being angry, that he never returned them an harsh Word. There were also some Vices, which crept in among these Virtues, by reason of his too great Affectation of Popularity. For, by endeavouring to avoid the
Name

Name of a covetous Prince, which his Father had incurred; he laboured to insinuate himself into the Good-will of the Vulgar, by sumptuous Buildings and Feastings, by costly Pageants and immoderate Grants; so that his Exchequer was brought very low: And his want of Money was such, that if he had lived longer, the Merits of his former Reign would have been extinguished, or at least out-ballanced by his Imposition of new Taxes; so that his Death seem'd to have happened rather commodiously, than unseasonably to him.

JAMES the Fifth.

WHEN James the fourth was slain, he left his Wife Margaret and two Sons behind him; the eldest of which was not yet quite two Years old. The Parliament assembled at *Sterlin*, proclaim'd him King, according to the Custom of the Country, on the 24th Day of *February*; and then they applied themselves to settle the publick Affairs; in endeavouring at which, they first perceived the Greatness of their Loss: For those of the Nobility, who bore any thing of Authority and Wisdom, being slain, the major part of those who survived, by reason of their Youth, or Incapacity of Mind, were unfit to meddle with Matters of State, especially in so troublesome a Time; and they who were left alive of the greater sort, who had any thing of Ability in them, by reason of their Ambition and Covetousness, abhorred all Counsels tending to Peace. *Alexander Hume*, Lord Warden of the *Marches*, had got a great Name, and a large Estate, in the King's Life-time; but, when he was dead, he obtained an (almost) Regal Authority in the Countries bordering upon *England*. He, out of a wicked Ambition, did not restrain Robbers, that so he might more engage those bold and lewd Persons to himself, thinking thereby to pave a Way to greater Power: But, as that Design was pernicious, so was the End of it unhappy. The Command of the Country on this side the *Forth*, was committed to him; the Parts beyond, to *Alexander Gordon*, to keep those seditious Provinces within the Bounds of their Duty: But the Title of Regent was invested in the Queen. For the King had left in his Will, which he made before he went to fight, that if he miscarried, she should have the *Supreme Power* as long as she remained a Widow. This was contrary to the Law of the Land, and the first Example of any Woman, who ever had the Supreme Rule in *Scotland*; yet the want of Men made it seem tolerable, especially to them who were desirous of Peace and Quietness. But her Office continued not long; for, before the



Clark sculp.

James the 5th
King of Scotland.

the End of the Spring, the married *Archibald Douglas*, Earl of *Angus*, one of the prime young Men of *Scotland*, for Lineage, Beauty, and Accomplishments in all good Arts. And before the End of that Year, the Seeds of Discords were sown. They took their Rise from the Ecclesiastical Order; for, after the Nobles were slain, in all publick Assemblies a great part were of that sort of Men; and many of them made their own private Fortunes amidst the publick Calamity, and got such Estates, that nothing hasten'd their Ruin more, than that inordinate Power, which they afterwards as arrogantly used:

Alexander Stuart, Archbishop of *St. Andrew's*, was slain at *Flodden*; and there were three which strove for that Preferment, but upon different Interests. *Gawin Douglas*, upon the account of the Splendor of his Family, and his own Personal Worth and Learning, was nominated to the Place by the Queen, and accordingly took Possession of the Castle of *St. Andrew's*. *John Hepburn*, Abbot of *St. Andrew's*, before any Archbishop was nominated, gathered up the Revenues of the Place, as a Sequestrator; and he, being a potent, factious, and subtle Man, was chosen by his Monks to the Vacancy (for he alledg'd, that the Power of electing an Archbishop, by ancient Custom, was in them;) so that he drove out the Officers of *Gawin*, and placed a strong Garrison in the Castle. *Andrew Forman* had obtained great Favour in the Courts both of *Rome* and *France*, by his former Services: So that, besides the Bishoprick of *Murray* in *Scotland*, which was his first Preferment, *Lewis* the twelfth of *France* gave him the Archbishoprick of *Bourges*: And Pope *Julius* had also sent him home loaded with Honours and Benefices; for he bestowed on him the Archbishoprick of *St. Andrew's*, the two rich Abbies of *Dumfermling*, and *Aberbrothock*, and made him his Legate à Latere (as they call him) besides. But so great was the Power of the *Hepburns* at that time, that, the *Humes* being yet in Concord with them, no Man could be found that durst proclaim the Pope's Bull for the Election of *Forman* to that Dignity; till at last *Alexander Hume* was induced by great Promises, and, besides other Gifts, with the actual Donation of the Abby of *Coldinham* to *David* his youngest Brother, to undertake the Cause, which seemed to be honourable; and especially because the Family of the *Formans* was in a Clanship, or Protection, of the *Humes*; so he caused the Pope's Bull to be published at *Edinburgh*: And that was the Original of many Mischiefs which ensued; for *Hepburn*, being a Man of a lofty Spirit, from that Day forward studied Day and Night how to destroy the Family of the *Humes*.

THE Queen, whilst she sat at the Helm, did this one thing worthy to be remember'd, that she wrote to her Brother, that he would not make War upon *Scotland*, in respect to her and her young Children; that he would not infect with *Englifo* Arms his Nephew's Kingdom, which of itself was divided into so many domestick Factions; but that he would rather defend him against the Wrongs of others, upon the account of his Age, and the Affinity betwixt them. *Henry* answered very nobly and much like a Prince, *That with peaceable Scots he would cultivate Peace, and make War with such as came armed against him.*

WHEN the Queen, by reason of her Marriage, fell from the Regency, the Nobility was manifestly divided into two Factions: The *Douglasian* Party desired, that the chief Power might reside in the Queen; and that this was the Way to have Peace with *England*; which was not only advantageous, but even necessary for them. The other Party, headed by *Hume*, pretended an Umbrage of the publick Good; and that it was against the old Laws of the Land, to choose a Woman to be Regent: As for the Queen, they would be studious of her Honour, as far as they might by Law, and as far as the publick Safety would permit; and that a sufficient Proof had been given of it, in regard they had hitherto submitted to her Government (tho' it was against the Customs of their Fore-fathers) not by any legal Compulsion, but out of meer good Will; and that they were ready to endure it longer, if any honest and equitable Pretence could be alledged for it. But since she by her Marriage had voluntarily deposed herself from that Dignity, she ought not to take it amiss, if they substituted another to enjoy that Office which she had left; and which indeed by the Law she could not hold; for the Laws of *Scotland* do not permit Women to have the Supreme Power, no not in Times of Peace, much less in such troublesome Days as those, when the most powerful, and most prudent Man alive, could hardly find Remedies for the many growing Evils of the Times.

THUS, whilst each Faction strove vigorously about the Choice of a Regent, they passed over all there present, either upon account of Ambition, or private Grudges, or Envy, and inclined to choose *John*, Duke of *Albany*, then living with good Repute in *France*. *William Elphinston*, Bishop of *Aberdeen*, is reported to have burst forth into Tears, in bewailing the publick Misfortune; and his Speech affected many, especially when he came to that Point of reckoning up, what Men were slain in the last Fight, and how few like them were left behind, of whom none was thought fit to sit at the Helm of Government.

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He also told them, how empty the Exchequer was, how it had been exhausted by the late King, how great a Portion of it was the Queen's Jointure, how much necessarily must be expended on the Education of the King; and then how little a part would remain to maintain the Charges of the Publick: And that, tho' none was more fit for the Regency than the Queen, yet seeing Concord could not be had on other Terms, he yielded to that Party, who were for calling *John*, Duke of *Albany*, out of *France*, to take the Regency upon him; though he thought that the publick Misery would be rather deferred than entirely ended by it. *Alexander Home* was so violent for *Albany*, that he professed openly in the Assembly, that if they all refused, yet he himself would go alone, and bring him over into *Scotland*, to undertake the Government. It is thought he did this, not for any publick or private good End, but merely out of this respect, that being an ambitious Man, and knowing that his Interest in the People was more upon the account of his Power, than any real Love; therefore himself despairing of the Place, he was afraid, if the Queen should have it, the *Douglasses*, his Neighbours, would grow too great, and his Power would abate; for the Men of *Liddisdale* and *Annandale* had already withdrawn themselves, and had by little and little gone over to the Clan of the *Douglasses*: And besides he consider'd, that the Queen, by Assistance from *England*, was easily able to obviate all his Designs; so that most Voices carried it for * *John* of *Albany*; and an Embassy was appointed (the Chief whereof was *Andrew Wood* of the † *Largs*, a famous Cavalier in those Days) to call him into *Scotland* for the Administration of the Government, both upon account of his own Virtues, and also by reason of his near Consanguinity with the King; for he was the Son of *Alexander*, Brother of *James* the third. He being thus called to the supreme Government by the *Scots*, *Francis* King of *France* thought his Advancement suited well with the *French* Interest, and therefore he furnished him with Money and a Retinue at his Departure. Before his Arrival, in regard there was no one Person to administer the publick Government, there were many Murders and Rapines committed, and, whilst the greater sort made up their private Clans and Factions, the poor desolate Vulgar were afflicted with all kind of Miseries. The chief Robber of those Times was *Mac Robert Stran*, who committed Outrages all over *Athol*, and the neighbouring Parts, at his Pleasure, having 800 Men, and sometimes more, under his Command. At length, when

* *John* Duke of *Albany*, then in *France*, chosen Regent.

† A little Town in *Cunningham*, standing on the Firth of *Clyde*.

he was at his Uncle *John Creighton's*, he was way-laid, apprehended, and put to Death. But there was more Mischief like to arise from the Fewd between *Andrew Forman* and *John Hepburn*; yet the Nature of them both, and the Discord, rather of their Manners than Minds, deferred the Mischief for a Season, which then was just a breaking out. *John* was profoundly covetous; and *Andrew* was as great a Despiser of Money, and profuse in his Bounties. The Designs and Purposes of *Andrew* were open and manifest to the View of all; neither was there any need that he should much conceal them, because his Vices were accounted Virtues by the Vulgar; and the simplicity of his Nature did him as much Kindness among them, as the sly hidden Craft of *Hepburn*, together with his malicious Dissimulation, his implacable Remembrance of Injuries, and Desire of Revenge, did him. And therefore *Forman*, having as yet no certainty of the coming of the Duke of *Albany*, neither could he be put into Possession of his Ecclesiastical Preferment by *Hume*, seeing *Hepburn* had his Castle and Monastery, which he had strongly garrison'd, which were a great Distance from those Places, in which the Power of the *Humes* might be formidable: He determin'd, by his Friends, to try whether he could, with Money, either satisfy, or at least in some degree abate the Avarice of the Man; so at last they came to an Agreement on these Terms, That *Forman* should remit and forgive the Revenues of some Years past, which *John* had gathered in, as a Sequestrator: That he should surrender up to him the Bishoprick of *Murray*; and that he should pay him yearly 3000 *French* Crowns out of the Ecclesiastical Revenues, to be divided amongst his Friends. And thus the implacable Man's Hate was a little abated, and Matters settled on that side.





T H E
H I S T O R Y
O F
S C O T L A N D.

B O O K XIV.



THIS was the State of Affairs in *Scotland*, when * *John Duke of Albany* arrived at *Dunbarton*, on the 20th Day of *May*, in the Year 1515, to the exceeding Joy of all good Men. For under his Government they hoped for more quiet Times, and an equal Distribution of Justice. In a full Assembly of the Nobility, summon'd in his Name, he had a large Revenue settled upon him; he was declared Duke of *Albany*, Earl of *March*, and created Regent, till the King should come to be of Age.

* *John Duke of Albany*, the new Regent, arrives in *Scotland*.

MOREOVER *James*, the Natural Son of the late King, was made Earl of *Murray*; a young Man of such virtuous Endowments, that he far exceeded all the Hopes Men had conceived of him. There was also one Fact, which much enhanced the Esteem they had for the new Regent; and it was done almost in the Face of the Assembly, and that was the Punishment of *Peter Muffat*. He was a notable Thief, who, after many cruel and wicked Pranks plaid by him in the two last licentious Years, arrived at length to that pitch of Impudence, that he appear'd openly at Court. His unexpected Punishment made such a sudden Change of Things, that Criminals began to withdraw for Shelter: The Minds of the Good were set at Ease, and the Face of Things began soon to be changed, and a stormy Tempest was smother'd into a sudden Tranquillity.

IN the mean time *John Hepburn* had so insinuated himself into the Regent, by the help of his Friends, whom he had privately made so by Bribery; and afterwards, by his Obsequiousness, and pretence of knowing the old Customs of the Country, he got his Ear, who of himself was ignorant of *Scottish* Affairs; inso-much that none was credited, in Matter of great Moment, but *he alone*. He was sent with Commission, by the Regent, all over *Scotland*, to enquire into their Offences, who oppressed the Vulgar, and made them as their Slaves. He obtained that Office principally upon these Grounds; first of all, he acquainted the Regent, what new Discords and old Fewds there were in every County; and also what Factions there were, and who were their respective Heads: And indeed so far his Relations were true, for the Things were known to all. But if any occasion was offer'd to speak of *Hume*, he stirr'd up some to complain of his Enormity: So that by the Imputation, partly of true, and partly of feigned Crimes, the Regent's Ears were shut against all Defence he could make. But when he had almost run over the whole Kingdom in his Discourse, and placed in a clear Light all and singular the Alliances, Affinities, and Leagues, between each several Family, and brought over the Regent to this Persuasion, That no Man of Power, tho' a Criminal, could be punished, but all whole Clans would immediately take Offence at it: So that it was not the Conspiracy of their Kindred only, that was so much to be dreaded, as the Consequence of a Punishment, by which, tho' few were made Examples, a great many would be touch'd, whom a Similitude of Faults, and a like Fear of Punishments, would make Friends, tho' they had been Enemies before: Which great and large-spreading Factions were too powerful to be punished by the single Force of *Scotland*; and therefore it was advisable to desire an Auxiliary Strength from the King of *France*,

to

to break the Knot of so strong and so bold a Confederacy ; and that this would be of use to *France*, as much as to *Scotland*. In the mean time, the Heads of the Factions were to be kept under, and (if possible) taken off ; yet with such Prudence, that they should not have room to imagine, too many of them were aimed at, at once. The Heads of the Factions, at present, were three ; *Archibald Douglas*, the most flagrantly popular of them all, and the Idol of the Mob. His Name was much adored by reason of the great Merits of his Ancestors ; besides, he was in the Flower of his Youth, and relied so much on his Affinity with *England*, that he bore a Spirit too big for a private Man. As for *Hume*, he was formidable of himself ; and yet rendered more so, because he was confirmed in his Power by length of Time. Neither did he stop here, but made a most invidious Memorial of what the *Humes* had acted against the Regent's Father and Uncle ; of all which, tho' the *Hepburns* were Partakers, yet he cast the *Odium* upon the *Humes* only. He often mentioned his Cowardice in the last Battle against the *English* ; and the Talk abroad about the King's Death reflecting upon him, together with the repairing of *Norham Castle*, which was done by his Connivence. He dress'd up all these Stories in various turns of Phrase, and repeated them very zealously, over and over again, to the Regent, that they might not fail of making a pretty deep Impression. As for *Forman* (says he) *'tis true, he is not mightily to be dreaded upon the account of his Kindred, or any Nobleness of Descent ; yet even he would make a great accession of Strength to what Party soever he inclined, because all the Wealth of the whole Kingdom was gathered together (as it were) into one House, and he was singly able, from his Treasures, to supply the present Want of the Party he sided with, or else by his Promises (all Things being then in his Power) he could draw many into the same Counsels, and pack up one general Confederacy.* This was *Hepburn's* Speech to the Regent.

THE notorious Animosities between *Hepburn* and *Forman*, made that part of his Tale to be less credited ; and besides, his Estate was not so much to be envied, for he rather loved to lay it out, than to hoard it up ; neither was he so munificent to any, as to the *French* that waited on the Regent : And besides, his Desire was more to join all Parties in an universal Concord, than to pin himself to any one Faction. But the Suspicion of *Hume*, the Lord of the *Marches*, sunk deeper into the Regent's Mind, which his colder Way of treating him at all the publick Meetings, and sour unwonted Looks too openly betray'd. So that, after a few Months, *Alexander Hume*, perceiving that he was not entertained by the Re-

gent answerable to his Expectation, began to have secret Meetings with the Queen and her Husband: In those Congresses, *Hume* grievously lamented the State of the Publick, that the King, at an Age when it was impossible he should understand his own Misery, was fallen into the Hands of an Exile; of a Man born and brought up in Banishment; whose Father, out of a wicked Ambition, had endeavour'd to rob his elder Brother of the Kingdom: And as he was now the next Heir, who could not plainly see, that all his Endeavours were to settle other things according to his Mind, and then to pack the innocent Child out of the World, that he might make the Kingdom his own; and so, by the last degree of Wickedness, accomplish what his Father had impiously design'd? There was but one Remedy in the Case, and that was, for the Queen to retire with her Son into *England*, and there to put herself and Concerns into the Protection of her Brother.

THESE Things were speedily brought to the Regent's Ears, and as easily believed by him; but being a Man of an active Spirit, and of quick dispatch in Business, he presently frustrated that Design with those Forces which he had ready about him; for he took the Castle of *Sterlin*, and the Queen in it: He took the Oath of Allegiance to the King publickly: The Queen and the *Douglasses* were remov'd by a Decree of the Lords; and three of the Nobility, of great Estimation for their Faithfulness and Integrity, were joined with *John Erskin*, Governor of the Castle, to preside over the Education of the young King: They were to succeed one another by turns, and he allow'd them a Guard for their Security. Upon this, *Hume* and his Brother *William* fled into *England*; and *Douglas* and his Wife staid no longer behind them than just to know *Henry's* Mind, who commanded them to stay at *Harbottle* in *Northumberland*, till his Pleasure was further known.

John the Regent was very much concern'd at their departure; and therefore he presently sent Ambassadors into *England*, to acquit himself before *Henry*, That he had done nothing, why the Queen should fear him, or be in the least disaffected towards him; neither had he acted any thing against those, who accompanied her in her Flight and Departure, but that they might enjoy their Country, and their Freedom, and, if they pleas'd, their Estates. Thus he wrote publickly to the King. But besides that, he did not omit secretly to promote the Return of the *Humes* and *Douglasses*, by the Mediation of their Friends: He made them many large Promises, till he had brought them over to his Will. Whereupon the rest returned home; but the Queen being big, and near the Time of her Delivery, was constrained to stay there, where she was brought to bed of a Daughter

Daughter named *Margaret*, of whom, in due Place. But as soon as she was able to travel, she had a Royal Accommodation and Retinue sent from *London*, to bring her up thither ; where she was honourably and nobly received by *Henry* her Brother, and *Mary* her Sister ; who, upon the Death of her Husband, *Lewis* of *France*, had a little before returned into her own Country.

AND yet the Suspicions before raised in *Scotland*, were not much abated, either by the Departure of the Queen, or the Return of some of her Retinue : For *Gawin Douglas*, Uncle to the Earl of *Angus*, *Patrick Pantar*, Secretary of State to the former King, and *John Drummond*, chief of his Family, were sent several ways into Banishment. *Alexander Hume* was summoned to appear before the Assembly of the Estates, on the 12th of *July*, in the Year of our Lord 1516. But he, not appearing, was condemned, and his Goods confiscated. He was enraged at this contumelious Injury (for so it was in his Eye) and, to drive out one Fear by another, he either sent in, or else encouraged, publick Robbers, to commit great Outrages in the neighbouring Parts. Whereupon the States order'd the Regent ten thousand Horse and Foot, to repress those Insolencies ; and either to take *Hume*, or else to drive him out of the Country. But before it came to Blows, *Hume*, by the Perswasion of his Friends, surrender'd himself to the Regent, and so was carry'd to *Edinburgh*, there to remain a Prisoner under *James Hamilton*, Earl of *Arran*, his Sister's Husband, who was to be deemed a Traytor, if he suffer'd him to escape : But the Issue of that Matter fell out otherwise than any body expected ; for *Hume* perswaded *Hamilton* to make a joynt Escape with him, and to form a Party, and so to enter on the Government himself, he being the next Heir after the former King's Children, in regard he was born of a Sister of *James* the third ; and therefore it was more equitable that he should enjoy the next Place to the King, than *John*, who, 'tis true, was also the Son of a Brother, but born in his Banishment ; and in all other things a perfect Foreigner ; a Man who could not so much as speak the Language of the Country.

WHEN the Regent heard of this, he went to take in *Hamilton's* Castle ; and planting his Brass Guns against it, forced it to surrender in two Days. In the mean time *Hume* made Excursions out of *Merch*, and pillaged the Country round about ; and at length burnt down a great part of the Country of *Dunbar*. These were the Transactions of that Year.

AT the beginning of the Spring, *John Stuart*, Earl of *Lenox*, whose Mother was *Hamilton's* Sister, assembled a great many of his Friends and Vassals, and joined the Rebels ; these seiz'd upon

upon the Castle of *Glasgow*; and there they stay'd with *Hamilton* himself, expecting the Regent's Approach. The Regent had called a Council of the Nobles of his Party at *Edinburgh*, and there rais'd a sudden Force, and enter'd *Glasgow* Castle; one Gunner, a *Frenchman*, was punish'd as a Deserter; the rest were pardon'd by the Intercession of *Andrew Forman*, who was then a Mediator for Peace between them. The Earl of *Lenox* a few Days after, was received into Favour, and, from that Day forward, carry'd it with great Faithfulness and Observance towards the Regent. And not long after, first *Hamilton*, and then the *Humes*, return'd to Court, and had an Amnesty for what was past; it was granted to *Hume* with greater Difficulty than to the rest, because he had rebelled so often; and an express Condition was added, that if he offended another time after that, the Memory of his old Crimes should be again revived, and the Guilt of them charged upon him afresh. Peace being thus settled, the Regent retir'd to *Falkland*, where he staid some Months; but hearing of great Suspicions and Jealousies of *Hume's* Intrigues, he returned to *Edinburgh*; and on the 24th Day of *September* held a Council of the Nobility, where he endeavour'd by his Friends to draw *Hume* to Court. Large Promises were made to entice *Hume* thither; but many of his Party dissuaded him; or if he himself were resolved to go, yet he should leave his Brother *William* (who, by his Valour and Munificence, had almost obtained as great, or a greater Authority than himself) at Home, in regard the Regent would be afraid to use any high Severity against him, as long as his Brother was alive. But he being (as it were) hurried on by a fatal Necessity, slighted the Advice of his Friends; and with his Brother *William*, and *Andrew Carr* of *Farnburgh*, came to Court, where presently they were all clapp'd up in several Prisons; and, by the Advice of the Council, a few Days after, were tried for their Lives, after the Custom of the Country, tho' no new Crime were laid to their Charge. Prince *James*, Earl of *Murray*, accused *Alexander* for the Death of his Father, who came *Alive* out of the Field, as many Witnesses did testify. This Fact was strongly urged; but the Proofs were weak, so that they gave it over, and insisted only on his private Crimes, and the many former Rebellions were objected; of all which, if *Alexander* was not the Author, he was at least a Partaker in them: And moreover, 'twas alledged that he did not do his Duty in the Battle of *Flodden*.

In Consequence of this, the *Humes* were condemn'd; *Alexander's* Head was struck off the 11th of *October*, and his Brother's the Day after. Both their Heads were set up in the most conspicuous Place, as a Terror to others, and their Estates were confiscated.

confiscated. This was the End of *Alexander Hume*, the power-fullest Man in *Scotland* of his Time. He in his Life-time had drawn upon his own Head the Hatred and Envy of a great many Men; yet those Prejudices in time abating, his Death was variously spoken of; and so much the more, because he fell not for the perpetration of any new Crime, but merely by the Calumnies (as 'twas thought) of *John Hepburn* the Abbot; for he being a factious Man, and eager of Revenge, bore an implacable Hatred against *Hume*; because, by his Means alone, he was disappointed of the Archbishoprick of *St. Andrew's*: So that tho' he had stifled his old Resentments for a time, yet 'twas believ'd he push'd on the Regent (who in his own Nature was suspicious enough of, and disaffected to the *Humes*) to the greater Severity against him, by telling him, how dangerous it would be to the King and all *Scotland*, if he, at his going into *France*, should leave so fierce an Enemy alive behind him: For what would he not attempt in his Absence, who had despised his Authority when present? So that the Contumacy of the Man, who could not be lenified by Rewards, Honours, nor by frequent Pardons, had need be conquered by the Axe, if he would ever keep *Scotland* in Quiet. These and such like Insinuations, upon pretence of consulting the Publick Safety, being buzz'd into the Ears of a Man, so much disgusted at them before, contributed more to the Destruction of the *Humes* (in the Judgment of many) than any of their Crimes. When the *Humes* were put to Death, *Andrew Car* obtained the Respite of one Night, to provide for his Soul's Health; but by means of his Friends, and especially of a *Frenchman* his Keeper, it was suspected, upon the Payment of a good Sum of Money down upon the Nail, he made his Escape.

Alexander Hume left three Brothers behind him, who all met with various Misfortunes in those Days; *George*, for a Murder he had committed, lay private as an Exile, in *England*. *John*, Abbot of *Jedburgh*, was banished beyond the *Tay*. *David*, the youngest, Prior of *Coldingham*, about two Years after the Execution of his Brothers, being called forth by *James Hepburn* his Sister's Husband, upon pretence of a Conference, fell into an Ambush, laid purposely for him, and was slain, being much pitied by all; that an innocent young Man, of so great Hopes, should be betrayed so unworthily by one, who had so little Reason so to do. When Punishments had thus ranged over the whole Family of the *Humes*, at last it fell to the Enemies share, especially to *John Hepburn's*, who had been so severe an Exactor of the unjust Punishment of others: Yet the Destruction of one Family, once so powerful, brought such a panick Fear upon all the rest, that Matters were the quieter:

quieter a great while after. The next *December*, the Regent brought the King from *Sterlin* to *Edinburgh*, and then he desired leave of the Nobility of *Scotland* to return into *France*: Every one almost was against the Motion; so that he was forced to stay till late in the Spring, and then took Shipping, promising speedily to return, in case any more than ordinary Commotion should arise, which required his Presence. The Government of the Kingdom, in his Absence, he left to the Earls of *Angus*, *Arran*, *Argyle*, and *Huntley*; the Archbishops of *St. Andrew's* and *Glasgow*; to whom he added *Anthony Darcy*, a *French-man*, Governor of *Dunbar*, who was enjoined to correspond with him, and to inform him of all Passages in his Absence. And that no Discord might arise, out of an ambitious Principle, between such Great and Noble Personages, by reason of their Parity in the Government, he allotted to each of them their several Provinces. *Darcy*, the *French-man*, the rest condescending thereunto, had the chief Place amongst them, *Merch* and *Lothian* being appointed to be under his Government. The other Provinces were distributed to the rest, according to each Man's particular Conveniency. Mean while the Queen, about a Year after she had been in *England*, near the end of *May*, returned to *Scotland*, and was attended by her Husband from *Berwick*: But they lived not together so lovingly as before.

THE Regent at his Departure, to prevent the budding and growth of Sedition in his Absence, had carried along with him, either the Heads of the noblest Families, or else their Sons and Kindred, upon a Pretence of doing them Honour, but indeed as Pledges, into *France*: And he had sent others of them into different and remote Parts of the Kingdom, where they had, as it were, but a larger Prison. He had also placed *French* Governors in the Castles of *Dunbar*, *Dunbarton*, and *Garvy*; yet a Commotion arose, upon a slight Occasion, where it was least feared or dreamt of.

Anthony Darcy had carried it with a great deal of Equity and Prudence in his Government, especially in restraining of Robberies. The first Tumult in his Province, which tended to any thing of a War, was made by *William Cockburn*, Uncle to the Lord of *Langton*; he had driven away the Guardians of the young *Ward*, and had seized upon the Castle of *Langton*, relying principally on the Power of *David Hume* of *Wederburn*, whose Sister *Cockburn* had married. Thither *Darcy* marched with a sufficient Guard; but they within refused to surrender the Castle: And moreover, *David Hume*, with some few Light Horse, riding up to him, upbraided him with the cruel Death of his Kinsman *Alexander*. The *French-man*, partly distrusting his
Men,

Men, and partly confiding in the swiftness of the Horse he rode upon, fled towards *Dunbar*; but his Horse falling under him, his Enemies overtook and slew him, and set up his Head in an eminent Place on *Hume-Castle*. He was slain the 20th of *September*, in the Year 1517.

WHEREUPON the other Governors had a Meeting, and fearing a greater Combustion, after this terrible beginning, they made the Earl of *Arran* their President, and committed *George Douglas* (Brother to the Earl of *Angus*, upon Suspicion of being privy to the Murder newly committed) Prisoner to *Inse-Garvy Castle*: They also sent to the Regent in *France*, to call him back into *Scotland*, as soon as ever he could. About the same time, some Seeds of Discord were sown between the Earl of *Angus*, and *Andrew Car* of *Farniburgh*, by reason of the Jurisdiction over some Lands which did belong to the Earl; but *Andrew* alledged he had Power to keep Courts in them: The rest of the Family of the *Cars* sided with the Earl, but the *Hamiltons* took part with *Andrew*; which they did more out of hate to the *Douglases*, than for any Justice *Car* had in his Pretensions: So that both Parties provided themselves against the Court-day, to run a greater Hazard than the Matter they strove about was worth. And *John Somervail*, a Noble and high-spirited young Man, of the *Douglases* Faction, set upon *James*, the Natural Son of the Earl of *Arran*, on the Highway, and kill'd Five of his Retinue, putting the rest to Flight: He also took above Thirty of their Horses.

WHEN an Assembly was summoned to be held at *Edinburgh*, April the 29th, 1520, the *Hamiltons* alledged, that they could not be safe in that City, where *Archibald Douglas* was Governor. Whereupon *Douglas*, that he might not obstruct publick Business, about the End of *March*, resigned his Government of his own accord; and *Robert Long*, a Citizen of *Edinburgh*, was substituted in his Place. The Nobility of the West Part of *Scotland*, of which there were very many, had frequent Meetings in the House of *James Beton*, the Chancellor; their Design was to apprehend the Earl of *Angus*; for they alledged, that his Power was too great and formidable to the Publick; that, as long as he was at Liberty, they should have no Freedom for Debate, or Resolutions. An Opportunity seem'd to favour their Design; for he, having now but a few of his Vassals about him, might be easily surprized before his Kindred came to his Assistance. When he perceived what was in agitation against him, he sent his Uncle *Garvin*, Bishop of *Dunkelden* to pacify them, whom he said he had provoked with no Injury, and to desire them to manage the Dispute without Force of Arms; for if they could make out any just Complaint against him,

him, he was willing in Equity to give them all Satisfaction. But his Speech availed him nothing at all, being made to Men proud of their Numbers, puissant, and greedy of Revenge. And therefore *Gavin* could obtain no good Terms from them, but returned to *Angus*, and acquainted him with the Arrogance of his Enemy, and then caused his whole Family to follow the Earl. He himself being a Priest and infirm too, by reason of Age, retired to his own Lodging. Some think he did this, to upbraid the unseasonable Pride of the Chancellor, who, when he ought to have been a Promoter of Peace, flew armed up and down, like a Fire-brand of Sedition. *Douglas*, seeing there was no Hopes of Agreement, exhorted his Men rather to die valiantly, than like dastardly Cowards to hide themselves in their Lodgings, from whence (to be sure) they would soon be pluck'd out by the Ears to their Deaths; for their Enemies had so stopp'd up all the Avenues and Passages, that not a Man of them could get out of the City. All that were then present, assented to what he had spoken; and strait he and his Party, having buckled on their Armour, seized upon the broadest Street in all the Town. He had about Fourscore in his Train, but all stout resolute Men, and of known Valour. They divided and posted themselves in the most convenient Places, and so set upon their Enemies as they came out of several narrow Alleys at once; the first they slew, and drove the rest back headlong, tumbling one upon another in great Disorder and Confusion. The Earl of *Arran*, who commanded the opposite Party, with his Son *James*, got to a Ford, and made their Escape by the *North-Lough*; the rest ran several Ways for Shelter, to the Convent of the *Dominicans*. Whilst these things were in Agitation, there was a mighty Combustion all over the Town; and in the midst of the Bustle, *William*, *Angus's* Brother, enters the City with a great Party of his Clan. When *Douglas* had got this Accession to his former Strength, tho' there were abundance of his Enemies in the Town, yet he made Proclamation by a Trumpeter, That none should dare to appear in the Streets with Arms about them, but his Friends and Party. Those that desired Passes to depart quietly, had them easily granted. There went out in one Company about 800 Horse (besides those who had taken their Flight before) with greater Ignominy than Loss: For there fell not above 72, but amongst them were Men of Note, as the Brother of the Earl of *Arran*, and *Eglinton's* Son. This happen'd on the 30th Day of *April* 1520. In order to revenge this Disgrace, the *Hamiltons* besieged *Kilmarnock* (a Castle in *Cunningham*) *Robert Boyd*, a Friend of the *Douglases*, commanded it; but they soon left it, without effecting any thing. The next Year

Douglas

Douglas came to *Edinburgh*, on the 20th of *July*, bringing with him the *Humes*, which had been banished ; and there he took down the Heads of *Alexander*, and *William Hume*, which had been set up on Poles. The whole five Years that the Regent was absent, were very full of Tumults ; there was no end of pillaging and killing, till his Return, which was on *Octob. 30, 1521*. Upon his Arrival, he resolved to clip the Power of the *Douglasses*, in order to the quieting of all such Seditions, as had happen'd in his Absence. He sent the Earl of *Angus*, Head of that Family, into *France* ; he caused the Pope to call over his Uncle, the Bishop of *Dunkelden*, to *Rome*, to purge himself there from some Crimes imputed to him ; who the Year after, in his Journey to *Rome*, fell sick of the Plague in *London*, and died : His Virtues were such, that he was very much lamented ; for besides the Splendor of his Ancestry, and the Comeliness of his Personage, he was Master of a great deal of Learning (as Times went then ;) and being also a Man of high Prudence, and singular Moderation, in troublesome Times, he was much esteem'd in point of Faithfulness and Authority, even by the contrary Factions. He left behind him considerable Monuments of his Ingenuity and Learning, written in his Mother-Tongue. The next Year after the Return of the Regent, a Parliament was held, and an Army levied, appointed to Rendezvous at *Edinburgh*, on a set Day ; whither they came accordingly, and pitched their Tents in the Fields near *Rosselin*, none knowing upon what Service they were to be employ'd : But at last an Herald proclaim'd, that they were to march towards *Annandale*, and that a great Punishment was appointed for such who refused to obey the Orders. The rest of the Army marched obediently enough to the River *Solway*, the Boundary of *Scotland* ; only *Alexander Gordon* and his Party staid behind three Miles further from *England* : When the Regent heard of it, he came back to him the next Day, and brought him up to the Camp : There called he the Nobles and chief Commanders together, and shewed them many great and weighty Reasons, why he invaded *England* on that side. But a great part of the Nobility, by the Instigation of *Gordon* who was their Senior, and of greater Authority than all of them, wholly refused to set Foot on *English* Ground ; whether out of Disaffection to the Regent, or else (as they pretended) that it was not for the Interest of *Scotland* so to do ; the specious Pretences, spread abroad amongst the Soldiers, pleased them well enough. For if they had levy'd an Army in Favour of the *French*, to hinder the *English* from sending their whole Strength against *France*, it was sufficient for that purpose only to make a shew of War : But if the Interest of *Scotland* was considered,

considered, Matters not being well settled at home, and their King but a Child ; it was most advisable for them at that Juncture, only to be on the Defensive, and to maintain their ancient Bounds : For if they should march forward, the Blame even of fortuitous Miscarriage might be laid to their Charge, and an account of their Misconduct might be required at their Hands, in a very short time. Lastly, tho' they were never so willing to march forward against the Enemy, and so to slight the common Danger, as well as to overlook their own Concerts at home ; yet they were afraid the *Scots* would not be obedient to Command in an Enemy's Country : Great heed therefore was to be taken, lest, through Ambition, or Emulation, or late Disgusts, they should come off with Dishonour. The Regent, perceiving it in vain to oppose, was forced to yield ; yet, that he might not seem to have acted a mere piece of Pageantry, after such vast Preparations, in marching his Army as far as the *Solway*, he underhand procured a fit and proper Person, who had frequent Negotiations in *England*, to acquaint *Dacres*, then Lord Warden of the *English* Marches, that some Good might be done, if he treated with *John* the *Scots* Regent. He willingly hearkened to the Proposal ; because he was unprovided for Defence ; never imagining that the *Scots* would have made an Irruption into *England* at least on that side. Accordingly he sent an Herald, and obtained a Passport to come with Safety into the *Scots* Camp. The next Day, accompanied with *Thomas Dacres* and *Thomas Musgrave*, and about 18 more Cavaliers, he came to the Regent's Tent ; where they had private Discourse together, each having their Interpreters. *Dacres*, being taken unprovided, was glad to be quiet : And the Regent, not being able to effect any thing without the Consent of the Army, clapp'd up a Truce ; and an hopeful Introduction to a Peace was made, and so they parted. Those of the *Scots*, who were the greatest Hindrances of the Action, to throw off the Blame from themselves, spread abroad Reports, that *Dacres* had bought a Peace of the Regent for a Sum of Money, of which, part was in Hand paid, the rest promised, but never paid. Thus they endeavoured to disparage the Conference amongst the Vulgar.

THE Regent went again, on the 25th of *October* into *France*, but promised to return before the first of *August* next ensuing ; yet he kept not his Day, because he was informed that the *English* had a Fleet ready to intercept his Passage : However, he sent 500 *French* Foot, in the Month of *June*, to encourage the *Scots* with hope of his speedy Return. They never saw the Face of an Enemy in all their Voyage, till they came near the Isle of *May*, which is situate on the *Firth* of *Forth*, where they

they fell among the *English* Ships, which lay in the Streights, to stop their Passage. They had a sharp Fight, and the *French* boarded their Enemies Ships, but with the Loss of their Admiral. When he was slain, the Seamen would not obey the Captains of the Foot; and the Land-Soldiers, being ignorant of Sea-Affairs, could not command the Mariners: So that, after a great Slaughter of the *English*, the *French* could scarce be forced back in their own Ships.

In the Absence of the Regent, *Thomas Howard*, Earl of *Surrey*, was sent from *England* with ten thousand Men, and a great many Recruits, into *Scotland*: His Advantage was, that the *Scots* were at Discord amongst themselves; their chief Magistrate absent, and they under no certain Command; so that he march'd over *Merch* and *Teviotdale*, and took the Castles of both Shires, to the great Loss of the Nobles, and of the Commons too, who used, upon sudden Invasions, to secure themselves and their Goods in those Forts. But *Scotland* did then labour under such intestine Discords, that no Man thought his Neighbour's Calamity did at all belong to him. The *English* marched up and down for several Months, where they pleased, without any Opposition; and when at length they retreated, the adjacent *Scots* endeavoured, in some sort, to revenge themselves for their Losses; and accordingly daily Incursions were made by them into *Northumberland*, and great Booties taken out of that Country: So that *Howard* was sent against them a second time; who took *Jedburgh* (a Town unfortified, as the *Scots* Custom is) but it cost him great Pains, and Loss of Men. Whilst these things were acting in *Teviotdale*, the Horses of the *English* Army were so terrified in the Night, ('tis not known upon what Occasion) that above 500 of them broke their Bridles, running up and down the Camp, and overturning all that were in their Way: Some of the Soldiers they trampled down and trod upon; and then ran out into the open Field, as if they had been mad, and so became a Prey to such of the Country *Scots* as could take them up. This caused a great Consternation through the whole Camp, all crying out, *Arm, Arm*: Neither could the Tumult be appeased, till the next Morning. Three Days after, the *English*, without making any further Attempt, disbanded their Army, and returned Home.

THE Duke of *Albany*, knowing that all the Ports on the *French* Shore were Way-laid by the *English*, to intercept him in his Return, being inferior in Strength, resolved to work it by Stratagem. He brought not his Navy together in any one Port, but kept it dispersed in several Harbours (here one Ship, there another) that there was no Appearance at all of any War-

like Preparation : And besides, he quartered his Soldiers in the Inland Country, that no body could imagine he designed to Ship them ; so that the Admiral of the *English* Fleet, who waited to disturb his Passage till the 13th of *August*, was weary of roving up and down in the Sea any longer, to no purpose ; and understanding by his Spies, that there was neither Fleet nor Army on all the *French* Coasts, he withdrew his Fleet, as supposing *John* would not stir till the next Spring. The Duke of *Albany*, being informed of the Departure of the *English*, presently drew together his Navy of 50 Ships, aboard of which were 3000 Foot, and 100 Cuirassiers ; and so, after the Autumnal Equinox, he set sail from *France*, and, by the 24th of *September*, arrived at the Isle of *Arran* in *Scotland* ; which happened to be the same Day on which the *English* burn'd *Jedburgh*.

I shew'd before, how miserable the State of Affairs in *Scotland* was, the last Summer. The Nobles were at variance one with another ; the *English* wasted all the Countries near them ; they were Masters of the Sea ; and consequently all Hopes of foreign Aid were cut off. The Design of the Enemy in this was, to take down the Pride of the *Scot*, and by Sufferings to incline them to a Pacification : Neither were those *Scots* that were averse to the *French* Faction, less zealous for a perpetual Peace with *England* : Of which the Queen was the chief. For when *Hume* was removed by Death, and *Douglas* by Banishment, and the other Nobles were judg'd rather fit to follow, than lead, in the Management of Matters : All those that were not Favourers of the *French* Interest, applied themselves to the Queen. She, to gratify her Brother, and also to draw the Power into her own Hands, dissembled her private Ambition, and exhorted them, saying, That now was the Time to free their young King, who was almost of Age, from the Bondage of a Stranger ; and also to deliver themselves from the same Yoke. For the Queen now labour'd to strengthen her Party against her Husband, against whom she, long before, began to have a great Disgust : Besides, the King of *England* sent frequent Letters, filled with large Promises to the Nobles of *Scotland*, desiring them to promote his Sister's Designs. He told them, ' It was not his Fault, that there was not a perpetual Amity ' between the two neighbouring Kingdoms ; which, as always, ' so especially at this time, he did very much desire ; not for ' any private End of his own, but to make it appear that he ' bore a true Respect to his Sister's Son, whom he resolved to ' support and gratify, as much as ever he was able : And if ' the *Scots* would be persuaded to break their League with ' *France*, and to join with *England*, they should quickly find, ' his

his Aim was not Ambition nor Power, but only Love and Concord. That *Mary* his only Daughter being married to *James*, the *Scots* would not by that Affinity, come over to the Government of the *English*, but the *English* to that of the *Scots*. That Enmities as great as theirs, had intervened betwixt Nations heretofore, which yet by Alliances, mutual Commerce, and interchangeable Kindnesses, had been wholly abolished and extinguished. Others reckoned up the Advantages, or Inconveniencies, which might accrue to either Nation, by this Union with each other, rather than with the *French*: As, that ' they were one People, born in the same Island; brought up under the same Climate; agreeable one to another in their Language, Manners, Laws, Customs, Countenance, Colour, and in the very Make of their Bodies; so that they seemed rather to be *one* Nation than *two*: But as for the *French*, they differed from them, not only in Climate and Soil, but also in the whole Manner of their Life. Besides, if *France* was an Enemy, she could do no great Damage to *Scotland*; and if a Friend, yet she could not be highly advantageous: As for the Assistance of *England*, that was near at hand; but *French* Aid was much remote; there was no Passage for it but by Sea, and therefore it might be prevented by Enemies, or else hindered by Storms. They were therefore desired to consider, how inconvenient it was for the Management of Affairs, and how unsafe for the Publick, to hang the Hopes of their and the Kingdom's Safety, upon so inconstant and changeable a Thing, as a blast of Wind. How much they might expect from absent Friends, against present Dangers, might be easily perceived by the Actions of the last Summer, where the *Scots* not only felt, but even saw with their Eyes, how the *English* ravaged them, being forsaken by their Friends, and fell upon them with all their Strength, ready to devour them; but the *French* Aid, so long look'd for, was kept back by the *English* Navy, in their own Harbours.

THESE were the Allegations for an Alliance with *England*: And not a few, being convinced by them, were inclined to it; but others argued to the contrary: For the greatest part of that Assembly the *French* had bribed; and some who had been great Gainers by the publick Losses, abhorred the very Thoughts of Peace. There were others who suspected the Readiness and Facility of the *English* in making such large Promises, especially since Matters in *England* were managed, for the most part, at the Will and Pleasure of *Thomas Woolsey*, a Cardinal, a Man wicked and ambitious, who laid all his Designs for his own private Advantage, and for the Enlargement of his Power

and Authority ; and therefore he accommodated them to every Turn of the Wheel of Fortune. All these equally favour'd the League with *France*, tho' induced to the same End by different Motives. They alledged, that the sudden Liberality of the *English* was not free and gratuitous, but done out of Design ; and that this was not the first time, that they had used such Arts to intrap the unwary *Scots* : For *Edward* the first (said they) when he had sworn and obliged himself, by all the Bonds of Law and Equity, to decide a Thing in Dispute, and therefore was chosen Arbitrator by the *Scots*, had most injuriously made himself King of *Scotland* : And of late, *Edward* the fourth had betrothed his Daughter *Cecily* to the Son of *James* the third ; but when the young Lady grew up to be marriageable, and the Day of Consummation just upon the Point of being fix'd, he took the Opportunity of a War, which arose upon the account of our private Discords, to break off the Match : And that the *English* King aim'd at nothing else now, but to cast the tempting Bait of Dominion before them, that so he might make them really Slaves ; and, when they were destitute of foreign Aid, might surprize them at his Pleasure with all his Force. Neither was that Position a true one, wherein the contrary Party prided themselves, *That an Alliance near at hand was better than one farther off* ; for Causes of Dissension would never be wanting among those who were Neighbours ; which were oftentimes produc'd even by sudden Chances ; and sometimes great Men would promote them upon every light Occasion ; and then the Laws of Concord would be prescribed by him, who should have the longest Sword. That there was never such a firm and sacred Bond of Friendship between neighbouring Kingdoms, which, when Occasions offered, or were sought for, was not often violated : Neither could we hope, that the *English* would more refrain now from violating us, than they formerly spared so many Kings of their own Blood. 'Tis true, the Sanctity of Leagues, and the Religion of an Oath, for the faithful Performance of Pacts and Agreements, are firm Bonds to good Men ; but amongst those which are bad, they are as so many Snares and Gins, and give only Opportunity to deceive ; and such Opportunity is most visible in a propinquity of Borders and Habitations, in the Agreement of Language, and in the Similitude of Manners. But if all these Things were otherwise, yet (proceed they) there are two Things to be regarded and provided for : First, that we reject not our old Friends, even without an Hearing, who have so often deserved well of us. The other, that we do not here spend our Time in Quarrels and Disputes, especially about a Business which cannot be determin'd but in

in an Assembly of all the Estates of the Kingdom. Thus stood the Inclinations of those of the *French* Faction; and so they obtain'd, that no Determination should be made, till they received certain News of the *French* Supply.

WHEN the Return of the Regent was made known, it mightily rejoiced his Friends, strengthened the Wavering, and kept back many, who favoured the League with *England*, from complying with it. He sent his warlike Provisions up the River *Clyde* to *Glasgow*, and there mustered his Army: He also publish'd a Proclamation, that the Nobility should attend him at *Edinburgh*, where he made an elegant Speech to them, commending their Constancy in maintaining their ancient League, and their Prudence in rejecting the perfidious Promises of the *English*: He highly extolled the Good-will, Love, and Liberality of *Francis*, the *French* King, towards the *Scots*; and exhorted them to lay aside their private Animosities and Fews; and, seeing foreign Aid was come in to them, to revenge their Wrongs, and to repress the Insolence of their Enemy by some notable Blow. Accordingly, after his Soldiers had refreshed themselves, and the *Scots* Forces had joined them, he marched towards the Borders, whither he came the 22d of *October*. But being about to enter *England*, and having already sent part of his Forces over a Wooden Bridge, which was at *Mulross*, the *Scots* made the same Excuses, as they did in the former Expedition at *Solway*, and refus'd to enter *England*; so that he was forc'd to recall that Party which he had commanded over; and pitching his Tents a little below, on the left side of the *Tweed*, endeavour'd to storm the Castle of *Werke*, situated over against him, on the right side of the River. In the mean time a Party of Horse sent over the River, beset all Passages, that no Relief could come to the Besieged: They also carried Fire and Sword round all the Country thereabouts. The Description of *Werke* Castle is this; in the inner Court of it, there is a very high Tower well fortified; it is compass'd with a double Wall; the outward Wall incloses a large Space of Ground, whither the Country People were wont to fly in Time of War, and to bring their Corn and Cattle with them for Safeguard: The inner Wall is much narrower, but intrenched round about, and better fortified with Towers that are built upon it. The *French* took the outward Court by Storm, but the *English* set Fire to the Barns, and the Straw that was in them, which made such a Smoak, that they drove them out again. For the next two Days they battered the inner Wall with their great Guns; and, after they had made a Breach wide enough for Entrance, the *French* again attempted the Matter, and endeavour'd to storm it, by means of the Breach

they had made ; but those in the inner Castle, which was yet entire, darted down all sorts of Weapons upon them, and they lay exposed to every Blow : So that, having lost some few of their Men, they were beat back to their Army, and retreated cross the River. The Regent perceiving that the Minds of the *Scots* were averse to Action, and also hearing for certain, that the *English* were coming against them with a numerous Army (their own Writers say, no less than 40000 fighting Men ; and besides, that 6000 more were left to defend *Berwick*, a neighbouring Town ;) the 11th of *November*, removed his Camp to a Nunnery called *Eccles*, about six Miles distant from his present Encampment ; thence, at the third Watch, he march'd by Night to *Lauder* : Both Horse and Man were much incommoded in their March, by the sudden Fall of a great Snow. The same Storm occasioned the *English* also to disband and return home, without effecting any thing. The rest of the Winter was quiet enough.

At Spring, the Regent, in an Assembly of the Nobles, told them the Causes, why he must needs go again into *France*, but he promised them to return before the first of *September* next following. And he further desired them, that, during his Absence, the King might remain at *Sterlin* ; and that they would make no Peace or Truce with the *English* before his Return : As also, that they would make no Innovations in the Government. They promised him faithfully to obey his Commands ; And thus, on the 20th of *May*, he and his Retinue set sail for *France*. In his Absence, the Reins were let loose, every Man's Will was his Law, and a great deal of Havock was made, and Mischief done, without any Punishment at all. Upon this, the King, tho' but a Child, by the Advice of his Mother, and the Earls of *Arran*, *Lenox*, *Crawford*, and many other of the prime Nobility, came from *Sterlin* to *Edinburgh* ; and on the 29th of *July*, by the Counsel of his Nobles, whom he had convened at his Palace of *Holy-rood House*, he took upon him the Government of the Kingdom ; and the next Day, caused them all to swear Fealty to him a second time : And, to shew that he had actually assumed the Administration of Matters into his own Hands, he discharged all publick Officers ; but a few Days after he restored them to their Places again.

In a great Assembly of the Nobles held on the 20th Day of *August*, that the King might vacate the Power of the Regent, which he had now taken upon himself ; he went in great Pomp (as the Manner is) into the publick Hall of the Town ; only the Bishops of *St. Andrew's* and *Aberdeen* dissented, alledging, That they ought to stay till the first of *September*, at which Time the Regent had promis'd to return ; Whereupon they

they were imprison'd. But they reveng'd themselves with their own Church-weapons, and excommunicated all of their Diocesses. However, in about a Month or two after, they were reconciled to the King, and restored to the same Place in his Favour, which they had before.

ABOUT the same Time *Archibald Douglas*, who, as I said before, was banished into *France*, sent *Simon Penning*, an acute Man, and much trusted by him, to the King of *England*, to persuade him to give him the Liberty of returning home through his Dominions; which was granted. For *Henry* was well enough pleased at the Diminution of the Authority of so active a Person as the Duke of *Albany*; and at the Change which was made in *Scotland*; so that he entertained the Earl courteously, and dismiss'd him very honourably. His Return made very different Impressions in the Minds of the *Scots*: For seeing all publick Business was transacted under the Conduct of the Queen and the Earl of *Arran*, a great part of the Nobility, the Heads whereof were *John Stuart* Earl of *Lenox*, and *Coleen Campbel* Earl of *Argyle*, taking great Dislike that they were not admitted to any part of the Administration, received *Douglas* with high Expressions of Joy, as hoping by his Aid, either to win over the Power of the adverse Faction to themselves, or at least to abate their Pride. On the other side, the Queen, who, as I said before was disaffected towards her Husband, was much troubled at his coming, and sought by all Means to undermine him. Moreover *Hamilton*, who felt some Relicks of his old Resentment, was none of his fast Friend: He feared lest *Douglas*, who he knew would not be content with a second Place, would mount the Saddle, and make him truckle under; so that he strove to maintain his own Dignity, and opposed him with all his Might. They kept themselves within the Castle of *Edinburgh*; and tho' they knew very well, that many of the Nobility affected Alterations, yet, trusting in the Strength of the Place, and the Authority of the Kingly Name (tho' it was but a sorry Defence in those Circumstances) they thought themselves secure from Force. The adverse Party had a great Meeting of the Nobles, where they chose three of their own Party to be Guardians of the King and Kingdom; *Archibald Douglas*, Earl of *Angus*; *John Stuart*, Earl of *Lenox*; and *Coleen Campbel*, Earl of *Argyle*. They made great haste in their Business: First, They passed the *Forth*, and caused *James Beton*, a prudent Man, to join with them, who, perceiving the Strength of the Party, durst not resist. From thence they went to *Sterlin*, and conferr'd all Offices and Employments on the Men of their own Faction only; and from thence they came to *Edinburgh*, which they entered without Force, for it

was not fortified at all. They cast up a small Trench against the Castle, and besieg'd it. Those that would have been upon the Defensive, had made no Provision for a Siege, and therefore soon surrendered up both it and themselves. All but the King being sent away, the whole Weight of the Government lay upon the Shoulders of those three Associates, who agreed among themselves, that they would manage it by turns, each of them attending four Months on the King. But this Conjunction was not hearty, neither did it last long. *Douglas* attended the first four Months, who brought the King into the Archbishop of *St. Andrew's* House, and made Use of all the Bishop's Household-stuff, and other Accommodations, as if they had been his own (for he had a little before revolted from their Faction;) and to engage the King to him the more, he let him take his fill of all unwarrantable Pleasures, and yet he obtain'd not his End neither, in regard the King's Domestic-ticks were corrupted by the adverse Faction, headed by the *Queen* and *Hamilton*.

THE first Animosities at Court broke forth, upon the Account of distributing Ecclesiastical Preferments; for the * *Douglasses* drew all to themselves; *George Creighton* was translated to the Bishoprick of *Dunkelden*: The Abby of *Holy-Rood* in the Suburbs, which was left by him, *Douglas* gave to his Brother *William*, who had now for five Years forcibly held that of *Coldingham*, about six Miles from *Berwick*, from the Time of the Murder of *Robert Blacketer*, the former Abbot: For *Patrick Blacketer*, *Robert's* Cousin-German, had the Abby bestow'd on him by the Pope, with the Consent of *John* the Regent. He had also commenced a Suit against *John Hume*, an Intimate of the Earl of *Angus's*, and Husband to his Sister's Daughter, about the whole ancient Estate of the *Blacketers*. And therefore *Patrick*, being unable to cope with the *Douglasses*, suffered his Estate to be made a Prey to his Enemies, and reserv'd himself for better Times, amongst his Mother's Kindred, far from those Counties which were obnoxious to the Faction of the *Douglasses*. They on the other side, tho' they did not much value *Patrick*, yet having the Supreme Power in their Hands, and being unwilling to incur the Blot of invading other Men's Rights by mere Force, made use of Friends to proffer him some kind of Amends and Satisfaction; he, shewing himself inclinable to an Agreement, even tho' he remitted much of his Right, had a Pass granted him, and the publick Faith given him by *Douglas*, to come to *Edinburgh*; which he did with a small Retinue, and unarmed; and not far from the Gates of the

* But *Douglas* soon outs the other two.

City, he was set upon by *John Hume*, who lay in Ambush for that purpose, and so murder'd. As soon as the Noise of the Fact was spread over the City, many mounted their Horses, and pursued the Murderers some Miles, in order to apprehend them; but perceiving that *George Douglas*, Brother to the Earl, was in their Company, and many more of *Douglas's* Faction, with the Kindred of *Hume*; not knowing with what Intent they were out, whether to catch, or to defend the Murderers, they desisted from their Pursuit; and this occasioned strange Reports to be divulged abroad concerning the *Douglasses*.

As for *Colen Campbel*, he had already withdrawn himself from the *Triumvirate*, as we may call it; and the Earl of *Lenox*, tho' he followed the King, yet in regard the *Douglasses* got all Offices of publick Advantage into their own Hands, he gave many Testimonies of his Dislike, and palpable Proof that his Mind was quite alienated from them. But they, being confident of their Power, slighted the Reports and Ill-will of others. Mean while the King, tho' he were used more indulgently than was fit, that so his infirm Spirit might be the longer in subjection to them; yet notwithstanding by little and little grew weary of their Government, being also weaned from them by his Domesticks, who laid to their Charge Actions, some true, some false, and interpreted the doubtful in the worst Sense; upon which he secretly communicated with such as he could trust, about vindicating himself into his Freedom and Liberty: The only Man of his Nobles, to whom he opened his Mind without Reserve, was *John Earl of Lenox*, who, besides his other Virtues of Mind and Body, was an honest and fine-spoken Man, and excellently compos'd to reconcile and win upon the Souls of Men, by a natural sweetness of Manners and Deportment: Him he made privy to his Design; and whilst they were consulting about the Time, Place, and Manner of its Accomplishment, *Douglas* was making many Expeditions against the Bands of Robbers, but with no great Success. At length, about the end of *July*, he resolv'd to carry the King into *Teviotdale*, as supposing that his Presence would be advantageous, by striking a Terror into the Licentious. Here an Assembly being held at *Jedburgh*, the King called together all the Heads of the chief Families round about, and commanded them to apprehend those Criminals, every one within his own Precinct, of which he then gave them a list. They industriously obey'd his Command; so that many of the Thieves paid their Heads as the price of their Robberies; and others were spared in hopes of Amendment. Thus, whilst the Minds of all were very merry, they who had a Design to free the King from the Guardianship of the *Douglasses*, thought this a good Opportunity

portunity to effect it; because one *Walter Scott*, living not far from *Jedburgh*, had great Clanships in the Counties thereabouts. The manner of accomplishing their Project was thus laid; *Walter* was to invite the King to his House, and there he was to remain with him as at his own Royal Pleasure, till, the Report spreading abroad, greater Forces came in. But their Design seem'd to be discover'd, either by Chance, or upon some private Intimation; the King being carried back to *Mulrofs*. Yet *Walter* was not discouraged, but proceeded on his Journey to the King: When he was but a little Way off, an Alarm was brought to the *Douglasses*, that *Walter* was at hand, well armed himself, and a great Troop of armed Men accompanying him: So that there was no doubt to be made, but he being a factious Man, and withal good at his Weapon, intended some Mischief; insomuch that they all presently ran to their Arms. *Douglas*, tho' inferior in Number, yet knowing that the Men he had of his own were choice ones; and besides, that he had several valiant Persons of the Family of the *Carrs* and *Humes* in his Train, with *George Hume* and *Andrew Carr*, their Principals, resolv'd to put it to a Battle. In the very nick of time, *George Hume* had like to have spoil'd all, who, when *Douglas* commanded him to alight from his Horse, and manage his Part in the Fight, answer'd, he would alight if the King himself commanded him. They fought eagerly and courageously on both sides, as Men who had their King (the Price of the Combat) their Spectator. *John Stuart* stood near the King, without striking a stroke, only as a Spectator of the Fight.

After a sharp Encounter, *Walter* was wounded, and then his Men gave ground; But the Joy of the *Douglas's* Victory was much allayed by the Loss of *Andrew Carr*, who, for his singular Virtues, was very much lamented by both Parties. Upon the account of his being slain, there ensued a long Feud between the Families of the *Carrs* and the *Scots*, which was not ended without Blood. From that time forward, *John Stuart*, who carried himself as a Neuter in the Fight, being afore suspected by the *Douglasses*, was now accounted their open Enemy; so that he departed from the Court. These Things were acted *July 23*, in the Year 1521.

THE *Douglassians*, perceiving themselves subject to the Envy of whole Multitudes, endeavoured to confirm the Strength of their Faction by new Recruits and Converts: and therefore they made up the old Breach between them and the *Hamiltons*, a Family great in Wealth, in Power, and in its Numbers. These, long since removed from Court, he not only admitted, but invited to take a share of the Government. On the other side,

side, *John Stuart* had the Advantage of being highly favoured by most People: And having privately obtain'd the King's Letters to the chief of the Nobility, who, he thought, would have kept his Counsel, he mightily strengthened his Party. And therefore, in a Convention of his Faction at *Sterlin*, where were also present *James Beton*, some other Bishops, and many Heads of the Noblest Families, he propounded to them the Design of asserting the King's Liberty. This was unanimously agreed to; and tho' the Day for mustering their Forces was not yet come, however, hearing that the *Hamiltons* were gathered together at *Linlithgoe* to intercept their March, he judged it most advisable to attack them before they joined with the *Douglasses*; and accordingly, with the present Force which he had, he marched directly towards them. But the *Hamiltons*, having Intelligence that *John* would march out of *Sterlin* on that Day, and very early in the Morning, took care beforehand to call the *Douglassians* out of *Edinburgh* to their Assistance. But the King, besides other Obstacles, retarded them in some measure, by pretending himself *not well*; so that he rose later out of his Bed that Day than ordinary; and besides he march'd very slowly; and upon the way would often turn aside to ease Nature, as if he had been troubled with a Looseness. And when *George Douglas* had in vain, by fine Speeches and Flatteries, try'd to persuade him to make more haste, at last he broke forth into this menacing Expression; Sir, said he, *Rather than our Enemies should take you from us, we will lay hold on your Body; and if it be rent in pieces, we will be sure to take one part of it.* Those Words struck a deeper Impression on the King's Mind, than is usual in one of his Age; insomuch that many Years after, when he had some inclination to recall the rest of the *Douglasses* at that time Exiles, he could not endure to hear any body speak of a Reconciliation with *George*. The *Hamiltons*, betwixt the Fear of the Enemy approaching, and the Hope of Aids at hand, had set themselves in array at the Bridge of the River *Aven*, which is above a Mile from *Linlithgoe*: They plac'd a small Guard at the Bridge, and the rest of their Forces on the brow of the Hills, which they knew the Enemy must pass. *Lenox* seeing that his Passage over the Bridge was stopp'd, commanded his Men to pass over a small River a little above, by a Nunnery (call'd *Manuel*) and so to beat the *Hamiltonians* from the Hills, before *Douglas's* Forces had joined them. The *Lenoxians* made towards their Enemies, through thick and thin, as we say; but they were much prejudiced by abundance of Stones which they rolled down from the Hills, upon them: And, when they came Hand to Hand, the Word was given, that the *Douglasses* were very near, and indeed they ran hastily from

from their March into the Fight and soon carry'd the Day; so that *Lenox's* Men were most grievously mauled and put to flight. The *Hamiltonians*, especially *James* the Bastard, used their Victory with a great deal of Cruelty; *William Cunningham*, Son to the Earl of *Glencarn*, receiv'd many Wounds, but his Life was saved by the *Douglasses* his Kinsmen. *John Stuart* was kill'd, much lamented by the Earl of *Arran*, his Uncle; and also by *Douglas* himself; but most of all by the King; for he had sent *Andrew Wood* of the *Largs*, his Favourite, before (as soon as ever he heard of the Fight, by the clashing of the Armour) to save *Lenox's* Life, if possible; but, as it happen'd unluckily, he came too late, when the Business was done and all over.

AFTER this Victory, the *Douglasses*, to keep down the Faction of their Enemies, and make them subject to their Will, proceeded in the Law against those who had taken up Arms against their King, as they phras'd it; so that, for fear of a Tryal, many were forc'd to compound with them for Money; some put themselves into the Clanship of the *Hamiltons*, others into that of the *Douglasses*; but the most obstinate were called to the Bar; amongst whom was *Gilbert* Earl of *Cassils*, who, when he was press'd by *James Hamilton* the Bastard, to shroud himself under the Protection of the *Hamiltons*, out of the greatness of his Spirit made this Answer, *That there was an old League of Friendship made between both their Grandfathers; in which his Grandfather was always named First, as the more honourable: And that he would not now so far degenerate from the Dignity of his Family, or the Glory of his Ancestors, as to put himself under the Patronage (which was but one Degree below plain Slavery) of that Family, whose Chief, in an equal Alliance, was always content with the Second Place.* So that when *Gilbert* was call'd to his Answer at a Day appointed, *Hugh Kennedy* his Kinsman, made Answer for him, That he had not taken up Arms against the King, but for him; for he was commanded to be at that Fight; and if it should be needful, he proffered to produce the King's Letters to that purpose. The *Hamiltons* were much troubled at his Boldness; for indeed the King had wrote to *Gilbert*, when he came from Court, as well as to others, That he should take part with *John Stuart*: But, seeing the Battle was at hand, insomuch that he could have no time to call together his Clanship and Kindred, as he was upon the Way, he turn'd aside, with those of his Family that were with him, to *Sterlin*.

THE Violence of the *Hamiltons* was somewhat abated by this Tryal; but *James* the Bastard, fired with a mortal Hatred against *Kennedy*, a few Days after, as he was returning Home,

Home, he caus'd him to be murdered on the Way, by the means of *Hugh Campbel* Laird of *Air*. This *Hugh*, the same Day the Murder was committed (which he had commanded his Vassals to execute, that so he might avert all Suspicion of so horrid a Fact from himself) went to *John Erskin's* House, whose Wife was Sister to *Gilbert Kennedy's* Wife: She, as soon as ever she heard of this cruel Murder, ceased not to upbraid him with it to his very Face, and that in a most grievous manner. Thus the noble Family of the *Kennedies* was almost quite extinguished. The Son of the Earl, after his Father was slain, being but a Child, fled to his Kinsman *Archibald Douglas*, who was then Lord Treasurer, and put himself and his Family under his Protection. He receiv'd him very lovingly; and such was the great Ingenuity of his promising Years, that he designed him for his Son-in-law. *Hugh Campbell* was summon'd to appear, but his Crime being too plain, he made his Escape out of the Kingdom. Neither did the *Douglasses* exercise their Revenge and Hatred less fiercely upon *James Beton*; for they led their Forces to *St. Andrew's*, seized upon, pillaged, and ruined his Castle, because they counted him the Author of all the Projects the Earl of *Lenox* had undertaken; but he himself went under frequent Disguises, because no Man durst entertain him openly, and so escaped. And the Queen herself made her Retirement with the like kind of Dissimulation and Solitude, that so she might not fall into the Hands of her Husband, whom she detested and abhor'd.

At the beginning of the Spring following, *Douglas* made an Expedition into *Liddisdale*, where he slew many of the Thieves, falling upon them unawares in their Huts, before they could put themselves in order for a Defence: Twelve of them he hang'd up, and twelve more he kept as Hostages; but because their Relations did not forbear their old trade of Robbing, a few Months after he even put them to death. At his entrance on that Expedition, there happened a Matter very remarkable, which, for the Novelty of the Thing, I shall not pass by: There was an Under-Groom, or Helper, belonging to the Stables of *John Stuart*, of mean Descent, and therefore used in a mean Employment, to dress Horses; when his Lord and Master was kill'd by the *Hamiltons*, he wander'd up and down for a time, not knowing what Course to take; at last he took Heart, and resolv'd to attempt a Fact, far superior to the Rank and Condition he had been born and brought up in. For he undertook a Journey to *Edinburgh*, with an intent to revenge the Death of his Lord who was slain; and there he casually lighted upon a Man of the same Family and Fortune with himself; he demanded of him, whether he had seen *James Hamilton* the Bastard, in the City; who

who answered him, he had : *What*, said he, *thou most ungrateful of Men, hast thou seen him, and would'st thou not kill him, who slew so good a Master as we both had ? Go get thee gone, and may Misery be thy Companion.* This said, he presently hasten'd on his designed Journey, and went directly to Court. There were then in a large Court, which is before the Palace in the Suburbs, about 2000 arm'd Men of *Douglas's* and *Hamilton's* Dependents, ready prepared for the Expedition I spoke of before ; he seeing them, pass'd by all the rest, and fix'd his Eye and Mind on *Hamilton* only, who was then coming out of the Court-yard in his Cloak without his Armour ; when he saw him in a pretty long Gallery (and somewhat dark) which is over the Gate, he flew at him, and gave him six Wounds ; one of them almost pierced to his Vitals, but as for the others, he pretty well avoided them by the winding and turning of his Body, and by warding them off with his Cloak which he held before him. This done, the Groom presently mix'd himself among the Croud. Immediately a great Clamour began, and some of the *Hamiltons* suspected that the *Douglasses* had done so horrid a Fact, upon Relicks of their old Grudges ; so that those two Factions had almost like to have gone together by the Ears. At last, when their Fear and Suprize was allay'd, they were all commanded to stand in single Ranks, by the Walls which were round about the Court-yard ; there the Murderer was discovered, as yet holding the bloody Knife in his Hand. Being demanded what he was, and whence, and for what he came thither ? He made no ready Answer : Upon which he was dragg'd to Prison, and put to the Rack ; and then he confess'd immediately, that he had undertaken the Fact, in Revenge of his good Lord and Master ; and that he was sorry for nothing, but that so famous an Attempt did not take Effect ; he was tortur'd a long time, but discover'd no body as privy to his Design. At last he was condemned, and carried up and down the City, and every Part of his naked body was nipp'd with Iron Pincers red-hot ; and yet neither in his Speech, nor in his Countenance, did he discover the least Sense of Pain : When his right Hand was cut off, he said that it was punish'd less than it had deserv'd, because it had not obey'd the Dictates of his Mind, which was so eager to have executed the bloody Purpose.

MOREOVER, the same Year *Patrick Hamilton*, Son of a Sister of *John Duke of Albany*, and of a Brother of the Earl of *Arran*, a young Man of great Judgment and singular Learning, by a Conspiracy of the Priests was burn'd at *St. Andrew's* : And not long after his Suffering, Men were much terrified at the Death of *Alexander Campbel* ; he was of the Order

of

of the *Dominicans*; a Man also of good Ingenuity, and accounted one of the most learned of all those who follow'd the Sect of *Thomas Aquinas*. *Patrick* had frequent Conferences with *Alexander* concerning the Meaning of the Holy Scripture, and at last he brought the Man to confess and acknowledge, that almost all the Articles, which were then, counted Heterodox, were really true. And yet this *Alexander*, being more desirous to save his Life than to hazard it for Truth's sake, was persuaded by his Friends to prefer a publick Accusation and Charge against him. *Patrick* being a Man of a zealous Spirit, could not brook this Desire of Vain-glory in the ambitious Man, but broke forth into this Expression openly; *O thou vilest of Men, says he, who art convinced that the Tenets which thou now condemnest, are most certainly true, and dost confess to me that they are so: I cite thee to the Tribunal of the living God.* *Alexander* was so astonished at that Word, that he was never himself from that Day forward; and not long after he died in a Fit of Madnes.

ALL this time, and for a great part of the Year ensuing, the *Douglasses*, being severally intent upon other Matters, were secure as to the King's Departure from them; because they believed, that now his Mind was fully reconciled to them by those immoderate Pleasures they had indulg'd him in; and besides they thought if he had a Mind to remove, there was no Faction strong enough to oppose them; neither was there any strong Garrison to which he could retire, but only *Sterlin Castle*, which was allotted to the Queen for her Habitation; but then it was deserted for a time by the Queen's Officers, when she hid herself from the *Douglasses*; and when the Tumult was a little appeased, it was somewhat fortified, rather for a Shew than for any Defence. The King, having obtained some small Relaxation, saw that this must be his only Refuge; and therefore he bargain'd with his Mother privately to exchange that Castle, and the Land adjoyning, for other Lands, as convenient for her; and providing all other Requisites as secretly as he could, the *Douglasses* not being so intent as formerly in their Watch over him, he retired by Night, with a few in his Company, from *Falkland* to *Sterlin*; whither he soon sent for many of the Nobles to come to him, and others hearing the News, came in of their own accord; so that now he seem'd sufficiently secured against all Force. There, by the Advice of his Nobles, he publish'd a Proclamation, that the *Douglasses* should abstain from all Administration of publick Affairs: And moreover, that none of their Kin by Blood or Marriage, or of their Dependents, should come within twelve Miles of the Court; he that did otherwise was to forfeit his Life. When the

the Edict was served upon the *Douglasses*, as they were coming to *Sterlin*, many were of Opinion, that they should go on their Journey; but the Earl and his Brother *George* thought it best to obey the Edict. Thus they went back to *Linlithgoe*, resolving to stay there till they heard some clearer News from the Court. In the mean time the King sent Messengers with great Diligence, even to the farthest Parts of the Kingdom, to call in all the Nobles, who had a Privilege of voting, to an Assembly at *Edinburgh*, which was to be held *Sept.* the 3d next ensuing. In the interim, He at *Sterlin*, and the *Douglasses* at *Edinburgh*, gathered Forces about them; but it was rather to be upon the Defensive than the Offensive. At length, *July* the 2d, the *Douglasses* departed out of the City, and the King, with his Forces and Banners display'd, enter'd into it; but by the Mediation of Friends, deprecating the King on their behalf, Conditions were offer'd to them, which were, That the Earl of *Angus* should be banish'd beyond the *Spey*; That *George* his Brother, and *Archibald* his Uncle, should be kept in Hold in the Castle of *Edinburgh*. If they submitted to these Terms, then there were Hopes of the King's Mercy, otherwise not. These Terms being rejected by them, they were commanded, by an Herald, to attend the Parliament that was to be held at *Edinburgh* the 3d of *Sept.* In the mean time their publick Offices were taken from them, and *Gavin Dunbar*, lately the King's Tutor, was made Chancellor instead of the Earl: He was a good and learned Man, but some thought him a little defective in Politicks: And *Robert Carn-croft* was made Treasure, in the Place of *Archibald*; a Man more known for his Wealth, than his Virtue. The *Douglasses* being now driven to their last Shifts, endeavoured to seize upon *Edinburgh*, which was left Naked at the King's Departure; and accordingly they sent *Archibald* thither, with some Troops of Horse. Their Design was to keep out the King, and so to dissolve the Parliament: But (on the 26th Day of *August*) *Robert Maxwell* with his Vassals, and a great Number of all sorts of People, by the King's Command prevented them, and kept them from entering the City: Nay the Guards and Centinels were mounted and disposed so carefully in all convenient Places, that things were kept there in great Tranquillity, till the Parliament's time of Meeting: *Douglas* being disappointed of this Hope, retired to his Castle of *Tantallon*, about fourteen Miles distant from the City. The same Day that the King came out of *Sterlin*, there fell such mighty Showers of Rain from the Heavens, and the Brooks and Rivers did so overflow their Banks, that the King's Retinue was scatter'd into many Parties, so that they came much harassed and late in

the

the Night to *Edinburgh*: They were so mightily batter'd with the violence of the Storm, that a very few Horse, if they had charged upon them, might have done them a great deal of Mischief. In that Parliament, the Earl of *Angus*, George his Brother, *Archibald* his Uncle, and *Alexander Drummond* of *Carnock* (their intimate Friend) were Out-lawed, and their Goods confiscated. This Edict or Clause was also added to their Condemnation, That whosoever should harbour them in their Houses, or give them any other Assistance, should incur the same Punishment. That which most of all moved the Court to condemn them, was this; the King had affirmed (it seems) upon Oath, That as long as he was in the Power of the *Douglasses*, he was afraid of his Life. He also profess'd, that his Fear was mightily encreased, and sunk with a deeper Impression into his Mind, after *George* had given him such dreadful Menaces, as I mention'd above. There was only one Man found in this Assembly, by name *John Bannatine*, a Vassal of the *Douglasses*, who was so bold as to make a publick Protestation against all that was acted in Opposition to the Earl, because (as he alledged) his Non-appearance at the Day limited was occasioned by having just Fear.

A FEW Days after, *William*, another Brother of the Earl's, Abbot of the Monastery of *Holy-Rood*, died of Sickness, trouble of Mind and Grief, for the present Posture of Affairs. *Robert Carnecross*, one meanly descended, but a wealthy Man, bought that Preferment of the King, who then wanted Money, eluding the Law against Simony by a new kind of Fraud. The Law was, That Ecclesiastical Preferments should not be sold; but he laid a great Wager with the King, that he would not bestow upon him the next Preferment of that kind that fell; and by that means lost his Wager, but got the Abbey. Thus the *Douglasses*, seeing that all Hope of Pardon was cut off, betook themselves to open Force, and to the only Comfort they had left, which was in Revenge; for they used great Extremity, and committed all sorts of Outrages upon the Lands of their Enemies; they burned *Consland* and *Cranston*, and rode every Day before the Gates of *Edinburgh*, so that the City was almost besieged, and the innocent Poor were made to suffer for the Offences of the great ones. During these Commotions, on the 21st of *November*, a Ship called the *Martina*, a brave Vessel in those Days, and richly laden, by stress of Weather was forced upon the Shore of *Enverwick*; part of the Lading was pillaged by *Douglas's* Horse, who ranged up and down in those Parts; the rest was taken away by the Country-men, who were so ignorant of the Price of it, that they thought the Cinnamon in it to be but a low-prized Bark, and so sold it to make Fire

with; yet the whole Envy of the Matter fell upon the *Douglasses*. Upon this change of Affairs the Robbers, who had a long time refrained their Depredations, for fear of Punishment, came out of the Places in which they had absconded, and grievously infested all the circumjacent Countries. And tho' many Pranks were plaid by others up and down, yet all the Murders and Robberies, every where committed, were charged down to the Score of the *Douglasses* by those Courtiers, who thought they humour'd the King in so doing: By which Means they thought to make the Name of that Family, which was otherwise popular, invidious to the Vulgar. In the Beginning of Winter, the King march'd to *Tantallon*, a Castle of the *Douglasses* by the Sea-side, in order to take it, that so no Refuge at all might be left for the Exiles; and that he might take the Place with less Labour and Cost, he was supply'd with Brass Guns and Powder from *Dunbar*. That Castle was distant from *Dunbar* six Miles, and it was garrison'd by the Soldiers of *John* the Regent, because it was part of his Patrimony. He continued the Siege for some Days, wherein some of the Besiegers were slain, others wounded, and some blown up with Gun-powder; but none at all of the Besieged were lost; so that he rais'd the Siege, and retreated. In his Return, *David Falkner*, who was left behind with some Soldiers, to carry back the Brass Ordnance, was set upon and kill'd by *Douglas's* Horse, who were sent out to surprize the Stragglers in the Rear. His Death did so enrage the young King, who was incens'd enough before, that he solemnly swore in his Passion, that as long as he liv'd, the *Douglasses* should never have the Sentence of their Banishment revoked. And as soon as he came to *Edinburgh*, to straiten them the more, by Advice of his Council he order'd, that a Party of Soldiers should be continually kept at *Coldingham*, which was to be rather an active, or flying, than a numerous one, to prevent their pillaging the Country. *Bothwel*, one of the greatest Persons of Authority and Puissance in *Lothian*, was appointed by the King to take that Post upon him; but he refused the Employment; either dreading the Power of the *Douglasses*, which not long since all the rest of *Scotland* was not able to cope with; or else because he would not have the Disposition of the young King, who was eager and over-violent of his own accord, to be inur'd to such Cruelty, as totally to destroy so noble a Family. And whereas the King had no great Confidence in the *Hamiltons*, as being Friends to his Enemies; and was also offended at them upon the account of the Slaughter of *John Stuart*, Earl of *Lenox*; and besides, there being none of the Nobility of the adjacent Parts, that had

had Power or Interest enough for that Service ; at last he resolved to send *Coleu Campbel* with an Army against the Rebels, a Person living in the further Parts of the Kingdom, but a prudent Man, of approved Valour, and upon the account of his Justice very popular. The *Douglaffians*, when the *Hamiltons* and the rest of their Friends failed them, were reduced to great Straits ; so that they were compelled by *Coleu*, and by *George*, CHIEF of the *Humes*, to retire like Exiles into *England*.

In the Month of *October*, two eminent Knights came Ambassadors from the King of *England* about a Peace ; which, tho' earnestly desired by both Kings, yet they could scarce find out the way to conclude upon it : For *Henry*, being upon the point of making War upon *Charles* the Emperor, was willing to leave all safe behind his Back ; and with the same Labour to procure the Restitution of the *Douglaffes*. As for *James*, he very much desir'd to have *Tantallon* Castle in his Power, but his Mind was very averse to restore the *Douglaffes* ; and for that Reason the Matter was canvas'd to and fro for some Days, and no Temper for Accommodation could be found out : But at last they came to this Resolution. That *Tantallon* Castle should be surrendered by the *Douglaffes*, and a Truce be granted for five Years ; and their other Demands the King was to promise the granting of, separately under his Signet. The Castle was surrendered accordingly, but the other Demands were not so punctually performed, save only that *Alexander Drummond* had leave given him to return home ; for *Robert Brittain's* sake : For some Months before, *James Colvill*, and *Robert Carncroft*, upon Suspicion of their favouring the *Douglaffes*, were removed from Court, and their Offices bestowed on *Robert Brittain*, who then was in high Favour at Court, and had great Command there. After this, tho' Matters were not quite settled abroad (for the *Englist* had burnt *Arn*, a Town in *Teniotdale*, before their Ambassadors return'd) yet the rest of the Year was more quiet ; but the Insolence of the *Banditti* was not quite suppressed. Upon which the King caus'd *William Cockburn* of *Henderland*, and *Adam Scot*, notorious Robbers, to be apprehended at *Edinburgh*, and, for Example of Terror to the rest, he put them to Death. The next Year, in the Month of *March*, the King sent *James* Earl of *Murray*, whom he had made Deputy-Governor of the whole Kingdom, to the Borders, there to have a Meeting with the Earl of *Northumberland*, in order to settle a Peace, and to treat about mutual Satisfaction for Losses : But a Contention arose betwixt them which broke off the Conference : The one pleading, that according to the

Laws made upon occasion of the Murder of *Robert Carr*, the Congress ought to be in *Scotland*: The other would have it in *England*. In the interim, each sent Messengers to their several Kings, to know their Minds in the Case.

ON the 15th Day of *April*, there was held a Council of the Nobility; where, after a long Debate, which lasted till Night, the King order'd, That the Earl of *Boisbucel*, *Robert Maxwell*, *Walter Scot*, and *Mark Carr*, should be committed Prisoners to *Edinburgh* Castle: He banished the chief Men of *Merch* and *Teviotdale*, to other Places; suspecting that they privately sowed the Seeds of War against *England*. In *July* the King levied about 8000 Men, and marched out against the Robbers; and quickly pitch'd his Tents by the River *Euse*. Not far from thence lived one *John Armstrong*, Chief of one Faction of the Thieves; who had struck such a Fear into all the neighbouring Parts, that even the *English* themselves, for many Miles about, bought their Peace, by paying him a certain Tribute: Nay, *Maxwell* was also afraid of his Power, and therefore endeavoured his Destruction by all possible Ways. This *John* was enticed by the King's Officers, to have Recourse to the King; which he did, unarm'd, with about fifty Horse in his Company; but neglecting to obtain the King's Pass and safe Conduct for his Security, he fell into an Ambush, who brought him to the King, as if he had been taken Prisoner by them; so that he and most of his Followers had the Fate of being hang'd. They who were the Cause of his Death, gave out, that he had promised to bring that part of *Scotland*, for some Miles, under the Obedience of the *English*, if he himself might be well considered for that Service: But, on the other side, the *English* were very glad of his Death, for it freed them from a dangerous Enemy. Six of his surviving Companions the King kept as Hostages, but in regard their Fellows were no way deterred by that, from committing the like Insolencies, in a few Months they were likewise sent to the Gallows: And the King took new Hostages of those who staid at home: For the *Liddisdale* Men left their Homes, and pass'd over in Troops to *England*, making daily IncurSIONS, and taking a great deal of Plunder in the neighbouring Parts.

NOT long after, the King restored the Noblemen to their Liberty, having first taken Hostages from them: Of these *Walter Scot*, to gratify the King, kill'd *Robert Johnston*, a Robber of notorious Cruelty amongst them; which bred a deadly Feud between the two Families, to the great Loss and Prejudice of them both.

THE next Year, which was 1531, there happened a Matter very memorable; neither did the Obscurity of the Author, nor

nor the Curiosity of the Time, which made a strict Enquiry into it, abate the Admiration of its Novelty. One *John Scot*, a Man of no Learning, nor of any great Experience in Business, neither had he a subtle Wit of his own, to impose Tricks upon Men, being cast in a Law-suit, and not having Ability to pay Damages, hid himself some Days in the Sanctuary of the Monastery of *Holy-Rood-House*, without eating or drinking any thing at all. When the thing was known and related to the King, he commanded that his Apparel should be changed and diligently search'd; and so caused him to be kept close from all Company in the Castle of *Edinburgh*, where every Day Bread and Water was set before him; but he voluntarily abstain'd from all human Food for thirty-two Days. After that time, as if he had been sufficiently tried, he was brought forth naked into publick View, where the People flocking about him, he made them a long, but sorry Speech, in which there was nothing memorable, but that he affirm'd, he was assisted by the Virgin *Mary* to fast as long as he himself pleased. This Answer favouring of Simplicity, rather than Craft, he was released from his Imprisonment, and went to *Rome*, where he was also imprison'd by Pope *Clement*, until he had fasted long enough to convince him of the Miracle. Then they cloathed him with the Habit that Priests say Mass in, and gave him a Testimonial under the *Leaden-Seal*, which is of great Authority amongst the Papists. Upon that he went to *Venice*, where he also confirm'd their Belief, by his miraculous Fasting: And alledging, that he was obliged, by a Vow he had made, to visit *Jerusalem*, he received of them fifty Ducats of Gold for his Charges on the Way. At his Return, he brought back some Leaves of Palm-trees, and a Bag full of Stones, which he said were taken out of the Pillar which Christ was tied to, when he was scourged. In his Way home to *Scotland*, he pass'd through *London*, and mounted the Pulpit in *Paul's Church-yard*, and in a great Audience of People, preach'd much about the Divorce of King *Henry* from his Queen, and of his Defection from the See of *Rome*. His Words were bitter, and if he had been looked upon above the Degree of a Simpleton, he must have eaten them again; but being imprison'd, and having abstained from Food for almost fifty Days together, he was dismiss'd without farther hurt. When he came back to *Scotland*, he would have joined with one *Thomas Doughty*, who about that time came from *Italy*, and had built a Church dedicated to the Virgin *Mary*, out of the Alms which the People had given him; and had got great Gain by feigned Miracles. But the Life of this *Thomas* was sufficiently known to be very wicked, and the Cheats of his

pretended Miracles were discovered ; yet no Man durst openly gainsay him, for fear of the Bishops, who, by this their new *Atlas*, sought to prop up the Pile of their Purgatory, then tottering ; and he, to requite them for their Courtesy, when any of the richer sort of Priests came to the Place where he was to say Mass, had still one Beggar or other ready at hand to counterfeit himself mad, or diseased in Body, that so (forsooth) by saying his Masses, he might be recovered and healed. But *Thomas* rejecting *John Scot*, because he was not willing to admit any other into the Partnership of his Gain ; *Scot* hired an obscure Garret in the Suburbs of *Edinburgh* ; and there having erected an Altar, and furnished it according to his Ability, he set up his own Daughter, a young Girl, very beautiful, with Wax-Tapers lighted about her, to be adored, instead of the Virgin *Mary*. But this Way of Gain not answering his Expectation, he returned to his old Course of Life, having gain'd nothing by all his preposterous Dissimulation of Sanctity, but to let all Men know, that he wanted not the Will, but Ability of an Impostor.

At the beginning of the following Year, which was 1532, the Earl of *Bothwell* was committed Prisoner to *Edinburgh Castle*, January 16, because he had taken a private Journey into *England*, and there had a secret Conference with the Earl of *Northumberland*. Sir *James Sandeland*, by reason of the great Prudence, Integrity and Authority which he had amongst all good Men, even beyond his State and Degree, was sent to *Hermitage* (a Castle of *Liddisdale*) to restrain the Incursions of Thieves and Robbers.

IN ancient Times, there had been no fix'd Days, nor any set Place appointed for trying pecuniary Causes before the Judges in *Scotland*, until *John Duke of Albany* obtained of the Pope, that a yearly Sum of Money, as much as was sufficient to pay a Salary to a few Judges, should be charged on the Ecclesiastical Order ; and 'twas to be levied on every one, according to the Value of his Benefice. Upon this, *Gavin Dunbar*, Bishop of *Aberdeen*, made his Appeal to the Pope, in the Behalf of himself and other Priests. The Controversy held from the 11th of *March*, to the 24th of *April* ; and then there was a College of Judges settled at *Edinburgh*. At their first Sittings, they devised many advantageous Projects for the equal Distribution of Justice ; yet the hoped for Event did not follow. For, seeing in *Scotland* there are almost no Laws, but Decrees of the Estates, and many of them too made not for perpetuity, but temporary ; and the Judges hinder the enacting of Laws what they can ; the Estates of all the Subjects were committed to the Determination of fifteen Men, who

were to have a perpetual Power, and even a tyrannical Government ; for *their Wills were their Laws*, Much Severity was now used against the *Lutherans*, in Favour of the Pope ; and the Pope on the contrary, to gratify a King so well deserving at his Hands, gave him the Tithes of all Parsonages for three Years next ensuing.

THIS Year the *English* perceiving that the State of Affairs in *Scotland* grew every Day more quiet than other ; but thinking they were destitute of foreign Aids, because they themselves had joined with the *French* against *Charles* the Emperor ; they sought out all Occasions for a War. In *April* they made an Expedition out of *Berwick*, and burnt and plundered *Coldingham*, *Douglas*, and many other neighbouring Towns, where they got a great Booty. They had no apparent Provocation, neither did they declare War beforehand. How eager they were upon War, appears by that King's Proclamation, soon after publish'd, wherein 'twas said, That *the Garrison of Berwick was provoked by some licentious contumelious Words, which the Scots had let fall*. But the Words, mention'd in the Proclamation, carry no Contumely in them at all. But this Cause not seeming just enough for a War, they demanded *Canobie*, a small Village in the Borders, with a poor Monastery in it, as if it belonged to them, which they never pretended to before ; and likewise that the *Douglasses* might be restor'd. For the King of *England* perceiving that his Aid was absolutely necessary to the *French* King, so that he could by no means want it ; and also knowing, that he had him fast in a League, wherein the Interest of *Scotland* was not considered, thought it no hard Matter to bring the *Scots* to what Conditions he pleased. Moreover, because the Emperor was alienated from him by reason of his Peace with *France*, and the Divorce of his Aunt ; and the Pope of *Rome* stirred up Wars amongst all Christian Princes, he thought, if he sat still now, he should lose a great Opportunity at home for bringing about desired Innovations. The King of *Scots*, that he might not be unprovided against this Storm, by a publick Proclamation made all over the Kingdom, appolated his Brother, the Earl of *Murray*, to be his Vicegerent : And because the Borderers of themselves were not able to cope with the *English*, who had also a great Number of hired Troops with them, he divided the Kingdom into four Parts, and commanded each of them to send out the ablest Men amongst them with their Clans, and Provision for forty Days. These *Scotch* Forces, thus succeeding one another by turns, made great Havock in the Towns and Castles of those Parts, so that the King of *England* was frustrated in his Expectation, since the War was likely to be spun out into a

length, and other Concerns were to employ his Care; and therefore he was willing to hearken to a Peace, but had a mind to be sued to for it; for he thought it was not for his Honour either to offer it, or to seek it of himself. And therefore it seemed most convenient to transact the Matter by the King of *France*, the common Friend to both Nations. Accordingly the *French* King sent his Ambassador, *Stephen D'Aix*, into *Scotland*, to enquire by whose Fault this War was commenced between the two Neighbour-Kings. The King of *Scots* clearly acquitted himself from being any Cause of the War; he also made a Complaint to him, how long his Ambassadors had been detained in *France*, without having an Answer: And at the Ambassador's Departure, he sent Letters by him to his Master, desiring him to observe the ancient League, which was renewed by *John* the Regent at *Roan*. He likewise sent *David Beton* into *France*, to answer the Calumnies of the *English*, and besides to treat about the keeping and observing of the old League, and to contract a new Affinity between *France* and *Scotland*. He also sent Letters by him to the Parliament of *Paris*, very bitter and full of Complaints, concerning those Matters which had been transacted and agreed between *Francis* their King, and *John* Regent of *Scotland*; how that ancient Friendships, Pacts, and Agreements between them were slighted in behalf of those, who were once their common Enemies. His Ambassador *Beton* was commanded, if he saw that the Things he had in Commission should not succeed well in *France*, to deliver those Letters to the Council of the Judges, and presently to withdraw himself into *Flanders*, with an Intent (as it might be conjectured) to make League, Agreement, and Affinity with the Emperor.

At the same time, War was waged in *Britain*, and Debates were manag'd at *New-Castle*, concerning the Lawfulness of it. When the Ambassadors of both Nations could not agree on Terms of Pacification, Monsieur *Guy Flower* was sent over by the King of *France*, to compose Matters: The *Scottish* King told him, that he would gratify his Master as far as ever he was able; and he had also some Communication with him, as much as was seasonable at that Time, concerning the conjugal Affinity, about which he had sent Ambassadors before, which were then in *France*. *Flory*, or *Flower*; being thus the Umpire for Peace, the Garrisons were withdrawn on both sides from the Borders, and a Truce was made, which was afterwards followed with a Peace. The King, having for some Years last past transacted Business with the King of *France*, and with the Emperor, by his Ambassadors, about a matrimonial Contract, and now being freed from o-
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other Cares, after the Peace was settled, bent his thoughts more that way than ever. For besides the common Causes which might incline him to some potent Alliance, his whole thoughts were turn'd, how to perpetuate his Family by Issue of his Body, he himself being the last Male that was left alive; insomuch that his next Heirs had already flattered themselves with very firm Hopes of the Kingdom; which did not a little trouble him, who was otherwise of his own Nature suspicious enough: And indeed, many things very much concurred to nourish them in that Hope; as for Instance, their own domestick Power; the King's being a Batchelor; his being of so adventurous and enterprizing a Genius; his slighting all Danger; so that he would not only stoutly undergo all Hazards, but often court and invite them; for with a small Party he would march against the fiercest Thieves; and tho' they were superior in Number, yet he would either prevent them by his Speed, or else frighten and awe them by the sacred Power of his Name, and so force them to a Surrender. He would sit Night and Day on Horseback in this Employment; and if he took any Refreshment or Food, it was that which he lighted on by chance, and but little of that neither.

THESE Circumstances made the *Hamiltons* almost confident of the Succession; yet it seem'd to them a long way about to stay for either fortuitous, or natural Causes of Mortality, and therefore they studied to hasten his Death by Treachery. A fair Opportunity was offered them to effect it by his Night-walkings to his Misses, having but one or two in his Company. But all these things not answering their Expectation, they resolved to cut off the Hope of lawful Issue, by hindering his Marriage, what they could; although *John Duke of Albany*, when he was Regent, seem'd to have made sufficient Provision against that Inconvenience; for, when he renewed the ancient League between the *French* and *Scots* at *Roan*, he had inserted one Article, that *James* should marry *Francis's* eldest Daughter. But there were two Impediments in the way, which almost cut this League asunder. For *Francis* being freed out of the Hands of the *Spaniard*, by the Industry and Diligence principally of *Henry* the eighth, had enter'd into so strict a League with the *English*, that the *Scottish* League was much intrenched upon by it; and besides, the eldest Daughter of *Francis* was deceas'd awhile before; and therefore *James* desired *Magdalen* his next Daughter to Wife, and sent Ambassadors over for that purpose; but her Father excused the Matter, alledging, that his Daughter was of so weak a Constitution of Body, that there were but little Hopes of Children by her, nor hardly any likelihood of her Life itself, for any long time.

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ABOUT the same time, there was an Affiance treated of with *Charles* the Emperor by Ambassadors; and at length, the 24th Day of *April*, 1534, the Emperor sent *Godscalk Ericus*, that the Matter might be carried with greater Secrecy, from *Toledo* in *Spain*, through *Ireland*, to *James*. After he had declared the Commands he had in charge from the Emperor, concerning the Wrongs offer'd to his Aunt *Catherine* and her Daughter, by King *Henry*; concerning the calling a General Council; concerning the rooting out the Sect of the *Lutherans*; and about contracting an Affinity: The Emperor by his Letters, gave the King his Choice of three *Maries*, all of them of his Blood; they were, *Mary* Sister to *Charles*, a Widow, ever since the Death of her Husband, *Lewis* of *Hungary*, who was slain in Battle by the *Turks*; *Mary* of *Portugal*, the Daughter of his Sister *Leonora*; and *Mary* of *England*, his Niece by his Aunt *Catherine*: And because *Charles* knew, that King *James* was more inclinable to this last Match, he likewise shewed a greater propensity to it, that so he might take off *James* from his valuing of, and adhering to, the League with *Francis*, and at the same time might set him at odds with *Henry*. *James* made Answer, that the Marriage with *England* was indeed, in many respects, most advantageous, if it could be obtained; but it was a Business of uncertain Hope, but of great Danger and Toil, and would be encumber'd with so many Delays, that his single Life, he being the last of his Family, could hardly bear it; and therefore of all *Cesar's* Nieces, he told him, that the Daughter of *Christiern* King of *Denmark* was most convenient for him, who was begotten upon *Isabel*, the Sister of *Charles*. A while after, *Charles* answered this his Demand from *Madrid*, that she was already promised to another: And tho' *Cesar*, by offering Conditions, seem'd rather to prolong the Matter, than really to intend the accomplishment of it, yet the Treaty was not wholly laid aside. Matters being quiet at Home, *James* resolv'd to go on Ship-board, to take a View of all his Dominions round about, and to curb the stubborn Spirits of the *Islanders*, and make them more obedient. First, he sail'd to the *Orsades*, where he quieted all Disorders, by apprehending and imprisoning a few of the Nobility. He garrison'd two Castles there, his own and the Bishop's. Afterwards he visited the rest of the Islands, and sent for the chief Men to come to him: Those that refus'd he seiz'd by Force: He laid a Tax on them, took Hostages, and carried away with him those who were most likely to prove Incendiaries; and putting some of his own Train into their Castles, he sent the Leading-Men of them, some to *Edinburgh*, and some to *Dunbar*, Prisoners: For about that time, *John*, Duke of *Albany*, had surrender'd up *Dunbar* to the King, which

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till then had been held by a *French* Garrison. In the next Month of *August*, great Severity was used against the *Lutherans*; some were compelled to make a publick Recantation; others refusing to appear upon Summons, were banished. Two were burn'd; of which one, named *David Straiton*, was free enough from *Lutheranism*; but he was accused of it, because he was a little refractory in paying of Tythes to the Collectors, and so was put to Death, only for a supposed Crime. In an Assembly which the King caused to be convened at *Jedburgh*, in order to the suppressing of the Robbers thereabouts, *Walter Scot* was condemned for High Treason, and sent Prisoner to *Edinburgh* Castle, where he remained as long as the King lived. The same Month of *August*, when *Francis* (as I said before) had excused his Daughter's Marriage, on account of her Health, but withal had offer'd him any other of the Blood Royal; the King sent Ambassadors into *France*, *James*, Earl of *Murray*, Vice-Roy of the Kingdom, and *William Stuart*, Bishop of *Aberdeen* (these two went by Sea) and *John Erskine* by Land, because he had some Commands to deliver to *Henry* of *England* by the way. To them he added a Fourth, *i. e.* *Robert Reed*, a good Man, and of consummate Wisdom. There *Mary* of *Bourbon*, the Daughter of *Charles* Duke of *Vendosme*, a Lady of the Blood, was offer'd to them, as a fit Wife for their King. Other Points were easily agreed upon; but the Ambassadors, fearing that this Marriage would not please their Master, would make no Espousal, till they had acquainted him with it. In the mean time *Henry* of *England*, to trouble a Master which was upon the point of concluding, in *November* sent the Bishop of *St. David's* into *Scotland*, who brought *James* some *English* Books, containing several points of the Christian Religion, desiring *James* to read them, and diligently to weigh the Contents: But he gave them to some of his Courtiers, who were most addicted to the Sacerdotal Order, to inspect: They having scarce look'd on them, condemn'd them as *Heretical*; and moreover, they highly congratulated the King, that he had not polluted his Eye (so they phrased it) with reading such pestiferous Books. This was the Cause of their Embassy, according to common Vogue: yet, some say, that they brought some other secret Messages to *James*. Afterward, the same Bishop (together with *William Howard*, Brother to the Duke of *Norfolk*) came so unexpectedly to *Sterlin*, that they almost surprized the King, before he heard any News of their coming: Their Errand was, that *Henry* desired *James* to appoint a Day of Interview, when they might confer together; for he had Things of high Moment and Importance, and of mighty Advantage to both Nations to propound to him

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at that Meeting. In that Message, he gave great Hope, if other Matters could be well accorded, that he would bestow his Daughter in Marriage upon him, and leave him King of all *Britain* after his Demise: And, that he might give more Credit to his Promises, he would make him for the present, Duke of *York*, and Vice-Roy of the Kingdom of *England*. *James* willingly assented to such large and alluring Promises, and accordingly fix'd a Day for the Interview: But there were two Factions that resolved to oppose his Journey for *England*; First the *Hamiltons*, who being next Heirs to the Crown, laboured underhand to keep the King from marrying, that he might have no Children to exclude them from the Succession. And next, the Priests also were mightily against it, and their Pretences were seemingly just and honest; as first, The Danger he would run, if with a small Retinue he should put himself into the Power of his old Enemy; for then he must comply with his Will, tho' it proved to be never so much against his own: They recited the Examples of his Ancestors, who either by their own Credulity, or else by the Perfidiousness of the Enemy, had been drawn into a snare; and from flattering Promises of Friendship, had brought home nothing but a sense of their Ignominy and Losses. They also urged the unhappy Mistake of *James* the first, who, in a time of Truce, landed, *as he thought*, in his Friend's Country, was there kept Prisoner eighteen Years, and at last had such Conditions imposed upon him, as he neither lawfully could, nor ought to have accepted; and then, said they, he was most fordidly sold to his own Subjects. Moreover, first *Malcolm*, after him his Brother *William*, Kings of *Scotland*, were brought on the Stage, who were enticed to *London* by *Henry* the second, and then carried over into *France*, to make a shew of assisting, in a War there against the *French* King, their old Ally. But (say they) if it be objected, *Henry* the eighth will do none of these things; they answered first, *How shall we be assured of that?* Next, Is it not a Point of high Imprudence to venture one's Fortune, Life, and Dignity, which are now in one's own Power, into the Hands of another? Besides, the Priests thinking that all their Concerns were now at Stake, and that they must, now or never, stand up for them; they ordered *James Beton*, Archbishop of *St. Andrew's*, and *George Creighton*, Bishop of *Dunkelden*, two old decrepit Men, to come to Court, there to give it out, 'That Religion would be betray'd by this Interview, even that Religion which had been observ'd so many Ages by their Ancestors, and which had all along preserved its Defenders, till that very Day; the Ruin of which would be likewise attended with the total Destruction

' Destruction of the Kingdom ; to forsake that Religion upon every slight Occasion, especially at such a time, when the whole World conspired together with Arms in their Hands, for its Preservation, could not be done without great Danger to the present Times, and Infamy to the future: Nay, that it would be a thing of great Wickèdness and Impiety in to the Bargain.' With these Engines they battered *James's* Mind, which of itself was inclined enough to Superstition: And moreover, they corrupted those Courtiers, who could the most prevail with him, desiring them, in their Names, to promise him a great Sum of Money: So that by these Artifices they wholly turned away his Mind from the Thoughts of an Interview. *Henry* took this Disappointment in great Disdain (as he indeed had reason) and thus the Seeds of Dissension were again sown between the two Kings.

IN the mean time, the King was weary of his single Life; and by reason of foreign Embassies, and the Distractions caused by Court-Factions at Home, was variously agitated in his Thoughts: All pretended the *publick* Good, but some aimed at their own *private* Advantage under that specious Pretence; and, tho' most Men persuaded him to an Affinity with *Charles* in regard of the flourishing Estate of the *Empire* at that time, yet he rather inclined to an Alliance with *France*. And therefore seeing the Matter could not be ended by Ambassadors, he himself resolv'd to * sail over into *France*; and accordingly, rigging out a small Navy, the best he could fit in so short a time, on the 26th of *July* he set sail from *Leith*, none knowing whither he would go. Many were of opinion that his Design was for *England*, to visit his Uncle, and ask him Pardon for disappointing the Interview proposed the Year before. But, a Tempest arising, and contrary Winds tossing him, the Pilot ask'd him, what Course he should steer? *If there be a Necessity*, said he, *Land me any where but in England*. Then his Mind was understood. He might have return'd Home, but was willing rather to sail round *Scotland*, and to try the Western Ocean; there too he met with very bad Weather, and, by the Advice of a few of his Domesticks, while he was asleep, he was carried back again: When he waked, he took the Matter in such great Indignation, that for ever after he bore an implacable Hatred against *James Hamilton*, whom he had in disgust before upon the account of killing the Earl of *Lenox*: Neither was he well pleased with the rest of the Authors of that Counsel ever after: And there were some who, in compliance with the King's angry Humour, were continually buzzing in his Ears, That *Hamilton*, under a pretence of a ser-

* King *James* sails over into *France*.

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viceable Attendance and Duty, had accompany'd him on purpose to disappoint his Design. However, he put to Sea again with a great Train of Nobles; *September* the first, and in ten Days arriv'd at *Diepe* in *Normandy*: From thence, that he might prevent the News of his Arrival, he went in Disguise, with great speed, to the Town of *Vendosme*; where the Duke then was, and saw his Daughter, who happening not to please his Fancy, he presently went to Court. Tho' he came unexpectedly upon *Francis* and the whole Court, yet he was honourably receiv'd by him; and on the 26th of *November*, almost against his will, he bestow'd in Marriage his Daughter *Magdalene* upon him: For her Father (as I related before) judging his eldest Daughter, by reason of her sickly Temper, unfit to bear Children, offer'd him his youngest, or any other Woman of the *French* Nobility, for a Wife: But *James* and *Magdalene* having conceived a love for each other by Messages, which was now confirm'd by approaching, seeing, and discoursing together, neither of them could be diverted from their Purpose. The Marriage was celebrated *January* the first, in the Year 1534, to the great Joy of all: And they both arrived in *Scotland* on the 28th of *May*, being attended by a *French* Navy. She lived not long after, but died of an *Hellick* Fever *July* the 7th, to the great Grief of all, except the Priests, for they feared that her Life would have put an End to their Luxury and Lust, because they knew she was educated under the Discipline of her Aunt the Queen of *Navarre*. As for others, they conceiv'd such a Grief for her Death, that then (as I think) Mourning Apparel was first used in *Scotland*, which is not much worn at present, tho' Fashions commonly grow to an excess in such a space of time, which is now about forty Years. Ambassadors were presently sent into *France*, Cardinal *David Beton*, and *Robert Maxwell*, to bring over *Mary* of the House of *Guisse*, Widow to the Duke of *Longueville*; for the King presaging the loss of his Wife, had his Eye upon her. The same Year the Earl of *Bothwell*, because he had pass'd over secretly into *England*, and also had held private Cabals with the *English* in *Scotland*, was banish'd out of *England*, *Scotland*, and *France*. Moreover about the same time many Persons were accused of High Treason: *John Forbes*, an active young Man, the Head of a great Family and Faction, was brought to this End, as was thought, by the Jealousy of the *Hausleys*; for there was one *Strangban*, a Man fit for any wicked Enterprize, who was many Years very familiar with *Forbes*, and was either privy to, or else Partaker or Author of, all his bad Actions: He being not so much respected by him as he thought he deserv'd, applied himself to his Enemy *Hausley*, and before him

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accused *Forbes* of Treason, or (as many think) he there plotted the Accusation with *Huntly* himself, against him, viz. That *Forbes* many Years before had a Design to kill the King. The Crime was not sufficiently prov'd, nor the Witnesses unexceptionable; neither was the Plot of his Adversaries the *Huntleys* against his Life, hid in the Process; yet on the 13th of *July*, the Judges, who were most of them bribed by *Huntley*, condemned him, and he had his Head struck off. His Punishment was the less lamented, because, tho' Men believed him guiltless as to the Crime he suffer'd for; yet they counted him worthy of Death, for the Improbability of his former Life. *Strangban*, the Discoverer, because he had concealed so great a Crime so long, was banished *Scotland*, and lived many Years after at *Paris*, but in so lewd and debauch'd a Manner, that Men thought him a fit Instrument for to bring about any wicked End whatsoever. The King, not long after, as if he had repented of his Severity against *Forbes*, took a Brother of his into his Family; and advanced another to a rich Match, restoring to him the Estate which had been confiscated.

A FEW Days after, there was another Tryal, which was indeed very lamentable, on account of the accused Parties, the new kind of Wickedness charged on them, and the hideousness of the Punishment. *Joan Douglas*, Sister to the Earl of *Angus*, and Wife to *John Lyons*, Lord of *Glames*; also her Son, and her second Husband, *Gilespey Campbell*, *John Lyons*, Kinsman to her former Husband, and an old Priest, were accused of endeavouring to poison the King. All these, tho' they lived continually in the Country, far from Court, and their Friends and Servants declared nothing upon their Examination against them which could hurt them, yet were they put upon the Rack to make them confess, and so were shut up in *Edinburgh* Castle. The fifth Day after *Forbes* was executed, *Joan Douglas* was burnt alive, with the great Commiseration of all the Spectators: The Nobleness both of herself and Husband did much affect the Beholders; besides, she was in the Vigour of her Youth, much commended for her rare Beauty, and in her very Punishment she shewed a manlike Fortitude. But that which People were most concerned for was, That they thought the Enmity against her Brother, who was banished, did her more prejudice than her own (suspected) Crime. Her Husband endeavour'd to escape out of the Castle of *Edinburgh*, but the Rope being too short to let him down to the Foot of the Rock, he broke almost all the Bones of his Body in the Fall, and so ended his Days. Their Son, a Youth of more innocent Simplicity, than to have the Suspicion of such a Wickedness justly charged upon him, was shut up Prisoner in
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the Castle ; and after the King's Death was released, and recover'd the Estate which had been taken away from his Parents. Their Accuser was *William Lyons*, their near Relation. He afterwards perceiving, that so eminent a Family was like to be ruined by his false Information, repented when it was too late, and confess'd his Offence to the King ; and yet he could not prevail to prevent the Punishment of the condemned, or to hinder their Estates from being confiscated.

THE next Year, on the 12th of *June*, *Mary* of the House of *Guise* arrived at *Balcomy*, a Castle belonging to *James Laird* of *Lermont* ; from whence she was convey'd by Land to *St. Andrew's* ; and there, in a great Assembly of the Nobility, she was married to the King. The beginning of the Year following, which was 1539, many Persons were apprehended, as suspected of *Lutheranism* ; and about the end of *February*, five were burn'd, nine recanted, but many more were banish'd ; amongst the Sufferers of this Class was *George Buchanan*, who, when his Keepers were asleep, made his Escape out of the Window of the Prison, to which he was committed. This Year the Queen was brought to bed of a Son at *St. Andrew's* ; and the next Year of another in the same Place. Both this Year and the former, Matters were rather hush'd a little, than entirely compos'd ; some Men wanting rather a Leader, than Occasion to rebel : For tho' many desired it, yet no Man durst openly avow himself Head of any Insurrection. And now the King having Heirs to succeed him, and by that means becoming more confident of a settled Establishment, began to slight the Nobility as a sluggish and unwarlike Generation, and not likely to attempt any thing against him, whose Family was now riveted and confirmed by Issue-Male, so that he apply'd his Mind to unnecessary Buildings. He stood in need of Money for that Work ; and, in regard he was as Covetous as he was Indigent, both Factions of Nobles and Priests were equally afraid, and each of them endeavoured to avert the Tempest from falling upon them, that it might light on the other. And therefore, whenever the King complain'd of the Lowness of his Exchequer amongst his Friends, one Party would extol the Riches of the other, as if it were a Prey ready for the Seizure ; and the King hearkened sometimes to the one, and sometimes to the other, and so kept both in suspense, between Hope and Fear : So that when Ambassadors came at that time out of *England* to Court, to desire the King to give his Uncle a Meeting at *Tork*, promising him mighty Advantages by that Interview, and making a large harangue concerning the Love and Good-will of their King towards him, the Faction that opposed the Priests, perswaded him by all means to meet at
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the Time and Place appointed. When the Ecclesiastical Party heard of this, they thought their Order would be quite undone, if they did not hinder the Meeting of the two Kings, and so disturb their Concord, and sow the Seeds of Discord betwixt the King and his Nobles. And considering of all Ways how to effect it, no Remedy seem'd more ready at hand for the present Malady, than to make an Attack upon the King's Mind, which was not able to resist Offers of Money, by the Promises of large Subsidies: Accordingly they placed before his Eyes the Greatness of the Danger, the doubtful and uncertain Credit of an Enemy's Promise; and that he might have a greater Sum of Money at Home, and more easily procured. First of all, they promised to give him of their own, 30000 Ducats of Gold yearly, and all the rest of their Estates also should be at his Service to obviate future Emergencies, if any happen'd; and as for those who rebelled against the Authority of the Pope, and the Majesty of the King, and troubled the Peace of the Church by new and wicked Errors; and therefore would subvert all Piety, overthrow the Rights of Magistracy, and cancel Laws of so long standing; out of their Estates he might get above an hundred thousand Ducats more, yearly, into his Exchequer, by way of Confiscation, if he would permit them to nominate a Lord-Chief-Justice in the Case, because they themselves could not, by Law, sit in capital Cases to condemn any Man. And that, in the managing the Process against them, there would be no Danger, nor any Delay in passing Sentence, since so many thousand Men were not afraid to take the Books of the Old and New Testament into their Hands; to discourse concerning the Power of the Pope; to contemn the ancient Ceremonies of the Church; and to detract from the Reverence and Observance, which was due to religious Persons, consecrated to the Service of God. This they urged upon him with such Vehemency, that he appointed them a Judge, according to their own Hearts, and that was *James Hamilton*, natural Brother to the Earl of *Arran*: Him they had oblig'd by great Gratuities before; and besides, he was resolv'd to insinuate himself into the King's Favour (who long since had been offended with him) with the Perpetration of some Act by way of Atonement, tho' it was never so cruel.

• ABOUT the same time, *James Hamilton*, Sheriff of *Linlithgoue*, and Cousin-German to the other *James*, came into *Scotland*: He, after a long Banishment, when he had commenced a Suit against *James* the Bastard, and had obtained Leave to return for a time to his own Country, understanding what Danger he and the rest of the Favourers of the Reformed Doctrine were in, sent his Son with a Message to the King, just as he was go-

ing over into *Fife*; and, having very opportunely met with him before he went a-board, he filled his Head, which was naturally suspicious, with fearful Presages, That this Commission, granted to *Hamilton*, would be a Capital Matter, and pernicious to the whole Kingdom, unless he prevented this Sophistry by another Stratagem. The King, who was then hastening into *Fife*, sent the young Man back to *Edinburgh*, to the Court called the *Exchequer-Court*, where he also commanded to assemble *James Lermont*, *James Kircaldy*, and *Thomas Erskin*, of whom the first was Master of the Household, the second Lord High-Treasurer, neither of them averse to the Reformed Religion; the third was highly of the Popish Faction, and the King's Secretary. These were all order'd to meet: And the King commanded them to give the same Credit to the Messenger, as they would do to himself, if he were present; and so took the Ring off his Finger, and sent it them as a known Token between them. They laid their Heads together, and apprehended *James* just after he had dined, and had prepared himself for his Journey, and committed him Prisoner to the Castle. But, having Intelligence by their Spies at Court, that the King was pacified, and that he would be released; besides the publick Danger, they were afraid also of their particular selves, lest a Man, factious and potent, being released, after he had been provoked by so great an Affront and Ignominy, should afterwards meditate a cruel and bitter Revenge against them. They speedily hastened to Court, and inform'd the King of the imminency of the Danger; of the wayward Disposition, Fierceness, and Power of the Man; all which they augmented, to raise the greater Suspicion of him: So that they perswaded the King not to suffer so crafty (and withal so puissant) a Person, being also provoked by this late Disgrace, to be set at Liberty, without a legal Tryal. The King came to *Edinburgh*, and from thence to *Seaton*, where he caused *James* to be brought to his Tryal, and in a Court legally constituted, according to the Custom of the Country, he was condemn'd, and had his Head struck off: His Body was quartered after his Execution, and the Quarters hang'd up in the publick Places of the City. The Crimes objected against him, in Behalf of the King, were, That on a certain Day, he had broke open the King's Bed-Chamber, and had design'd to kill him: And that he had carry'd on secret Designs with the *Douglasses*, who were declared publick Enemies. Few were grieved for his Death (because of the Wickedness of his former Life) save only his own Kindred, and the Ecclesiasticks who had placed all the Hopes of their Fortunes, in a manner, upon his Life alone.

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FROM that time forward the King increased in his Suspicions of the Nobility ; and besides, his Mind was so distracted with Cares, that he could not enjoy his Sleep at quiet, but was tormented with Dreams. Of which there was one more remarkable than the rest, which was much talked of, That in his Sleep he saw *James Hamilton* running at him with his drawn Sword ; and that he first cut off his right Arm, then his left, and threatned him shortly to come and take away his Life, and then disappeared ; when he awaked in a Fright, and was pondering many things about the Event of his Dream, word was brought him, that both his Sons died almost at one and the same Moment of Time, one at *St. Andrew's*, and the other at *Starlin*.

MEAN while there was not a certain Peace, nor yet an open War with the King of *England*, who was long since offended ; infomuch that without any Declaration of War, Preys were driven from the Borders of *Scotland*. Neither would the *English*, when called upon to make Restitution, give any favourable Answer : So that all Men saw, that *Henry* was in an high Indignation, because the Interview at *Tork* was frustrated. And *James*, tho' he knew that War was certainly at hand, and therefore made Levies for that purpose, and had appointed his Brother the Earl of *Murray*, to be General of all his Forces, and had also made all necessary Preparation for a Defence, yet he sent an Ambassador to the Enemy, if 'twere possible, to compose Matters without Blows. In the mean time, *George Gordon* was sent to the Borders, with a small Force, to prevent the pillaging IncurSIONS of the Enemy. The *English* despised the small Number of Forces under *Gordon*, and therefore hasten'd to burn *Jedburgh* : But *George Hume*, with 400 Horse, interposed, and charg'd them briskly ; and after a short Fight, when they saw the *Gordons* coming, they were put into a Fright, and so fled away in Confusion to escape their Enemies. There were not many slain, but several taken Prisoners. *James Lermont*, who was treating about a Peace at *Newcastle*, had scarce received his Answer, but, that the War might be carried on more covertly, he was commanded to return with the *English* Army : Moreover, *John Erskin*, and . . . who were sent Ambassadors from *Scotland*, met the said Army at *Tork*, where they were detained by *Howard* the General, and never dismiss'd till they came to *Berwick*. *James* being assured by his Spies, before the Return of the Ambassadors, of the marching on of the *English* Army, formed his Camp at *Falkirk*, about 14 Miles from the Borders ; but sent *George Gordon* before, with ten thousand Men, to prevent the Plunderings of the *English* : Yet he did nothing

considerable, and had not so much as a light Skirmish with the Enemy. The King of *Scotland* was mighty earnest to give Battle ; but the Nobility would not hear of it by any means ; so that he was full of Wrath, and burst out in a Rage against them, calling them *Cowards*, and *unworthy of their Ancestors*, every now and then telling them, That *since he was betray'd by them, he himself and his own Family would do that, which they had cowardly refused to do*. Neither could he be appeased, tho' they came about him, and told him that he had done enough for his Honour ; that he had not only kept the *English* Army, which was so long time a levying, and that had invaded *Scotland* on a sudden (and that with Threats to do great Matters) from straggling up and down the Country for Booty and Plunder ; but also, for the Space of eight Days, that it remained in *Scotland*, had so pent up the *English*, that they never march'd above a Mile from the Borders : For, after they drew out of *Berwick*, they went as far as *Kells* up against the Stream ; and there being informed of the March of the *Scottish* Army, they pass'd over the Ford, being so fearful to engage, that they rushed into the River with the utmost Precipitation and Disorder ; and, as every one pass'd over, they left their Colours, and made the best of their way home. *Gordon*, in the mean time, who saw this at a Distance, stirred not at all, nor made he any Attempt upon them in their Rear, for which the King conceived an implacable Hatred against him. *Maxwel*, to appease the King's Anger as much as he could, promised, if he might have ten thousand Men, to march into *England* by the *Solway*, and to do some considerable Service : And he would have been as good as his Word, if the King, being angry with his Nobles, had not given secret Letters, and a Commission to *Oliver Sinclair*, Brother the Laird of *Rosselin*, which he was not to open till such a time. The Contents were, That the whole Army should acknowledge him for their General : *James's* Design in it was, that, if his Army had had the better, the Glory of the Victory might not redound to the Nobles. When they were come into their Enemy's Country, and about 500 *English* Horse appear'd on the neighbouring Hills, *Oliver Sinclair* was lifted up on high by those of his Faction, and, leaning upon two Spears, caused the King's Commission to be read ; at which the whole Army was so offended, and especially *Maxwel*, that they broke their Ranks, and throng'd confusedly in one among another. Their Enemies, tho' accustomed to Wars, yet never hoping for so great an Advantage, when from the upper Ground they beheld things in such a Confusion amongst them, rushed upon them with a great Shout (as their manner is) and so assaulted them as they were in a Fright, and suspended between the

the Design of flying or fighting : And thus Horse, Foot, and Baggage, were promiscuously driven into the next Marshes ; where many were taken by the *English*, more by the *Scottish* Moss-Troopers, and sold to the *English*. When this Loss of his Army was brought to the King, who was not far off, he was moved beyond measure with Indignation, Anger, and Grief, insomuch that his Mind was distracted two ways ; sometimes to take Revenge of the Perfidiousness of his own People (as he called it) and sometimes to make Preparation for a new War, and for the renewing of the publick Affairs. But in that almost desperate state of things, it seemed the best way to make a Truce with the *English*, and to call back *Archibald Douglas*, Earl of *Angus*, on the best Conditions he could. But his Body being worn out with Watching and Fasting, and his Mind overwhelm'd with Cares, he died a few Days after, on the 13th of *December*, leaving his Daughter his Heiress, a Child of about five Days old. He was buried the 14th of *January*, in the Monastery of *Holy-Rood*, near his first Wife *Magdalene*. In his Life-time, his Countenance, and the make of his Body were very Comely, his Stature indifferently Tall, but his Strength above the Proportion of his Body ; his Wit was sharp, but not sufficiently cultivated with Learning ; which was the Fault of the Times ; his Diet was sparing ; he seldom drank Wine ; he was most patient of Labour, Cold, Heat, and Hunger ; he would often sit on Horse-back, Night and Day, in the coldest Winter, that so he might catch the Thieves in their Harbours at unawares : And his Activity struck such a Terror into them, that they abstained from their evil Purposes, as if he had always been present among them. He was so well acquainted with the Customs of his Country, that he would give just Answers concerning weighty Matters, as he went his Journeys upon the Road, with a great deal of Readiness and Exactness : He was easy of Access even to the poorest. But his great Virtues were almost equalled by as many Vices ; yet they had this Alleviation, that they seemed rather to be imputed to the Times in which he liv'd, than to his own natural Disposition. For such an universal Licentiousness had over-run all, that publick Discipline could not be retrieved, but with a great deal of Strictness and Severity. That which made him so covetous of Money was, that when he was under the Guardianship of others, he was educated with great Parsimony ; and as soon as ever he came to be of Age, he enter'd into an empty Palace, where he found all his Household-stuff embezzled ; so that every Room of his House was to be new furnished at once ; and his Guardians had expended the Royal Revenue on those Uses, which he wholly disapproved. Those who had the Instruction of his Youth,

made him more inclinable to Women, because by that means they hoped to have him longer under their Tuition. A great part of the Nobility did not much lament his Death, because he had banished some of them, and kept many others in Prison ; and many, for fear of his Severity (a fresh Disgust being now added to their former Contempt) chose rather to surrender themselves to the *English* King, their Enemy, than to commit themselves to the Anger of their own.



THE



THE
HISTORY
OF
SCOTLAND.



BOOK XV.



HE King dying in the Flower of his Age, rather of Grief than any Disease, and the Tumults of the former Times being rather hush'd asleep than compos'd; wise Men foresaw so great a Tempest impending over *Scotland*, the like of which they themselves never beheld, nor had ever read of in ancient Records.

The King had not so much as order'd his own Domestick Affairs, but had left a Daughter, born about eight Days before his Death, Heiress to the Crown: As for those of the Nobility who had born sway, either they were kill'd in Battle, or else were banish'd, or taken Prisoners by the Enemy: And if they had been at Home, yet by reason of private Animosities, or of Dissensions on the account of Religion, which were

stified out of Fear during the King's Life; but now, that Restraint being taken off, were likely to break out again; they would have quarrelled amongst themselves: So that they were not in any probability of acting like Men of Sobriety and Discretion.

And besides, they were engaged in a War against a most powerful King; and every one spoke according to his Hope or Fear, what would be the use he would make of his Victory. He that was the second Heir, and next to the Crown, as he was not commonly reported to have much of Virtue, even for the Management of his private Life, so he was as little noted for Counsel or Valour, to manage the Kingdom. As for the Cardinal, he thinking that in those publick Calamities he might have an Opportunity to aggrandize himself, that he might shew himself *some-body*, both to his own Order, and also to the *French* Faction, attempted a thing both bold and impudent. For by the hired Assistance of *Henry Balfore*, a mercenary Priest, he suborned a false Will of the King's, wherein he himself was nominated to the supreme Authority, with three of the most Potent of the Nobility, to be his Assessors. He was in great Hopes that his Project would succeed from the Disposition of the Earl of *Arran*, one of his Assessors and Partners in the Government, who was not turbulent, but rather inclinable to be easy and quiet. And besides, he was near of Kin to him, for he was Son to the Cardinal's Aunt. Moreover, the Opportunity to invade the Supreme Power, seem'd to require haste, that he might be possess'd of it before the Exiles and Captives return'd out of *England*, that so they might have no Hand in conferring this Honour upon him; for he was afraid of their Power and Popularity: Neither did he doubt but that their Minds were alienated from him upon the score of a different Religion: This was the Cause, that presently after the King's Death he publish'd an Edict, concerning the choosing of four Governours of the Kingdom. He also gained some of the Nobles, by Promises and Gifts, to engage them to his Faction, and especially the Queen, who was somewhat disaffected to the adverse Party. *Hamilton* their Head, was a Man not ambitious, but rather willing to live in quiet, if his Relations would have suffer'd him: But they studying their own Honour and Interest, rather than his, Night and Day puffed up the Mind of the young Gentleman with Hopes, and advised him by no means to let slip so fair an Opportunity put into his Hands; for they had rather have things in a Combustion, than to live in a fix'd and private Condition of Life. And besides, the Hatred of the Cardinal got them many Friends, and the Indignity of their Bondage under a mercena-

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ry Priest. They had also some appearance of Hope, which, tho' uncertain in itself, yet was not inefficacious to stir up Men's Endeavours, That, since *Hamilton* was the next Heir, and a Female, so few Days old, the only Person betwixt him and the Crown, she might meet with many Mischances, either casually, or by the Fraud of her Guardians, before she came to be marriageable. Thus while they were laying the Foundations of their future Power, it seem'd most adviseable, not to neglect the Advantage which the present State of things offered, and to hope well for the Exaltation of the *Hamiltons*; and if that Hope deceived them, yet it would not be difficult for them to obtain the Pardon of a new Princess, who in the beginning of her Reign would study to win the Respect of all Men.

WHILST Things were at this pass in *Scotland*, the King of *England*, full of extraordinary Joy for so unexpected a Victory, sent for the chief of the *Scottish* Prisoners up to *London*; where, after they had been imprison'd in the Tower two Days, on St. *Thomas's* Day, which was the 21st of *December*, they were brought all through the City, where it was the longest, as if they were to be shewn as a publick Spectacle to the People; and coming to *White-Hall*, the King's Court, they were sharply reprov'd by the Chancellor, as Violators of the League: And after he had made a large Discourse concerning the Goodness and Clemency of his King, who had remitted much of the Rigour of Justice he might have used towards them, they were distributed about into several Families, and lodged among them as Prisoners at large. There were seven of the Nobility, and twenty-four of the Gentry among these Captives. But when the News came in less than three Days, that the King of *Scots* was dead, and had left one only Daughter his Heiress, *Henry* thought it a fit opportunity to conciliate and unite the Minds both of *Scots* and *English* in a band of Union, by espousing his Son to their Queen. Upon this, he recalled the Prisoners to Court, and employed some fit Persons to feel their Pulses in the Case; where being kindly entertained, promising to contribute their Assistance towards the Match, as far as they might without detriment to their own or the publick Honour, on the first of *January*, at the beginning of the Year 1543, they were all released, and sent back towards *Scotland*. When they came to *Newcastle*, and had given Hostages to *Thomas Howard* Duke of *Norfolk*, as to other Matters they were free, and so returned home. There returned also with them the *Douglasses*, two Brothers, being just then restored to their Country, after fifteen Years Banishment. They were all received with the Gratulation of the major part of the People. The Cardinal, who saw this Storm gather'd against him, making no doubt but the Prisoners

soners and the Exiles would be both his Opposers in the Parliament, had taken care to be chosen Regent before their coming; but he enjoy'd that Honour not long; for within a few Days, his Fraud in counterfeiting the King's Will and Testament being discovered, he was thrown out of Place, and *James Hamilton*, Earl of *Arran*, made Regent; through a desire which some had to ingratiate themselves with him, as the next Heir to the Crown: Others foresaw so long before, the Cruelty of the Cardinal in matters of Religion, and therefore provided against it, by lessening his Power. Their Fear was increas'd by a Schedule found among the King's Papers after his Death, wherein the Names of above 300 of the Nobility were contained as Criminals; and amongst them, he that was chosen Regent, was the first Person to have been question'd. This made his Election very grateful to the majority, because it seemed the most probable Means to release many from Danger, and to curb the Pride of the Priests. Besides, he himself willingly read the Books that contained Controversies about Religion; and the quietness and retirement of his former Life, far remote from Court-Ambition, made many hope, that he would be sober and moderate in his Government. Besides, being out of the Magistracy, he had not yet discovered any Inactivity or Sluggishness of Mind.

In a Parliament which was held in *March*, Sir *Ralph Sadler* came Ambassador from *England*, in order to a Marriage, and settling a Peace: He put some of the Nobility in mind of their Promise: Others, as Report goes, he tempted with Money. The Queen-mother, Cardinal, and the whole Faction of Priests being not only against this Peace, but by disturbing some Members and Counsellors, and corrupting others, not suffering it so much as to be put to the Vote; by the general consent of almost the whole Parliament the Cardinal, while the Votes were taken, was confined to his Chamber. In his Absence, they easily agreed upon the Marriage of the young Queen, and other Matters. And Sureties were promised to be sent to *England* for the Performance of them. The Cardinal, at the Intercession of the Queen-mother, was kept in a loose kind of Custody by *Seton*, who was persuaded, for a certain Sum of Money, in a little while after to let him go. When Peace seemed thus to be settled to the great Advantage of both Kingdoms, after so great a dread of an impending War, every body thought it would be a lasting one; and therefore the Merchants, who for some Years before had been hindered from Trading, went thick and threefold to Sea, and laded very many Ships with the best Commodities they could procure for the Time allotted them so to do. *Edinburgh* sent out
twelve

twelve Ships; other Cities of that Circuit (which is the richest part of *Scotland*) rigg'd out Ships, each according to their respective Abilities: This Fleet, in confidence of the Peace with *England*, drew nearer the Shoars than they needed to have done, and when the Wind was calm, some lay at Anchor: Others enter'd into the Ports, and so laid themselves open to the Injuries of the *English*, if any Tumult of War should arise.

About the same time, *John Hamilton*, Abbot of *Pasley*, and *David Painter*, returned out of *France*. These Men now threw off the Mask, with which they had disguised themselves before for so many Years, and then began to play the old Pranks that were natural to them: They, as if they had been educated in the School of Profaneness; and not in that of Piety, were the Ring-leaders at Court, who prompted Men to all manner of Impieties. The Cardinal, as he was restored to his Liberty unexpectedly, being of a proud and haughty Disposition, which was aggravated by the Repulse he had receiv'd, and by the Ignominy occurring in the detection of his Fraud, fought out all occasions whatsoever to disturb this Concord. First of all, he communicated with the Queen Dowager; and they both took it in great Indignation, that the *Douglasses* (who, for the many Benefits they had received from the *English*, must needs be their fast Friends) should immediately, after so many Years Banishment, be admitted into the Parliament-House, to debate the weightiest Affairs of the Kingdom. Besides, they all feared a Change of the establish'd Religion, the Consequence of which must needs be a Breach of the League with *France*. Upon this, the Cardinal, by the Consent of the Queen, summon'd a Convocation of Priests, and extorted from them a great Sum of Money, as fearing the universal Ruin of the whole Papal Church. Part of this Money was paid to some of the Nobles of the adverse Party, and many large Promises were made them besides, to persuade them not to give the promised Hostages to the *English*; and as for those who were newly return'd from their Captivity, and had left their Children or Kindred as Hostages for their Return, he oblig'd them not to prefer those (otherwise dear) Pledges before the Laws, the publick Safety, and their ancient Religion, whose Preservation turn'd upon this single Hinge; and that they would not run willingly into perpetual Bondage. Besides, he caused the Ecclesiasticks to carry it proudly and disrespectfully towards the *English* Ambassador, insomuch that the very Rabble reproached and abused his Retinue, and there was nothing he could say or do, but what was all taken in the worst sense. But the Ambassador resolv'd to bear all Affronts, and weather out this Tide of Inconveniencies, till the Day for delivering the Hostages

stages should approach, that so he might give no occasion of a Rupture on his part. And, when that Day came, he went to the Regent, and complained of the Affronts which had been offered, not so much to himself, as to his King, whom he represented; and insisted that it was a Violation of the Law of Nations: And he desir'd him to give Hostages according to the Tenor of the League lately made, that so the renew'd Amity might be kept sacred and inviolate, to the mutual Advantage of both Nations. The Regent, as to the Affronts offer'd, excus'd himself, and said, he was sorry for them, and that he would speedily search into the Matter; that so the Punishment of such petulant Offenders, should be a sufficient Testimony of the Love and Veneration he had for the *English* Nation. But as to Hostages, he answered, that he could not obtain them with the Good-will of the States, neither was he able to compel them without publick consent; for the Government which he bore was such, that he received as much Law as he gave; and therefore all his Measures were disturb'd by the great Sedition, which he saw the Cardinal had rais'd; that he was, as it were, carried down in the Stream of a popular Fury, and could scarce maintain his own Station and Dignity. The new Hostages being thus deny'd, there was another thing as weighty as that, which fell under Debate, and that was concerning the Nobles lately taken Prisoners of War, who, upon their Release, had given Hostages, and made solemn Asseverations, That if there were not a Peace concluded, as *Henry* desired, upon just and fair Terms, they would surrender themselves Prisoners again. As for them, the Cardinal's Faction, and the rest of the Ecclesiastical Order had dealt with them, partly by Reasons, and partly by Examples, not to prefer their Estates, Kindred, Children, or any other thing which might be dear to them, before the Love of their Country. And what was more, they threaten'd them with Auxiliaries from *France*, and that all *Europe* conspired for the Defence of their ancient Rights and Religion; and if they acted contrary, they would betray their Country, and bring on the immediate Ruin of their ancient Families. They also desir'd them, in so dangerous a time, not to forsake their Country; for if that were safe, they might hope for more Kindred and Children; but if that were overthrown, then all was gone. Besides, they discours'd much concerning the inexpressible Hatred betwixt the two Nations, and of the Cruelty of the King, into whose Hands they were to come; thus blending Truths and Falshoods together. Moreover, they alledged the Decree of the Council of *Constance*, That all Pacts, Contracts, Promises and Oaths, made with Hereticks, ought to be rescinded and made void. The greatest part of those

who

who were concerned in this Matter, were willing to hearken to any colourable Pretence for their Fault ; only there was one of them, who for no pecuniary Consideration whatever could be taken off, nor by any Threats deterred from keeping his Word ; and that was *Gilbert Kennedy* Earl of *Cassils*. He had left two of his Brothers Hostages in *England* ; and he openly profess'd, that neither for Fear nor Danger would he redeem his own Life with the Loss of his Brothers ; but whatever came of it, he would surrender himself back a Prisoner : And so, against the Desire of many, he went directly on his Journey to *London*. *Henry* much commended the resolute Fidelity of the young Man ; and to the intent that all might know he had an esteem for Virtue, he richly rewarded him, and sent him back with his two Brothers into *Scotland*.

BUT *Henry's* Mind was not more pacified towards *Gilbert*, than his Anger was implacable against the rest of the *Scots* ; and he accordingly laid an Embargo upon all the *Scots* Ships in all *English* Ports and Harbours, of which there was a great Number, as I said before, and presently declared War. His Menaces were great, as against the Violators, not only of Leagues, but even of the Law of Nations. And yet, tho' *Scotland* stood tottering in so dangerous a Condition, the Memory of Alliances, the common Love to their Country, and the respect of the publick Safety, were so far laid aside, that the Flames of Sedition were blown up with more Fierceness than ever ; for the Faction of the Cardinal, and of the Queen Dowager, who were all for the *French*, sent over Ambassadors thither, to tell them, that unless they sent in Assistance, the Matter was upon the very Point, that *England* and *Scotland* would make a Coalition into one Government ; and how much such a Conjunction would concern *France*, the Experience of former Ages had shewn. But they made it their chief Request to the *French*, that they would send back *Matthew Stuart*, Earl of *Lenox*, into his own Country, who did not only emulate the Family of the *Hamiltons*, but was also their deadly Enemy, by reason of their having slain his Father at *Linlithgoe*. This young Man was greatly beloved, not only for his extraordinary Beauty and stately Mien, in the very Flower of his Youth, but chiefly upon the account of the Memory of his Father, who had been a most popular Man : And there was great Danger that so noble a Family, now reduc'd to a few, should be utterly extinguished. Besides, he had many Clanships of his own, and also Affinity with many other great Families. What was still more, the last King had design'd him to be his Heir and Successor, if he himself died without Issue Male ; and he would have confirmed that his Intention by a Decree of the Estates (who have the Sovereign

raign Power to order such publick Affairs) if his Life had been prolonged. Nay, there were some Flatterers, who endeavour'd to exalt his generous Mind, which was of itself already rais'd up with the Expectation of great Things, but was not so well fortified against fraudulent Sycophants, to larger Hopes; for, besides the Supreme Rule for above twenty Years of the young Queen's minority, and the Dominion over his old Enemies, they promised him that he should marry the Queen Dowager; and if the young Queen, who had the Name only of Supreme Governess, should miscarry, then without doubt he would be the next King; and not only so, but also the lawful Heir of *James Hamilton* lately deceased; for that the Regent was a Bastard, and was so far from any just Expectation of the Kingdom, that he could not lawfully claim the Inheritance of his own Family. Besides, they urg'd the Encouragement of the *French* King, who gave hopes of great Assistance in due time. When the plain-hearted and credulous young Man was thus persuaded, he provided for his Voyage into *Scotland*. *Hamilton* was not ignorant of any of these things; and to the end that he might gain an Accession of Strength to his own Party, by the Advice of those Friends in whom he repos'd the greatest Trust, he resolv'd to take away the young Queen from *Linlithgoe*, where she yet was under the Power of her Mother; for if he once got her into his Hands, then not only the Shadow of the Royal Name, which is an attractive thing among the Vulgar, would be of his side, but he would likewise have the Power of bestowing her in Marriage, and so make himself Arbiter of the Kingdom, to transfer it just as he pleas'd; which if he could obtain, then the King of *England* might be managed by fair Words, or persuaded to join with him in case of need.

THIS Design was much approved: But, as is usual in Civil Discords, Spies on both sides get hold of proper Informations, somebody acquainted the Cardinal with the Matter. He gathering together some of the Nobility, whom he had made his Friends with Money, came to *Linlithgoe*, and to the great Burden of the Inhabitants, staid there some Days, as a Guard to the Queen. In the mean time *Lenox* arriv'd out of *France*, and being kindly received by the Regent, each of them dissembling their Hatred, he went to *Linlithgoe*. Here he address'd the Cardinal, and then went to his own House, where in a meeting of Friends he discours'd at large why he came over; at whose Invitation; by whom sent for; and upon what Hopes: That he was promis'd not only the chief Magistracy, but also that the Heads of the Faction, with the Queen Dowager's Consent, had assur'd him, that he should marry

marry her : And that, in order to the effecting of it, the King of *France* had encouraged him to expect Aid and Assistance from thence. They all assented to his Speech, and advised him not to be wanting to his good Fortune, which so freely had offer'd itself. And thus, with about four thousand Men, he came to the Queen. *Hamilton*, who had drawn all the Friends and Forces he could presently raise to *Edinburgh*, resolved to break thorow to the Queen ; but now perceiving that his Forces were too weak, by the Advice of his Friends, and out of his own Disposition to Peace, began to treat of an Accommodation. Accordingly some prudent Persons were chosen on both sides, who met at the Town of *Liston*, almost in the middle way between *Edinburgh* and *Linlithgoe* : And an Agreement was made betwixt them on these Terms ; That the Queen should be removed to *Sterlin* ; and that four of the prime Nobility, who had engaged themselves in neither Faction, should be chosen out to have an Eye over her Education ; and those were *William Graham*, *John Erskin*, *John Lindsey*, and *William Levingston*, eminent Persons, and all Heads of illustrious Families. They, by the Decree of both Parties, took the Queen, and entered upon the Road leading to *Sterlin*, whilst *Lenox* stood in Arms with his Men, till they had travell'd far enough to be out of Danger from the contrary Faction : And not long after, with the accustomed Ceremonies, and Ensigns of Majesty, she began her Reign at *Sterlin*, August 21.

THE Regent perceiving that the Favour of the inconstant Vulgar was alienated from him ; and that his Forces were inferior to those of the contrary Faction, began to entertain private Conferences with them : And the Cardinal, who was of Kin to him by the Mother's side, sought to bring him over to his Party by terrifying him, rather than to subdue him by Force of Arms : So that having weakened him at home in taking off part of the Nobility from him by his Largesses, and by forcing him into a disadvantageous League, rendered him cheaper, and of less Repute amongst the *English* ; he now, by the Intervention of his familiar Friends, who had more regard to Money, than love to Honesty, persuading him to come to *Sterlin*, there caused him to recant and change his Opinion concerning all the controverted Points of Religion ; not openly, that the Infamy of the Fact might be lessened among the Vulgar ; but in a Convent of the *Franciscans*, in the Presence of the Queen Dowager and the chief Nobles of the Court ; and for fear of a Suit, which the Cardinal threatened to commence against him for his whole Estate, he was so obsequious, that he put himself wholly under his Influences, insomuch that he only retained the shadowy Name of a Regent. Thus by the Regent's Cowardice, and

the Avarice of his Relations, the Cardinal obtained that which he had sought after by forging the Will as above, viz. he enjoyed all the Advantages of the Government without Envy. There seemed but one thing wanting to establish his Power, and that was the Removal of *Lenox*, who was a great Block in the way of his Designs. At last, the Queen Dowager and Cardinal fixed upon this Project, That, till an Answer came from *France*, she should hold the young Man's Mind in Suspence, by giving him some Hopes of marrying her. For they had written honourably of *Lenox* to the *French* King, as indeed they could do no other; for next to God, they were indebted to him for restoring them to the Liberty they enjoy'd: But withal they desired the King, that, seeing Matters were not quieted in *Scotland* by his Royal Liberality and Assistance, he would be pleased to maintain the good Work he had done them, and to confirm the Peace he had been the Cause of, by recalling *Lenox*; for, without that, things would never long continue in Peace, but one or other of the Factions must be destroy'd. Thus they undermined *Lenox* privately; but in publick he was entertained with variety of Diversions by the Queen and Cardinal; the Court was dissolved in Luxury and Lasciviousness, and wholly given up to Plays and Feastings. The Day rang with Tilts and Tournaments, the Night with Balls and Masquerades. *Lenox* inclinable by Nature to these Recreations, and besides much accustomed to them in the *French* Court, was now whetted by a Rival, *James Hepburn*, Earl of *Bothwell*, who was enough to sharpen even a palled Appetite. This *James* was banished by King *James* the fifth; but presently after his Death he returned home, and aspired to the Marriage of the Queen, by the same Arts as *Lenox* did: And indeed the Endowments of Nature and Fortune were very eminent in both of them, insomuch that they might be said to be rather Like than Equal. *Bothwell* matched him in other things, but in these ludicrous Combats and Feats of Arms, being inferior to him, he left the Court, and departed to his own House. *Lenox*, when his Rival was removed, thought now that all was easy and secure on his part, and so he earnestly press'd, that the Promises, made him by the Queen and Cardinal, might be perform'd. But perceiving at last, that he was fraudulently dealt with, and that *Hamilton*, his Enemy, was advanc'd by them to Honour, Authority, and the Supreme Power over all Men's Lives and Fortunes, his youthful Mind, which was not accustomed to ill Arts, but judg'd all others like himself, was so inflam'd with Anger, that he broke out into bitter Expressions, and solemnly swore, that he would suffer Want, Banishment, Death, nay, any thing whatsoever, rather than

than such an Affront should go unrevenge'd. Accordingly he returned to *Dunbarton*, wholly bent on Revenge, but as yet uncertain what Course to take to accomplish it: There he received 30000 *French* Crowns from the King of *France* (who had not yet certainly heard how Affairs stood in *Scotland*) to enable him to strengthen his Party. That Money gave some Relief to his distemper'd Mind, because it gave him room to hope that he was not forsaken by the *French* King. But being commanded by the Donor to distribute the Money by the Advice of the Queen Dowager and Cardinal, he gave one part of it to his own Friends, and sent another Part to the Queen. The Cardinal, who had already devour'd all that Booty in his mercenary Thoughts, being grievously troubled, not only at his Disappointment and Loss, but also at his Disgrace in the Matter; persuaded the Regent presently to levy an Army, and to march to *Glasgow*, not doubting but that he might there surprize *Lenox* and the Money together. Their Design being made known to *Lenox*, he speedily levied above 10000 Men of his own Friends and Vassals. That which much facilitated the raising such a Multitude, was the Indignation of some of the Nobles, who at the beginning, out of Love to Religion, and Hatred to the Cardinal, had been the Instruments to advance the Regent to that high Honour; but now they had changed their former Good-will into Hatred, because without consulting them, he had delivered up, and as much as in him lay, betray'd his best-deserving Friends, together with himself, into the Servitude of their most cruel Enemy.

THIS Frame of Spirit made a new (and indeed a scarce credible) Change in the *Scottish* Affairs; the Strength of the Factions seem'd almost entire, only they were headed by other Commanders. *Hamilton* and his Kindred joined themselves to the Queen Dowager and Cardinal; but his former Friends sided with *Lenox*. With those Forces, levy'd on a sudden, *Lenox* came to *Leith*, and sent some into *Edinburgh*, to tell the Cardinal, that he needed not to march to *Glasgow* to fight him, for he would give him Opportunity to do it any Day when he pleased, in the Fields between *Leith* and *Edinburgh*. The Cardinal who had drawn the Regent to his Party, and imagined that the Power of the adverse Party was so weaken'd by it, that he hoped none durst look him in the Face; now unexpectedly seeing himself challenged by a greater Army than he had to defend him, he did not refuse the Combat in Words, but only deferred the Day of Fight, upon several Pretences, well knowing that *Lenox* could not long keep an Army together, consisting of Volunteers, without Pay or Provision made for any long time. In the mean time, he endeavour'd by Entreaties and

Promises, to work over the Minds of those, who were most for his Turn. *Lenox*, seeing that the Enemy's Design was to lengthen out the War, and by no means to hazard a Fight, and being unprovided with Necessaries to begin a Siege, and also perceiving that some of his Men had secret Conferences by Night with the Enemy : To deliver himself out of these Straits (his Friends, who had made secret Provision for themselves, urging him likewise so to do) he was forced to capitulate with the Regent : And so he went to *Edinburgh* to him, and they transacted Matters some Days together, as if they had quite forgot their old Hatred and Animosity.

At length when he came to *Linlithgow*, *Lenox* receiving Advices from his Friends, that some hidden Mischiefs were brewing against him ; in the Night-time he went privately to *Glasgow*, and having fortified the Bishop's Castle with a Garrison, and with sufficient Provisions, he went to *Dunbarton* : There he received more certain Information, that the *Douglases* and the *Hamiltons* were agreed : And because some Suspicions and Relicks of old Grudges were left betwixt the Factions, *George Douglas* and *Alexander Cunningham* were given as Hostages, the one for the Father, the other for the Brother. Though this was done for a Pretence and a Disguise of a firmer Concord, and a Promise made that they should speedily be released ; yet notwithstanding they were detain'd till the coming in of the *English* Army : For the *Hamiltons* never thought themselves secure, till those Nobles who had any Interest or Courage, were removed ; that so by the Terror of their Punishment, others might be restrained from Insurrections. Besides, about the same time *Lenox* was informed, that the King of *France* was wrought into a Disgust against him by the malicious Practices of his Enemies.

In the mean time *Archibald Douglas*, Earl of *Angus*, and *Robert Maxwell*, Chief a Noble Family, came to *Glasgow*, to accommodate Matters (if it were possible) between the Regent and *Lenox* ; but the Regent's Council persuaded him to apprehend the very Mediators for Peace ; and thus, by a back-way, to avoid the Tumult of the People, they were carried out, and sent Prisoners to *Hamilton* Castle.

In this Posture of Affairs in *Scotland*, when not only the *English*, but the Chief of the *Scots* also, were angry with the Regent, *Henry of England* thought it a fit Opportunity for him to punish the Violators, not only of the League, but of the Law of Nations too : Yet before he would attack the *Scots* by Force, he sent Letters full of just Complaints and Threats to *Edinburgh*, blaming them for refusing his Alliance, which they could not do well without, and so arrogantly as they did too, when

when he had so freely and generously offered it ; nay, that they had not only rejected that Alliance, but repaid his Favours with sowing the Seeds of War ; and so had enforced him to arm against his Will. These Letters doing no good, he caused those great naval Forces which he had ready, design'd with the first Opportunity for the Coast of *France*, to set sail for *Scotland*, and to infect *Edinburgh* and *Leith* (both which Towns had most affronted his Ambassadors)* and the Country round about them, with all the Plagues and Misery of a War. The Ships, arriving there, landed ten thousand Foot, *May* the 4th, a little above *Leith*, who, without any Resistance, enter'd the Town ; for most of the Townsmen were absent and intent upon their Merchandizing abroad. The Regent and Cardinal being then at *Edinburgh*, and unprovided of all Things, knew not what to do, but were so surprized that they presently set at Liberty those four eminent Persons which they had in Durance (as aforesaid) not for any regard to the publick Safety, but partly fearing lest otherwise their Kinsmen and Tenants should refuse to fight, if not join themselves to the Enemy ; and partly also, that they might redeem the Good-will of the People, who they knew had a general distaste against them upon many Accounts ; but they, not daring to trust to the hatred of the Citizens, and of their Enemies too, fled to *Linlithgoe*. The *English* staid three Days at *Leith* to land their Ordnance and Baggage, and so prepared themselves for the Assault. Having settled other Matters, they marched to *Edinburgh*, pillaged and burnt the City, and then dispers'd themselves to spoil the neighbouring Parts : They ruined many Villages, with some Castles and Seats of Noblemen. From *Edinburgh* they returned to *Leith*, and having a fair Wind, set Fire to the Houses, hoisted Sail, and went away.

ABOUT that Time, *Lenox* was certainly informed, that *Francis* King of *France* was wholly disgusted at him : For the contrary Faction, by their frequent Letters and Messages, had persuaded him, that 'twas *Lenox* alone, who, by reason of his old Enmity against the Adversaries of his Father, hinder'd the publick Tranquillity and Concord of all *Scotland* ; and that he was the Head of the Faction against the Regent, and a Favourer of the *English*, and one who rather indulged his own private Animosities, than promoted the common Cause ; and, that if the King would recal him into *France*, Peace would be easily made up amongst the rest. When *Lenox* had received Intelligence by his Friends, what his Enemies had informed against him, he also writ to *Francis*, informing him in what Case he found the Affairs of *Scotland*, and how he and his Friends had, with a great deal of Pains, restored both Queens to their Liberty ; and had put them into a Posture and Capacity

to rule, having broken the Power of the adverse Party ; and, out of a most turbulent Tempest, had brought things to a great Tranquillity ; and that nothing would be more acceptable to him, than to return into *France*, where he had lived rather longer of the two than in *Scotland*, and so to enjoy the sweet Society of the Friends he most loved : But that his coming into his own Country was not of his own accord, but he was sent by the King ; and that he had done nothing there that his Majesty, or himself, need to be ashamed of : And if he would not abridge him of his former Favour, he would shortly answer, nay perhaps exceed the Hope he had conceived of him ; but, if he should call him away in the midst of the Career of his Designs, then he must not only leave the Things he had so excellently begun, unfinish'd, but also expose his Friends, Kindred, and Vassals, whom he had engaged in the publick Cause, and who had been almost worn out with Cost and Labour, to Servitude and Torment, under an impious and cruel Tyrant, who, as much as in him was, had sold both Queen and Kingdom to the Enemy ; and who observed the Pacts and Promises he made to Men, no more religiously than he did the Duties of Piety towards God ; for within a few Years, he had changed his Religion three times : Neither was it to be wondered at in him, who looked upon Oaths and Promises, not as Bonds obliging to Fidelity and Truth, but the specious Covers of Perfidiousness and Treachery. And therefore, he moved earnestly, that the King, and those of his Council, would consider, whether, in so great an Affair, they would believe him, all whose Ancestors had devoted themselves, their Lives, Honours, and Fortunes, for the increase of his Grandeur, and who indeed had been honoured and rewarded by him with many Benefits, which yet were rather Testimonies of their good Acceptance, than just Rewards and Compensations of their Labours ; or else a Man, who would change his Friends and Foes, at the blast of every Wind, and who depended on the Arbitrement of Fortune alone.

THO' many were not ignorant that these Allegations were true, yet the *French* King was so influenc'd by the *Guises*, the Queen Dowager's Father and Uncle, and who, in all things, endeavoured to promote her Concerns, that his Heart and Ear were both shut against *Lenox's* Request ; insomuch, that he would not permit *John Campbell*, a Man of approved Virtue, sent by *Lenox*, to have Audience, or so much as to come into his Presence, but kept him in the nature of a Prisoner, and had Spies set upon him to watch him, that so he might not write back any thing of the Designs in Agitation at the *French* Court. Yet notwithstanding this their Caution, these were

were some who told him all. When *Lenox* heard this, by the Dispatches which were sent him, his troubled Mind was variously hurried betwixt Anger and Shame; he was ashamed to leave his Enterprize which he had begun, unfinished; and the rather, because he thought that he was not able to satisfy the Love of his Friends and Kindred, whom he had drawn with him into the same Danger, but by the Sacrifice of his Life. As for the rest, his Anger was highly inflamed, especially against the Queen Dowager and the Cardinal, by whose perfidious Contumely he was cast into these Straits; but he was chiefly offended with the King of *France*, complaining that he had brought him upon the Stage, and now in the midst of his prosperous Actings had forsaken him, and joined himself with his Enemies. Whilst his Thoughts thus fluctuated, not knowing where to fix, News was brought him, that all the Inhabitants on this side Mount *Grantzbaie*, who were able to bear Arms, were commanded by Proclamation, against such a Day, to appear at *Sterlin*, and to bring ten Days Provision along with them, that they might be ready to march wheresoever the Regent should command them: And accordingly they came at the Day appointed, and the Regent commanded them to *Glasgow*. There he besieged the Castle ten Days, and battered it with Brass Guns; at last, a Truce was granted for a Day, and the Guards tamper'd with; so that the Castle was surrender'd, upon Quarter and Indemnity granted to the Garrison-Soldiers: Yet notwithstanding, all of them but one or two, were put to Death.

In the mean time *Lenox*, being forsaken by the *French* King, and also cut off from any hope of other Aid, made Trial by his Friends, how the King of *England* stood affected towards him; and, finding it fair Weather there, he resolved for *England*: But before he went, he had a great mind to perform some notable Exploit against the *Hamiltons*; and communicating his Design to *William Cunningham*, Earl of *Glencarn*, they two, at a Day appointed, with their Tenants and Adherents, resolved to meet at *Glasgow*, and from thence to make an Inroad into the County of *Clydsdale*, which all belonged to the *Hamiltons*. When the Regent heard of this, he resolved to be beforehand with them, and so to seize upon *Glasgow*, and prevent the Place of Meeting; but *Cunningham*, with a great Party of his Men, entered the Town before, and there expected the Coming of *Lenox*; but hearing of *Hamilton's* Approach, and of his Design, he drew out his Men into the adjoining Fields, and according to the Number of those he had, set them in array. There were about 800 of them, part of his own Clanship, and part of the Citizens of *Glasgow*, who favoured his Cause; and thus, with greater Courage than Force, he joined Battle, and fought so

valiantly, that he beat the first Rank of the Enemy back upon the second, and took the Brass Pieces they had brought with them. But whilst the Fight was hot about the Regent's Quarter, and the Matter was in great Hazard there, on the sudden *Robert Boyd*, a brave and valiant Man, came in with a small Party of Horse, and thrust himself into the midst of the Fight, where the hottest Service was: He occasioned a greater Fear and Trepidation, than so small a number need to have done; for both Armies believed, that great Assistance was come to the *Hamiltons*. This Mistake quite chang'd the Fortune of the Day; whilst one thought the Assistance was come into his Party, the other to his Enemies. There were slain in the Battle about 300 on both sides; the greatest part was of the *Cunninghams*, and amongst them two Sons of the Earl's, gallant Men both: Neither was the Victory unbloody to the *Hamiltons*, for they lost considerable Persons on their side too. But the greatest Mischief fell on the Inhabitants of *Glasgow*; for the Enemy, not contented with the Blood of the Townsmen which they had killed, nor with the Miseries of those who survived, nor yet with the Plunder of their Houses, they even took away the Folding-doors of their Houses, and the Shutters of their Windows, and their Iron-Bars: Neither did they forbear inflicting upon them every kind of Calamity, but only the firing of their Houses, which were sadly torn and deformed with the Ravage. The Event of this Battle wrought a great Change in Mens Minds, so that *Lenox's* Friends and Kinsmen refused to venture the Matter to the Hazard of a second Encounter; not so much because their Enemy's Force was increased, and theirs lessened; nor that, because having lost so many valiant Men, they could not speedily gather together a new Supply from Places so remote; as, that they were unwilling to give any new Provocation to *Hamilton*, or by too much Obstinacy to offend him farther, under whose Government they knew they must shortly come.

Lenox being thus deserted by the *French*, and the greatest part of the *Scots* too, made *George Sterlin* Governour of the Castle of *Dunbarton*; and he himself, with a few of his Company, sailed for *England*, against the Advice of his best Friends, who were willing he should have stay'd some Months in that impregnable Castle, and so waited for a new turn of Affairs, which they doubted not would shortly come to pass. But he was resolved for *England*, where he was honourably received by the King, who, besides his other Respects, gave him *Margaret Douglas* in Marriage: She was Sister to *James*, last King of *Scotland*, whom the Earl of *Angus* had by the Sister of *Henry* King of *England*; a Lady in the Flower of her Age, of great Comeliness and Beauty. In the mean time, the Queen Dowager

ger received into her Protection that *Scottish* Faction, which, by the Departure of *Lenox*, was left without an Head, and which obstinately refused to come under the Power of *Hamilton* (whose Levity they knew before, and whose Cruelty they now feared) for she was afraid, that they might be inrag'd in such an hurry of things, and so desperately engage in some new Commotion.

THE *Hamiltons* rejoiced at the Departure of so potent an Enemy ; but not being satisfied with the Punishments already inflicted, they used their Prosperity very intemperately : For, in the next Convention held at *Linlithgoe*, they condemned him and his Friends, confiscated their Goods, and banished them the Land. A great Sum of Money was raised out of the Fines of those who redeemed their Estates out of the Exchequer, but not without great Disgust, and the high Offence of all good Men. In the midst of these Domestick Seditions, the *English* entered *Scotland*, and committed great Spoil and Desolation on *Jedburgh*, *Kelso*, and the Country thereabout. From thence they went to *Coldingham*, where they fortified the Church and the Tower, as well as they could for the Time, by making Works and leaving a Garrison, and so departed : the Garrison-Soldiers made great Havock in all the adjacent Parts, partly out of Greediness for Plunder, and partly that the Country thereabouts might not afford Provisions to the Enemy when they besieged them. They who ruled in *Scotland*, the Queen Dowager, Cardinal, and Regent, by the Advice of the Council, put out a Proclamation, That the Noblemen, and the most discreet and able of the Commons, should come in, with eight Days Provision, to march wherever the Regent led them. In a short time, about 8000 met together, and in a very sharp Winter too, who, having battered the Tower of the Church of *Coldingham* with their great Guns, stood to their Arms all that Day and Night, to the very great Fatigue both of Horse and Man. The Day after, the Regent, either out of Tenderness and Inability to endure military Toil, or fearing the Invasion of the Enemy (for he was informed that the *English* from *Berwick*, a neighbouring Town, were upon their March) unknown to the Nobles, and with but a few in Company, mounted on Horseback, and with full Speed fled back to *Dunbar*. They who endeavour to excuse the Baseness of this Flight, say, that he was afraid lest his Army (out of Hatred preconceived on many former Accounts) would have delivered him up to the *English*. His Departure occasioned a great Disturbance in the whole Army, and the rather, because the Cause of his Flight was unknown ; and therefore many thought that 'twas the more considerable, and that they had greater Reason to fear. This made some obstinately resolve to run home

the neareſt way they could, and leave their Guns behind them: Others, who would ſeem a little more Provident and Stout, were for overcharging them, that ſo they might burſt in Pieces at a Diſcharge, and become uſeleſs to the Enemy. But *Archibald* Earl of *Angus* withſtood them all, telling them that they ſhould not add ſo foul an Offence to their baſe Flight: But not being able to retain them, either by his Authority or Entreaty, he burſt out into theſe Words, with a loud Voice, ſo that many might hear him: *As for me,* ſaid he, *I had rather chuſe any honourable Death, than to enjoy my Life, tho' in Plenty and Security, with the Guilt of ſo foul an Action. You, my Friends and Fellow-Soldiers, conſider what you will do: I am reſolved either to bring back theſe Guns, or never to return home alive; my Honour and my Life ſhall go together.* This Speech affected ſome very few, whoſe Honour was dearer to them than their Lives; but the reſt were ſo diſheartned by the ſhameful Flight of the Regent, that they broke their Ranks, and went every one his own way in a ſcatter'd confuſed manner. *Douglas* ſent the Guns before, and he with his Party follow'd in good Order; and tho' he was preſs'd upon by the *Engliſh* Horſe (whom the Tumult had excited) yet he brought the Ordnance ſafe to *Dunbar*. This Expedition, raſhly undertaken, and as baſely performed, diſcouraged abundance of the *Scots*, and raiſed up the *Engliſh* Spirit to an intolerable height, as turning the Cowardice of the Regent to their own Praise: And therefore *Ralph Evers*, and *Brian Laiton*, two brave *Engliſh* Cavaliers, over-ran all *Merce*, *Teviot*, and *Lauderdale*, without any Reſiſtance, and made the Inhabitants of thoſe Countries ſubmit themſelves; and if any were refractory, they waſted their Lands, and made their Habitations deſolate; nay, the undiſturb'd Courſe of their Victories made them ſo reſolute and insolent, that they propounded the Bay of *Forth* to be the Boundary of their Conqueſt. And with this Hope they went to *London*, and crav'd a Reward from *Henry* for their good Services. Their Petition was referr'd to the Council; and in the Debate held about it, *Thomas Howard*, Duke of *Norfolk*, who had made many Expeditions againſt the *Scots*, and had done them much Miſchief, underſtanding that, in that troubleſome Poſture of Affairs in *Scotland*, it was no hard Matter to over-run naked and unguarded Countries, and to compel the Commonalty, when they had no other Refuge, to take an Oath of Fealty to them; and withal knowing the Conſtancy of the *Scots* in maintaining their Country, and their Reſolution in recovering it, when loſt; upon theſe Conſiderations, 'tis reported, that he adviſed the King to give them all the Land which they could win by the Sword; and alſo to allow them a ſmall Force to defend it, till the *Scots* there were inured to the

Engliſh

English Government. This Gift they willingly receiv'd, and the King as willingly gave : Upon which, their vain boasting being as vainly requited, they return'd joyfully to the Borders, having obtained 3000 Soldiers in Pay, besides the Borderers, who are wont to serve without any Military Stipend. Their Return mightily disturb'd all the Borderers, because they had no hopes of any Help from the Regent, in regard he was influenc'd in all his Counsels by Priests, especially by the Cardinal. Hereupon *Archibald* Earl of *Angus*, being much affected with the publick Disgrace, and also concerned upon the account of his own private Losses (for he had large and fruitful Possessions in *Merch* and *Teviotdale*) sent to the Regent to lay plainly before him the greatness of their Danger, and to beg of him to prevent it. The Regent deplored his own Solitude, and complain'd how he was deserted by the Nobility. *Douglas* told him, it was his own, not the Nobility's Fault, for they were willing to spend their Lives and Fortunes for the good of the publick ; but he had slighted their Advice, and was wholly govern'd by the Priests, who were unwarlike abroad, and seditious at Home : for they, being exempted from Danger themselves, did abusively spend the Fruits of other Men's Labours upon their own Pleasures. ' This (said he) is the Fountain, from whence Suspicions arise between you and the Nobility, which, in regard you cannot trust one another, is a great hindrance to the publick Service : But, if you will communicate Counsels and Concernments with them, who will not refuse to lay down their Lives, in executing what shall be resolv'd upon ; I do not despair but we may yet perform as noble Exploits as ever any of our Ancestors did, in Times equally, or at least not much less troublesome, than the Days we now live in. But if by our own Slothfulness, we suffer the Enemy to conquer by piecemeal, he will quickly force us to a Surrender, or a Banishment, and which of the two is more miserable and flagitious, can hardly be determin'd. As for us two, I know that I am accused by my Enemies of Treachery, and you of Cowardice : But if you would do that speedily, which you are not able to avoid doing in the End, 'tis not a fine-spun Oration, but 'tis the Field of Battle, and the Edge of the Sword, that must clear us of these Imputations.' The Regent told him, he would be wholly guided by him and the Nobles : Upon which the Council was summoned about an Expedition ; and by their Advice a Proclamation was published in all the neighbouring Countries, that the whole Nobility there should, with all the speed they could, repair to the Regent wheresoever he should be ; and they the Day after, with their present Forces, which were

not

not above 300 Horſe, march'd for *England*. There came in to them ſome of the *Lothianers* and *Merch-men*, but not very many, ſo that when they reached *Mulroſs* upon *Tweed*, they reſolved to ſtay there till more Force came up to them. But the *Engliſh*, who were already got as far as *Jedburgh*, being inform'd by their Spies of the inconfiderable Force of the Enemy, march'd with about 5000 Men out of *Jedburgh*, direſtly towards *Mulroſs*, not doubting but that they ſhould ſurprize the Regent and his Party unawares, being but few, and thoſe alſo tired with their March.

BUT the *Scots* having Advice from their *Scouts* of the *Engliſh*, withdrew to the next Hills, from thence in Safety to behold what Courſe the Enemy would take. The *Engliſh* being thus diſappointed of their Hope, wander'd up and down in the Town and Monastery of *Mónks*, which were pillag'd a little before, being intent upon what Prey they could find, and there they ſtaid till break of Day. As ſoon as it was light they were returning to *Jedburgh*, and the *Scots*, having receiv'd a Supply of almoſt 300 of the Men of *Fife*, under the Command of *Norman Leſly*, Son of the Earl of *Rothes* (a young Man of ſuch Accompliſhments, that he had not his Match in all *Scotland*) grew from hence more encouraged, and ſo, with a ſlow March, they retir'd to the Hills, which lie about the Town of *Ancram*: There *Walter Scot* (of whom mention is made before) an active and prudent Perſon, came into them with but a few in his Company, excuſing the ſtraintneſs of time, and telling them, that his whole Party would be ſpeedily with them: His Advice was, that they ſhould ſend their Horſe to the next Hill, and ſo all of them run equal Hazard on Foot, and wait for the Enemy on the low Grounds; for he did not doubt but that their Servants carrying up their Horſe to the higher Grounds, would make the *Engliſh* believe that they were running away, and that would occaſion them to haſten their March. And accordingly, left the *Scots* ſhould get off without fighting, and be again to be fought out with a great deal of Pains, before the Night came, the *Engliſh* came up to them in three Battalions; for they hoped to end the Buſineſs with one light Skirmiſh: and becauſe their Hopes were ſuch, each one exhorted his Fellow to make haſte, tho' they had continued their March Night and Day before, under their heavy Arms, that ſo by a ſhort Toil they might get long Reſt, Renown and Glory. Theſe Exhortations added to their Courage, as much as the Toil of the March abated their Strength, ſo that their two firſt Battalions fell in amongſt the *Scots*, who were prepared for the Onſet, as into an Ambuſh; yet truſting to their Number, they ſtood to their Arms, and fought ſtoutly. But
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two things (wisely foreseen) were a great help to the *Scots*, for both the Sun was almost at West, and darted with his full Beams in the Faces of the Enemy; and also the Wind, which was somewhat high, carried back the Smoak of the Gunpowder upon the Battalions behind, inasmuch that they could not see their Way; and besides, whilst they were panting, by reason of their March, it mightily troubled them with its noisom Smell. The first Battalion of the *English* fell back upon the second, the second on the third; where, by their Intermixtures one with another, and the pressing of the *Scots* upon them, they all broke their Ranks, and were driven back; so that all were so full of Fear and Terror, that none knew his own Colours, or his Captain. Thus, whilst every one provided for his own Safety, no Man remembered the publick Danger or Disgrace. The *Scots* followed thick and close after them, so that now there was no more fighting, but slaying. At Night the *Scots* were called back to their Colours, and taking a view of the slain, they lost only two of their own; of the *English*, besides Commanders, there died about 200 Soldiers, most of them Persons of Quality. There were about 1000 Prisoners taken, and of them above 80 Gentlemen. This Victory happening beyond all Men's Expectation, was so much the more acceptable; the Fruit and Profit of it all redounded to the Regent, but almost all the Honour to the *Douglasses*.

ABOUT this time, by the Fraud, as 'tis thought, of *George Gordon Earl of Huntley*, a Quarrel arose, in which almost all the Family of the *Frasers* was extinguish'd. There was, betwixt them and *Mac-Rainald*, an old Grudge, which had been often manifested to the loss of both Parties; and *Huntley* was inwardly fill'd with Indignation, that they alone, of all the neighbouring Families, refused to come under his Clanship. For, when the Neighbour Islanders gather'd together what Forces they could, against the Earl of *Argyle*, there was hardly any Man in that tract of the Country, but bore Arms on one side or other. But the Matter being compos'd without Blows, as they were returning they sever'd from him another way: The *Mac-Rainalds* having Notice of it, got their Clanships together, and set upon them most furiously, and the *Frasers*, being fewer in number, were overcome, and all slain to a Man. And thus that numerous Family, which had oft so well deserved of their Country, had been wholly 'extinguish'd, unless by God's good Providence (as we have reason to believe) 80 of the chief of the Family had left their Wives at home big with Child, all of which, in due time, brought forth Male-children, and they all liv'd to Man's Estate.

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AT the same time the King of *England* heard, that his Army was beaten and wasted in *Scotland*, and that an Ambassador was sent by the Regent to the King of *France*, to acquaint him with the Victory, and to desire Aid of him against the Demands and Threats of the King of *England*; and likewise to inform against *Lenox*, in defamation of his Departure into *England*. As for Aid, he could scarce obtain any, because the *French* knew for certain, that *Henry* was just upon the Point of passing over with great Forces into *France*, only they sent 500 Horse, and 3000 Foot, not so much to defend the *Scots* from the IncurSIONs of the *English*, as to hold them in play, that they might not fall with their whole Strength upon *France*. *Henry* that Summer, did not think fit to send greater Forces to the Borders of *Scotland*, because he was of Opinion, that the Garrisons were sufficient to restrain the Excursions of the *Scots*; and besides, he knew well enough, that the *Scots*, in such a perplexed State of their Affairs, could not raise a great Army that Year to attack any well-fortified Places.

THE *Scottish* Ambassador in *France* raised some mean and pitiful Objections against *Lenox*, in his Absence, scarce worth the answering, as, that he had concealed the Money sent to him; that by reason of his Dissensions with the Cardinal, the Cause of the Publick was betray'd; and as for his Departure into *England*, he took special Care to exaggerate that Affair in a most invidious manner. The King of *France*, who, by means of false Rumours, had conceiv'd such an Anger against *Lenox*, that he would by no means admit of his clearing himself, or making the least Apology against those Calumnies, nay, he had imprisoned *Lenox's* Brother, Captain of his Guards, without giving him a hearing; when the Truth began a little to appear, he then indeed, as it were in excuse for his rash Proceeding, sought some Colour to hide it; and accordingly commanded an Examination to be made of the Crimes objected against *Lenox*. And the Enquiry was committed to the Care of *James Montgomery* of *Lorge*, Commander of the *French* Auxiliaries, a Man active and good enough, but a bitter Enemy to *Lenox*; it was put into his Hands at the Instance of the *Guises*, because they were not able to distinguish and separate the Cause of their Sister from the Perfidiousness of the Cardinal. *Montgomery* arriv'd with his *French* Auxiliaries (lately mention'd) in *Scotland*, on *July* the 3d in the Year 1545, where, by shewing the Letters, and declaring the good Intentions of the King of *France* towards them in the Council, he obtain'd, that an Army should be levied, but only of the better sort, who were to bear the Charges of the War; and they were to meet upon a short Day. And accordingly, at the time appointed, there met 15000 *Scots* at *Haddington*,

son, and marched to the Borders, they formed their Camp over against *Werk*, a Castle in *England*. From thence, almost every other Day, they marched with their Colours into *England*, and carry'd off a great deal of Booty. The Enemy endeavour'd to resist their Incurfions, but in vain; they made some slight Skirmishes, but without Success, so that the *Scots* wasted all the Country for six Miles round. They continu'd this manner of Action for the space of ten Days, never going so far into the Enemies Country in the Day-time, but that they could return back to their Camp at Night. In the interim, *Montgomery* and *George Hume* put it very earnestly to the Regent, that he would remove his Camp to the other side of the *Tweed*, that so they might make freer Inroads upon the Parts adjacent, and spread the Terror of their Army to a greater Distance; but all their Sollicitations were in vain. For the Regent, and those of the Council about him, were against it, because they were destitute of all Necessaries for storming of Castles; so that they disbanded the Army, and returned Home. The rest took up their Winter-Quarters as every one thought fit; but *Montgomery* went to *Sterlin* to the Court; where, knowing of the Calumnies raised against *Lenox* by his Enemies, tho' he was himself highly disgusted at him too, yet he rebuked the Cardinal very severely; that, without any Provocation on *Lenox's* part, he had loaden so noble and innocent a Person with such calumnious Imputations, and had compell'd him, even against his Will, to join with the Enemy.

ABOUT the same time, Inroads were made by both sides, on all parts of the Borders, with very different Events. *Robert Maxwell*, the Son of *Robert*, a young Gentleman of singular Valour, was taken Prisoner by the *English*: There was nothing memorable done besides. At the beginning of the following Winter, *Montgomery* return'd to *France*, and the Cardinal carried about the Regent with him through the neighbouring Provinces, upon pretence to reconcile and heal the Seditions and Distempers of all Parties. First, they came to *Perth*, where four Men were punished for eating Flesh on a Day prohibited; and also a Woman and her Infant were both suffered to perish, because she refused to call upon the Virgin *Mary* for Aid, at the time when she was in Labour. Then they applied themselves to the Overthrow of all the Reformed, universally: They went to *Dundee*, and, as themselves gave out, it was to punish such as read the *New Testament*; for in those Days that was counted a most grievous Sin: And such was the Blindness of those Times, that some of the Priests, being offended at the novelty of the Title, did contend, that Book was lately written by *Martin Luther*, and therefore they desired only the *Old*. There
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it was told them, that *Patrick Grey*, chief of a Noble Family in those Parts, was coming with a great Train, and the Earl of *Rothes* with him. The Tumult being appeased, the Regent commanded both of them to come to him the Day after; but the Cardinal thinking it not safe to admit two such potent and factious Persons, with so great a Train, into that Town, which was the only one highly addicted to the Reformed Religion, persuaded the Regent to return to *Perth*. The Noblemen, when they were ready for their Journey, hearing in the Morning that the Regent was gone to *Perth*, they immediately, upon the first Notice, follow'd him thither; and, when they came in sight of the Town, the Cardinal was so afraid, that, to gratify him, the Regent commanded them to enter severally and apart; and the next Day after, they were both committed to Prison; yet *Rothes* was soon released, but *Grey* was delivered with more difficulty afterwards, because he was more hated and feared by them. Before they went from thence, the Cardinal thought good to abate the Power of *Ruven*, Mayor of the City; so that the Regent took away the Mayoralty from him, and gave it to the Laird *Kinfans*, a Neighbour-Laird, *Grey's* Kinsman. *Ruven* was hated by the Cardinal, because he favour'd the Reform'd Religion: And as for *Grey*, he was not wholly averse to the Reform'd neither, nor yet any great Friend of the Cardinal's: By this means the Cardinal did not doubt, but, if they two fell out, many of the neighbouring Parts would join themselves to each of them in regard of their being derived from such illustrious Families, and having each numerous Domesticks; and so the more of them fell on either side, the fewer Enemies he should have left alive. Thus the Mayoralty of *Perth*, which for many Years had continued as Hereditary in the Family of the *Ruven's*, was translated to *Charters*, Laird of *Kinfans*, to the mighty great Indignation of the Citizens; who took it much amiss, that their ancient Freedom of Voting in their Assemblies, was taken away: But the new Mayor was sent to bring them to a sense of Obedience by Force, if they offered to resist. The Design was to assault the City in two Places. *Grey*, who had taken the whole Matter upon his single self, attack'd it from the Bridge over the River *Tay*: The other Party were to carry their Guns up the Stream, and so to storm the open Side of the Town; but because the Tide hinder'd them, they did not come up in-time. *Grey* makes his Attempt from the Bridge (from which *Ruven* had purposely withdrawn his Guards into the next Houses, that so it might seem to the Enemy as if it was undefended) and when he saw none in Arms to oppose him, he boldly marched up into the Town; upon which *Ruven* sallied out of the adjoining Houses on a sudden, and gave him a
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brisk Charge, which routed him and his whole Party; but in their flight through narrow Passages, one hindred another: For the last, striving to gain the Mouth of the Passage, gave a stop to the first; and in this Confusion many were trod to Death, and sixty fell by the Sword. The Cardinal, when he knew that *Raven* had got the Victory, was a little concern'd at it; yet glad however, that so many of his Enemies were destroy'd; for as he despaired ever to make them his Friends, so he counted it a Gain to him to see them mutually destroy one another. The Cardinal having thus passed over as much of *Angus* as he thought convenient at that time, brought the Regent, after the Winter Solstice, to St. *Andrew's*, to endear his Mind still more and more to him, if possible; for tho' he had his Son, the Earl of *Arran*, as a Pledge, yet as often as he meditated upon the Fierceness of the *Scottish* Nobility, and the Strength of the opposite Faction, and the Inconstancy of the Regent; he was afraid that he might be persuaded by his Enemies, and so wrought over to them with the same Levity, as he had first joined himself with him. There he entertained him, with a small Retinue, with Sports and Pastimes twenty Days at *Christmas*: He gave him many Gifts to please him for the present, and promised him more for the future; and, after much Discourse together, concerning the State of the Kingdom, he came a little more secure to *Edinburgh*.

THERE a Convocation of Ecclesiasticks was held Jan. 13. In that Assembly many things were debated concerning the retaining of the old Liberty of the Church, and the Punishment of the enormous Crimes of some Priests; but, in the midst of their Debates, before they could conclude of any thing, News was brought to them, that *George Wiseheart*, a Preacher of the Gospel, one very acceptable to the People, was entertained at the House of a noble Person, called *John Cockburn*, about seven Miles from the City. They presently detached a party of Horse thither, to demand the Offender: But *Cockburn* alledg'd several things in excuse, on purpose to create some Delays, that so he might have an opportunity to convey him away secretly; of which the Cardinal being inform'd, posted thither with the Regent, even in the dead time of the Night, and beset all the Avenues of the House; and yet his Promises, Flatteries, and Threats, prevailed not at all, till he sent for the Earl of *Boswell* out of the next District: He, being the chief of all the *Lothianers*, with some Difficulty obtained that *George* should be delivered up to him; but first he pass'd his Word, that no Harm or Damage should come to him. The Priests, having now gotten this Prey into their Hands, carried him from *Edinburgh* to St. *Andrew's*; and there, about a Month

Month after, they assembled a great Company of Ecclesiasticks of all sorts, to determine concerning his Doctrine: This was done to blind Men's Eyes with the pretence of a Judicatory, and of a legal Proceeding; for all Men knew, what they would determine concerning him before-hand. By the consent of them all, the Cardinal, by his Letters, desir'd the Regent to give out his Mandate for a Civil Judge to sit upon the Offender (for he himself, by the Pope's Canon-Law, could not sit upon the Life or Death of any Man) that so he, that was already judg'd an Heretick by the Priests, might be also sentenc'd to Death by the Secular Power. The Regent was not likely to have made any scruple in granting his Request, but that *David Hamilton* of *Preston*, his Kinsman, had interposed and kept him back, who sometimes advis'd, and sometimes entreated, threaten'd, and chid him, in order to stop the Process against *George*: The sum of his Discourse is supposed to be this: *That be very much wonder'd upon what account the Regent should vest so great an Authority in any Man against the Servants of God, who had no other Crime objected against them, but that of preaching the Gospel of Jesus Christ; and especially should deliver them up to such, whose wretched Lives and brutish Cruelty made them quite careless what Torments they put an innocent Man to, whose Integrity of Life his very Enemies were forc'd to confess, even against their Will; and for his Learning, he himself knew it to be great; that further, he himself had been formerly a great Favourer of him, and it: 'Twas by his Commendation, that he was advanc'd to the Supremie Magistracy; and also, that he had given forth Edicts to declare his assent to his Doctrine publicly, and had undertook to defend it; nay, he had exhorted all in general, and each Man in particular, to read, and understand, practise and exemplify it in their Hearts and Lives. Consider therefore with your self, said he, what will Men think? what will Men say of you? Consider the Mercies God Almighty hath bestow'd upon you: The King, an active Man, and your Enemy, was taken away, who walk'd in the very same Steps you now tread: They who brought him to Ruin by their Advice, are at this Minute doing their utmost endeavour to destroy you: They have oppos'd you from the beginning with the Weight of all their Power; and now they seek, with fraudulent Counsel, to ensnare and undo you. Call to mind (Sir) the Victory given you over your Subjects without Bloodshed, and over your Enemies too, tho' having much greater Force than your self, to your great Renown, and their deserv'd Ignominy. Remember, for whose sake you thus desert God, and oppose your and his Friends: Awake, I beseech you, and dispel that Mist, which wicked and ill-designing Men have cast before your Eyes; remember *Saul King of Israel*, how he was rais'd up from a low to a so-*

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veraign Estate, and how many Blessings he received from God, as long as he was obedient to his Law; but when he slighted and turn'd aside from his Commands, how miserably was he punished? Compare the Success of your Affairs, from the beginning to this very Day, with his Prosperities; and unless you alter the Course of your Designs, expect no happier Issue, nay, rather a worse End than he: For he designed the same Projects which you are now upon, and that to gratify some base Varlets, who can neither hide their open Wickednesses, nor do so much as endeavour to dissemble them.

THE Regent was affected at the Advice of his Friend, and writ back an Answer to the Cardinal, That he should not precipitate the Process, but let the whole Matter lie dormant, till he came himself: For he was not willing to consent to the Condemnation of the Man, till he had more diligently enquir'd into his Cause: And, if the Cardinal did otherwise, the Man's Blood should light on his Head; for he testify'd by those Letters, that he himself was entirely clear from it.

THE Cardinal was unexpectedly surprized with this Answer; he knew well enough, that if Delays were made in the Case, the Prisoner would be delivered, as being a popular Man; and besides, he would not suffer the thing to be brought to a Debate, partly because by fair Dispute he had no Hopes to prevail, and partly because the Man having been already condemned by the Ecclesiastical Councils and Canons, he would have no Recognition made; so that he was angry to a Degree of Rage, and persisted in the Resolution he had taken: And his Reply was, That he did not write to the Regent, as if he had not sufficient Authority independently of him, but for a shew of common Consent, that his Name might be to the Condemnation. Upon that, George was brought out of Prison, and John Windram, a learned Man, and an hearty (tho' secret) Favourer of the Cause of Religion, was commanded to mount a kind of Pulpit there erected, and to preach: He took his Text out of *Matt. xiii.* which says, *That the Good Seed is the Word of God, but the Evil Seed is Heresy.* In his Discourse defining Heresy, he said, it was a false Opinion, evidently repugnant to the holy Scriptures, and maintained with obstinacy; and that it was occasioned, and also supported and fostered, by the Ignorance of the Pastors of the Church, who did not know how either to convince Hereticks, or to reduce those who were gone astray, by the Spiritual Sword, which is the Word of God. Afterwards he explained the Duty of a Bishop, out of the Epistle to *Timothy*, and shewed that there was only *one* Way to find out Heresy, which was to bring it to the *Test* of the Word of God. At length, when he had finished his Discourse, though

what he spake made against Priests, who were there assembled, not to refute Heresies, but to punish those who opposed their licentious Arrogance; yet, as if all things went well on their side, they haled forth *George* to a Pulpit or Scaffold, built in the Church; that so they might observe their accustomed Form in Judgment: Over against him there was another Pulpit, which *John Lauder*, a Popish Priest, mounted; and the rest stood all about him, as it were to judge: But there was not the least Appearance of Judgment, or of a free Dispute in the Case; for the Accuser thundered out many odious and abominable Slanders, such as are wont to be commonly forged against the Preachers of the Reformed Religion, with mighty bitter Expressions: And thus having spent some Hours, *George* was brought back again to the Castle, and lodged in the Governour's Chamber, spending great part of his Time that Night in Prayer. The next Morning the Bishops sent two *Franciscans* to him, to acquaint him that his Death was at hand, and to know whether they should confess him, as is usual in such Cases? He told them, he had nothing to do with *Friars*, nor had any Mind to discourse them; but if they were willing to gratify him in that one Point, then he desired to confer with that learned Man who preach'd the Day before. Accordingly the Bishops gave him leave to go to the Castle, and *George* had a long Discourse with *Windram*, who, after he had ceas'd weeping (which for a while he could not refrain) very friendly demanded of him, whether he would receive the Sacrament of the *Lord's Supper*? With all my Heart, said *George*, if I may receive it under both Kinds of Bread and Wine, according to Christ's Institution. *Windram* returned to the Bishops, and told them, that *George* very solemnly profess'd, that he was innocent of the Crime of which he was accused; which he spoke not to deprecate his Death now at hand, but only to testify his Innocency before Men, as it was before sufficiently known to God. The Cardinal was much enraged; *Ay*, says he, *We know well enough what you are*. Being further demanded, whether he would admit him to receive the Sacrament; he talk'd a little with the Bishops, and with their Consent made Answer, That it was not fit that a stubborn Heretick, condemn'd by the Church, should enjoy any Benefits of the Church. That Answer being return'd to him, about nine of the Clock, the Friends and Officers of the Governour of the Castle sat down to Breakfast; they asked *George*, whether he would eat with them? Very willingly, said he, and much more so than in former Times, because I perceive you are good Men, and Fellow-members with me of the same Body of Christ; and because, I know, that this is the last Meal I shall eat on Earth. And for you (speaking to the Governour of the

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the Castle) *I desire you, in the Name of God, and for that Love which you bear to our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, that you'll sit down a while with us, and vouchsafe me the Hearing, whilst I give you a short Exhortation, and so pray over this Bread, which, as Brethren in Christ, we are about to eat, and then I will bid you heartily Farewell.* In the interim the Cloth was laid (according to Custom) and Bread set on, when George made a brief and clear Discourse for about half an Hour, concerning Christ's last Supper, his Sufferings and Death. But above all, he exhorted them to lay aside Anger, Envy, and Malice, and to have mutual Love impress'd on their Minds; that so they might become perfect Members of Christ, who daily intercedes for us with his Father, that our Sacrifice might be accepted by him to eternal Life. When he had thus spoken, he gave Thanks, and then brake the Bread, and gave to every one a little Piece, and then the Wine, after he himself had drank in the same manner, intreating them to remember the Death of Christ now in the last Sacrament with him; as for himself, a bitterer Portion was prepared for him, for no other Reason but his preaching the Gospel. And then, having again given Thanks, he returned to his Chamber, and concluded his Prayer. A while after, two Executioners were sent to him by the Cardinal, one of them put a black Linnen Shirt upon him, and the other bound many little Bags of Gun-powder to all the Parts of his Body: In this Dress they brought him forth, and commanded him to stay in the Governour's outer Chamber. And at the same time they erected a wooden Scaffold in the Court before the Castle, and made up a Pile of Wood. The Windows and Balconies over-against it were all hung with Tapestry and Silk Hangings, with Cushions for the Cardinal and his Train, to behold and take Pleasure in the joyful Sight, even the Torture of an innocent Man; thus courting the Favour of the People, as the Author of so notable a Deed. There was also a great Guard of Soldiers, not so much to secure the Execution, as for a vain Ostentation of Power; and besides, Brass Guns were placed up and down in all convenient Places of the Castle. Thus, whilst the Trumpets sounded, George was brought forth, mounted the Scaffold, and was fastened with a Cord to the Stake; and having scarce obtained Liberty to pray for the Church of God, the Executioners fired the Wood, which immediately taking hold of the Powder that was tied about him, blew it up into Flame and Smoak. The Governor of the Castle, who stood so near that he was singed with the Flame, exhorted him in a few Words to be of good Chear, and to ask Pardon of God for his Offences: To whom he replied, *This Flame occasions Trouble to my Body indeed, but it bath in no wise broken*

my Spirit : But he who now so proudly looks down upon me from yonder lofty Place (pointing to the Cardinal) *shall, e'er long, be as ignominiously thrown down, as now he proudly lolls at his Ease.* Having thus spoken, they straitned the Rope, which was tied about his Neck, and so strangled him. His Body, in a few Hours being consumed to Ashes in the Flame, the Bishops being yet mad with Hate and Rage, forbade every body, upon great Penalties, to pray for the Deceased.

AFTER this Fact, the Cardinal was highly commended by his Faction, and extoll'd to the very Skies, that he alone, when others declined it, had slighted the Authority of the Regent, and performed so noble an Exploit, whereby he had curb'd popular Insolency, and had courageously undertook, and as happily manag'd, the Defence of the whole Ecclesiastical Order. If the Church had formerly had (say they) such strenuous Assertors of its Liberties, it would never have been brought to that pass, as it is at this Day (*i. e.*) to truckle under ; but it would have given Law to all, and received it from none. This luxuriant and superlative Joy of the Priests, for their obtained Victory, rather irritated than discouraged the Minds, not only of the promiscuous Vulgar, but even of some great and noble Persons too : They fretted that things were come to that pass by their own Pusillanimity and Cowardice; and now they thought some bold thing or other was to be attempted and hazarded, or else they must remain Slaves for ever. Led by this same Motive, more Company came in to them, whose Grief forc'd them to break out into Complaints against the Cardinal. So they encourag'd one another to rid the Cardinal out of the Way, and either to recover their Liberty, or lose their Lives. For what hope of thriving, said they, can there be under so arrogant a Priest, and so cruel a Tyrant, who makes War against God, as well as Man, and those, not his Enemies only, as were all such as had Estates, or were any way Pious ; but for a small Grudge he will hale a Man as a Hog out of the Sty, to be sacrific'd to his Lusts. And besides, he is a publick Encourager and Maintainer of War, both at home and abroad ; and, in his private Capacity he mixeth the Love of Harlots with lawful Marriages : Legitimate Wedlock he dissolves at Pleasure ; at home he wallows in Lust among his Minions, and abroad he ravages to destroy the Innocent. The Cardinal, tho' he did not distrust his own Power, yet knowing how People stood affected towards him, and what Reports were spread up and down concerning him, thought it his best way to strengthen his Power, by making what Additions he could, one way or other. For this End he went to *Angus*, and married his eldest Daughter to the Son of the Earl of *Crawford* : The Marriage was solemniz'd
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in great State, and (almost) with a Royal Magnificence. Whilst these things were in Agitation, he received Intelligence by his Spies, that the King of *England* was making great Naval Preparations to infest the *Scottish* Coasts, but especially the Inhabitants of *Fife*, whom he threatened most : And as soon as he received these Advices, he returned to St. *Andrew's*, and there appointed a Day for the Nobles, especially those whose Estates lay near the Sea, to meet, and consult in common what Remedy to apply to the present Evil. And, to do it more effectually, he determined to take a View of all the Sea-Coasts, together with the Owners of the Lands, and so in a manner to go a Circuit about all *Fife* ; and to fortify all convenient Places, and to put Garrisons into them. Amongst the rest of the Noblemens Sons, who came in to the Cardinal, *Norman Lestly*, Son to the Earl of *Rothel*, was one, of whom I have made mention several times before : He had done great and eminent Services for the Cardinal ; but, on a time, there fell out a Dispute between them concerning a private Business, which made them cold to one another, and Strangers for a while ; but *Norman*, for great Promises made him, quitted his Right to the Matter in contest. After a few Months, coming to demand of the Cardinal the Performance of what was promised him, they came from a plain to a pretty warm Discourse, and afterwards to downright Railing, uttering such reproachful Words one to another, as misbecame them both. And thus they parted in a great Rage, the Cardinal fretting that he was not treated with that Deference which he thought due to his Dignity ; and *Norman*, full of Wrath, as being circumvented by Fraud ; so that he returned home with Thoughts full of Revenge, and inveighed openly amongst his Friends against the intolerable Pride of the Cardinal ; inasmuch that they all agreed to take away his Life : And that the Matter might pass with the less Suspicion, *Norman*, with five only in his Company, came to St. *Andrew's*, and took up his usual Inn, that so the Design of cutting him off might be concealed, by reason of the small Retinue he had with him. There were ten more in the Town privy to the Conspiracy, who all, in several Places, expected the Watchword : With this small Company did he undertake so great an Enterprize ; and that in a Town which was full of the Cardinal's Train, Relations, and Attendants. The Days were then very long, as they use to be in those Countries, towards the end of the Spring, viz. about *May 7*. And the Cardinal was fortifying his Castle for his Defence, in so great haste, that the Work-men continued at it almost Night and Day ; so that when the Porter, early in the Morning, opened the Gates to let in the Work-men, *Norman* had placed two of his Men in

Ambush, in an House hard by, who were to seize the Porter; and when they had made themselves Masters of the Gate, they were to give a Sign, agreed on, to the rest: By this Means they all entered the Castle without any Noise; and sent four of their Number to watch the Cardinal's Chamber-door, that no Tidings might be carried in to him: Others were appointed to go to the Chambers of the rest of the Household, to call them up (for they well knew both the Men and the Place;) then they rous'd up, being half asleep; and calling them all by their Names, they threatened immediately to kill them, if they made but the least Out-cry; so that they led them all, in profound Silence, out of the Castle, without doing them any hurt at all. When all the rest were turned out, then they alone were Masters of the Castle; and then those who watched at the Cardinal's Door, knocked at it. Being ask'd their Names, they told them, and were immediately let in; having, as some write, pass'd their Words, that they would do no Harm; and when they were enter'd, they dispatch'd the Cardinal, having given him many Wounds. In the mean time, a Noise was spread about the Town, that the Castle was taken; inso-much that the Cardinal's Friends, half drunk, and half asleep, tumbled out of their Beds, and cried out *Arm*. Thus to the Castle they posted, and called out with threatening and opprobrious Words, for Ladders; other Things they also brought necessary for a Storm. They who saw them out of the Castle, that they might blunt the present impetuosity of their Minds, and call back their mad Spirits to consider themselves, demanded, why they made such a Bustle? for the Man was dead whom they sought to rescue: And with that Word they threw the dead Body out in the Sight of them all; even out at that very Place, where before he had exultingly beheld the Execution of *George Wifeseart*.

WHEREUPON many reflected within themselves upon the Inconstancy of human Affairs, and that unexpected Event. Many also were affected with the Prediction of *George Wifeseart*, concerning his Death, which then came into their Minds; and many other things also, which that holy Man had foretold, not without the special Inspiration of God's Spirit, as we have cause to believe, and as the Event soon after made appear. The Cardinal's Friends and Kinsmen, quite astonished at this unexpected Sight, soon sculk'd away. When the Matter was divulg'd all over the Kingdom, Mens Minds were variously affected, as they either hated or loved the Cardinal; some thought it a brave, others an impious Action. Many being in a different way of Worship from him, and living in deadly Fear of him, others offended at his intolerable Arrogance, did not only ap-
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prove the Fact, but came to congratulate the Committers of it, as the Restorers of their ancient Liberties ; and some of them ventur'd their Lives and Fortunes in their Quarrel. The Court was terribly alarm'd at the News, as having lost part of their Council ; but, by the Advice of those which were present, they sent forth a Proclamation, that the Murderers should come in within six Days, to give Sureties to answer Matters at a Day, which was to be nominated for that purpose : But they had a strong Castle over their Heads, and in it all the Cardinal's Money, and his Household-stuff ; and besides, they had the Regent's eldest Son with them, who was given in Hostage to the Cardinal, as is related before : So that they gave no Credit to the Promises of their Enemies, whose Levity and Perfidiousness they had sufficient Experience of before, and therefore they refused to hearken to any Conditions of Peace ; and for that Reason they were Out-law'd. Thus the Matter was protracted, partly by the Threats and vain Promises of the one Party, and the Diffidence of the other, from the Month of *May*, till the fifth of *November* ; and then the Regent, at the Importunity of the Queen-Mother, and the Revilings and Clamours of the Priests, took Arms, and lay three whole Months before the Castle, battering it with his Brass Guns ; but in the fourth Month, almost at the end of Winter, he dismiss'd his Army, without carrying the Place ; and went to *Edinburgh*, to be present at the Convention of Estates, which he had before summon'd to be held in *February*.

THEY who held the Castle, being thus out of all fear of their Enemy, did not only make frequent Excursions into the neighbouring Parts, and commit Depredations with Fire and Sword all round ; but, as if the Liberty gotten by their Arms, were to be spent in Whoredoms, Adulteries, and such Vices, they ran into all the Wickedness, which idle Persons are subject to ; for they measured Right or Wrong by no other Rule but their own Lust : Neither could they be reclaimed by *John Knox*, who then came to them, and often warned them, that God would not be mocked, but would take severe Punishments on those, who were Violators of his Laws, even by those whom they least dream'd of ; yet his Exhortations could not stop the Course of their Impiety.

BESIDES this domestick Mischief raging even in the very Bowels of the Kingdom, what added extremely to it was a War with *England* : For the *English* had pass'd over the *Solway* with their Forces, and put the People in a terrible panick Fear. They were not contented with the Pillage and Prey, but they fired some Places, took some strong Holds, and put Garrisons in them. Neither were Matters quieter in the other parts of the

Borders; *Robert Maxwell*, upon whom the greatest part of the Storm fell, came to *Edinburgh*, to solicit for Aid, when almost all was lost: He alledged, that the Country was made desolate; that their Castles were taken and kept by their Enemies; that the Husband-man was driven from his Habitation, and forced to live in much Want, on the Charity of his Friends; and that they suffered all this, because they would not change nor forfeit their Allegiance to their King. But, if no Course was taken for their Relief, in some short time, their Miseries would compel them to give themselves up to the *English*; and so would their Neighbours too, for fear they should undergo the like. This Complaint was the Cause that Aid was promised him to recover his own; and the Regent, marching his Army thither, formed his Camp by the River *Meggat*. There the Cardinal's Friends earnestly desir'd of him to call *George Lesly*, *Norman's* Father, who was then in the Camp, to his Answer, and not to carry so potent a Man with him, as his Companion in the War, whose Faith was suspected, or rather who was an open Enemy. The Earl, tho' the Time and Place did not favour it, yet was willing immediately to put himself on his Tryal: Upon that, the Names of the Judges or Jury were (according to Custom, which I have elsewhere mentioned) impannell'd, and none of them excepted against by the adverse Party; yet by all their Votes he was acquitted. From thence they march'd to the Castle of *Langham*, and drove out the *English* there; and as they were resolv'd to attempt other Forts, they were recall'd by a sudden Message. For News was brought them, that the *French* Fleet was seen not far from the Promontory of *St. Ebb*, consisting of one and twenty Ships. The Regent, imagining what the Matter was, that they were come to besiege the Castle of *St. Andrew's* (as had been agreed between them) march'd joyfully home: There he discours'd *Leon Strozzy*, Admiral of the *French* Fleet; and they both agreed to lay close Siege to the Castle; which they did with such wonderful dispatch, that many of the Garrison-Soldiers who were abroad, could not come in, and many Country-men who had no hand in the Conspiracy, but occasionally came into the Castle about their private Affairs, could not get out. They planted their Brass-Guns upon the Towers of two Churches, which stood near on both sides the Castle, which so annoyed the whole Court within the Castle-walls, that no Man durst stir out of his House without manifest Danger of his Life. And afterwards they brought bigger Pieces of Ordnance, and play'd upon part of the Wall, which stood between two Towers: And that was soon battered down, because the latter Buildings were not at all cemented with the former; mighty was the Noise
of

offits' downfall. When this happen'd, they within, who before trusted to their Fortifications, and were ready to expose themselves at all Adventures to stop any Breach, began now to be afraid; and calling together a Council of War, because they feared the Regent's Cruelty (most apt to rage in feeble Minds) on the account of his Kinsmans Death, they surrender'd the Castle and themselves to *Leon Strozzy*, only upon Quarter for Life. Then *Leon* sent in his Men to pillage the Castle; where were found, besides a great Quantity of Provisions of all sorts, all the Cardinal's Money and Household-stuff, and all the Wealth of the Garrison-Soldiers, and of many others also, who had laid up their Goods there, as in a place of Refuge: There also they found the Regent's Son, who was before given in Hostage by his Father to the Cardinal; and when he was slain, was detain'd there. The Castle was demolish'd by Advice and Order of Council; and a few Days after, *Leon* set sail with his Prisoners for *France*. These things came to pass in *August 1547*.

ABOUT the same time News was brought, that the *English* had prepared great Forces both by Land and Sea, to invade *Scotland*, and to demand the performance of the Treaty, which was made four Years before with the Regent, concerning the Marriage of the Queen of *Scotland* to the King of *England's* Son. This sudden Report mightily affected the Regent, who was faint-hearted enough of himself, for he had then no foreign Aid, neither did he much confide in his own Forces: for the Papal Faction were offended at his Levity, and the Friends of Exil'd *Lenox*, having been cruelly treated by him, retained the Seeds of their old Hatred against him; yet upon his Proclamation, there came in great Numbers to *Edinburgh*. From thence they march'd to the Mouth of the River *Esk*, which runs through *Lothian*, and there waited the Approaches of the *English*. In the mean time, the *Scottish* Horse rode up towards the Enemy in their March, and challenged them to fight, by this means creating some trouble to them in their Passage: But the *English* General, who knew that the *Scots* were better than his own Men at such tumultuary Skirmishes, had given Command, that none of his Troops should march out to encounter them. At last, upon the importunity of *Grey*, Commander of the Horse, he was persuaded to send out some Troops of Horse well-arm'd, and of Cuirassiers, that should suddenly rush in upon them, when they were unprepared for Resistance. The *Scots*, grown fearless of the Enemy, but now astonish'd at the sudden Onset, broke their Ranks, and fled for their Lives, and about 800 of them were either slain or taken: Of the *English* also, who press'd too eagerly on the pursuit, several were taken.

ken Prisoners, amongst which were some eminent Horse-Officers. From that Day forward there was no remarkable Action performed by the *Scottish* Horse. The *English* had their Camp at the Town of *Preston*, a little more than a-Mile from them. From thence they might behold the number of the *Scottish* Army from the high Ground, and perceiving them to be more than they had thought, they advised what course to take, and resolved to send Letters to the *Scots*, that so, if just and equal Conditions might be agreed upon, the Matter might be ended rather by Treaty, than by Force. The Contents of the Letters were; *They earnestly desir'd the Scots to remember, first that both Armies profess'd the Christian Religion, to whom therefore (unless they renounced their Profession) nothing ought to be more dear than Peace and Tranquillity, and nothing more to be abhorr'd than Arms and War upon an unjust Foot: That the Cause of the present War was not Covetousness, Hatred, or Envy, but a Desire of perpetual Peace, which could be no ways so firmly cemented, as by Marriage, which had been already promised by the publick Decree and Consent of all the Estates, and ratified by a League, and that on such Conditions as were more advantageous to the Scots than English; not to reduce them to an Estate of Servitude, but to a joint Society of Life, and Participation and Communism of all their Fortunes: which Marriage would be so much the more beneficial to the Scots than to the English, as the weaker side bath reason to hope for more Advantages, and to apprehend more Injuries from the stronger: And, at the present, in casting up accounts of things, you are first to consider the Case, that it is very necessary your Queen should marry; that Necessity is inevitable, and a hard Matter to order it well: that the sole Power of chusing her a Husband was left to the Estates. If they would chuse a Husband upon the account of Dignity and publick Advantage, whom could they pitch upon better, than a neighbouring King, born in the same Island, ally'd in Blood; instituted in the same Laws; educated in the same Manners and Language, and superior, not in Power alone, but in all external Ornaments and Accessions of Dignity? And besides, this Marriage would bring with it a perpetual Concord, and an Oblivion of all old Resentments. But if they had any thoughts of bringing in a Stranger amongst them, to govern the Kingdom, that differ'd from them in Language, Laws, and Customs, they should consider how many Inconveniencies were lodg'd in the Womb of that Design, which they might easily foresee by the Examples of other Nations; and it were better so to do, than to learn it by Tryal and feeling the Smart of it. As for themselves, if they found the Spirit of the Scots not wholly averse from an Agreement, they were ready to remit something of the Rigour of Law and Right; and that they would be content the young Queen should*

should be educated under Scottish Guardians, till she came to be marriageable, and fit, by the Advice of the Nobles, to chuse an Husband for herself; and, till that time came, both sides should abstain from War and Rapine; and that the Queen should not be transported beyond Sea, nor that any Treaty should be entertained by the Scots, concerning her Marriage with the French, or any other foreign Prince. If the Scots would faithfully promise this, they would presently depart and withdraw their Forces; and as for what Damage they had done, since they enter'd Scotland, they would make such Restitution, as indifferent Men should award.

These Letters were brought to the Regent, who communicated them to his Brother *John*, Archbishop of *St. Andrew's*, whom he had assumed into the Place and Authority of the Cardinal, and to some few others: They, in hopes of a sure Victory, gave him Advice to suppress them; for they were afraid that, if the Equity of the Proposals were made known, the Scots would be taken off, and hearken to Terms of Peace; and therefore they gave out, through the whole Army, that the *English* were come on purpose to take away their Queen by Force, and to reduce the Land to their own Subjection. And the Regent, being naturally unactive, had chosen four, no more versed in Military Affairs than himself, who did turn and wind all things at their Pleasure: Those were his three Kinsmen and Allies, *John* his Brother, Archbishop of *St. Andrew's*, and Abbot of *Dumfermlin*; *George Dury*; *Alexander Beton*; and the fourth was *Hugh Riggs* a Lawyer, noted more for his big Body, Corpulency, and bulky Strength, than for any Military Skill. These Men did so puff up the Regent with the vain hope of Victory, that, being of himself inconstant and variable in his Designs at every blast of Wind, he shut his Ears against the Advice of all others. This being so, when the Regent's private Favourites had caused the Report, which they themselves had raised, to be spread all over the Army, they ran hastily and unanimously to their Arms. *Archibald Douglas*, Earl of *Angus*, led the Van; *George Gordon*, Earl of *Huntley*, brought up the Rear: Each of them had 10000 fighting Men; and the Regent had about the same Number in the main Battle. In this Posture, a Report was suddenly raised, that the *English* were fled away; and it was not altogether without Ground, for they, wanting Provision, and not being able to fetch it from far, nor to forage for it in the Neighbourhood, which was so unfurnish'd afore, thought it the best way to preserve themselves, if they left part of their Baggage behind them; and retreated by long Marches; but, having so many armed Men ready to engage, seeing they durst not come down into the Campaign,

nor

nor could deceive the Enemy by going about, they waited his coming on the higher Ground. On the other side, the Regent was impatient of Delay, and sent one to *Douglas* to march on with speed; but he, knowing that the *English* could not long keep that Ground for want of Provision, waiting to fall on their Rear, made no great haste, till he was stirred up by another Messenger from the Regent: Then, and not before, he passed over the River, the main Battle and the Rear following at a great Distance. The *English*, who were about to depart, perceiving *Douglas* to draw towards them upon the speed, sent out *Grey*, Commander of the Horse, with his whole Body to meet him, and stop his Career, till the Foot had possess'd themselves of a neighbouring Hill; or if he saw Cause, he was to disturb them in their Ranks; for, seeing the major part of them were arm'd after the *French* Mode, they thought the *Scots* would never be able to bear the brunt of their Charge: But a Brigade of the *Scots*, marching in close Order together, holding forth their Stand of long Pikes before them, as a Fence, received the Assault: There the Van of the *English* running in upon, and intangling themselves amongst the Pikes, the rest thought themselves ambuscado'd, and so returned to their Body, telling them, that the *Scots* Ranks could no more be broken, than if they charg'd against a Wall. Upon that, the *English* Horse were about to leave the Foot, and fly; but, by the Persuasion of their Commanders, and their mutual encouraging one another, and withal, hoping for a more advantageous Ground to fight on, they were retained, and renewed their Rank. The *Scots* were held from marching forward to the opposite Hill, chiefly upon this account, because they perceived *Jambo*, a Spaniard, with some Troops of his Countrymen, Harquebuisiers, coming down obliquely from the Hills, as if he would fall on their Flank; and therefore, that no sudden Emergency might cause them to divide their Brigade, and also that they might not be attack'd on their Flanks, they wheel'd about leisurely from the right Ascent of the Hill. The main Battle, when they saw the Van leaving their Station, thought that they were running away, and so they broke their Ranks too, and betook themselves to flight. The *English* seeing this from the high Grounds, sent out their Horse, and trod many of them under Foot in the pursuit. During all this March from *Esk* to the *English* Camp, the *English* Navy plaid upon the Flank of the *Scots* out of their Ships, and did them much Mischief. All the Ways were strow'd with Arms, by reason of the great Slaughter which was made; and Numbers of them likewise were drowned in the River. The *English* were most severe against the Priests and the Monks; (for those of that Tribe, who were lusty and able to bear Arms, came

came into the Field) and there were many who imputed the loss of the Day to them, who had arrogantly refused honest Conditions of Peace, and who, if they had the Victory, would have used it as cruelly towards their own Countrymen, as their Enemies. In the first Charge, the *English* lost about 200 Horse, but of the *Scots* there fell the prime of all the noblest Families, with their Relations and Tenants, who counted it the vilest and wickedest thing in Nature to desert them; and many were taken in the Pursuit. The Highlanders gathered themselves together in a round Body, kept their Ranks, and returned safe home: At first they march'd through craggy Places, and inconvenient for the Horse; and, if they were sometimes necessitated to descend into the Plains, yet the *English* Horse, who follow'd the Pursuit in a scattered way, durst not attack them. This Battle, amongst a few others, was very calamitous to the *Scots*: It was fought the 10th of *September*, in the Year 1547. The *English* having got the Victory, which was so much the more joyful, because it was unexpected, march'd five Miles further with all their Forces; and there they staid eight Days, sending out Parties every Day six Miles round, who burn'd and destroy'd all within that Compass. They attempted nothing considerable besides, having the fortifying the desolate Islands of *Inch-Keith* and *Inch-Colm*, in the Bay of *Forth*; and in the Bay of *Tay*, they took the Castle *Brockty*; and in their Return by Land, they took by Surrender the Castles of *Fascastle* and *Hume*, which the Garrisons surrendered out of Fear; and they raised Forts, one at *Lauder*, and another in the Ruins of *Roxborough* Castle.

THEIR sudden Departure gave some Relief to the *Scots*, and a breathing time for them to meet together to consult about the main Chance. The Regent, presently after the Fight, came with that part of the Nobles which were with him, to the two Queens at *Sterlin*, and to the Nobility attending there: The Regent and his Brother were very sad and dejected for the Calamity which happened by their Default, and the Queen Dowager shew'd many outward Signs of Grief in her Speech and Countenance; but they who knew her Heart, judg'd that she was not much concerned to see the Arrogance of the *Hamiltons* so curbed and chastised; but, to be joyous in a publick Calamity, they who use to cover the Faults of Princes under honest Disguises, are wont to call Greatness of Mind. Besides, the Dowager, ever since the Death of the Cardinal, had used all Ways and Means to throw the Regent out of his Office, and to invest the supreme Authority in herself; but she knew she could never effect it, as long as they were uppermost, and had all fortified Places in their Hands: In all her Discourse, she heighten'd the Fear she had from the *English*, and complained of the Weakness

ness of their own domestick Forces, and propounded the Dangers imminent from the civil Dissensions amongst them: She communicated her Mind to those, who she knew were ill-affected to the *Hamiltons*. When the Nobles were in Consultation about the grand Affairs of the Kingdom, a Decree was made, that the young Queen should reside at *Dunbarton*, whilst the Nobility debated concerning the Estate of the Kingdom: *John Erskin* was made her Governour, an unquestionable Favourer of the Queen Dowager's Faction, and *William Levingston*, a Friend to the *Hamiltons*, was join'd in Commission with him. Ambassadors were likewise sent into *France*, to demand Aids of their King *Henry* against their common Enemy, according to the League made with him: Hopes were also given them, that the Queen would come over into *France*, and marry the *Dauphin*. But the *French* were intent upon their own Affairs, and their Auxiliaries were slower than the present Danger required.

In the mean time the *English* entered *Scotland* on both sides of the Borders: The Earl of *Lenox*, as if he had been sent for by his Friends, came to *Dumfries*; for his Father-in-Law *Augustus*, and his old Friend *Glencarn*, had promised him two thousand Horse, and Foot proportionable of the neighbouring Parts to assist him, if he would leave the *English* and come over to them: But when he came to the Place at the Day appointed, there were hardly three hundred come together, and those too were such as used to live on Robberies. These and some other Things of the like Nature, being very suspicious, and especially the wavering Mind of *John Maxwell*, who had already given Hostages to the *English*, made *Lenox* believe that he was betray'd; and therefore he resolv'd to circumvent his Enemies with the like Fraud: He retained with him *Glencarn*, *John Maxwell*, and other chief Men of the *Scots*, who had treated with him concerning his Transition and Return into his own Country, and in the middle of the Night commanded toward *Drumlanerick*, six hundred Horse, part *English*, and part of the *Scots* who had yielded to them: When they came to the appointed Place, five hundred of them were sent out to commit what Spoil they could in the neighbouring Parts, that so they might draw out *James Douglas*, Owner of the Castle, into an Ambush. He, imagining such a thing, kept within his Hold till it was Day; and then, being out of fear of an Ambush, he march'd out with his Men, and pass'd over the River *Nith*, and press'd in a straggling manner upon the Plunderers, charging them in their Rear, as they were retreating. They, having got a convenient Time and Place to rally, turn'd back upon him with great Violence, and struck such a Terror into his Men in the Straits of a Ford, that they disordered their Ranks, killed some,

some, and took many considerable Prisoners. This light Expedition struck such a Terror into the greatest part of *Galway*, that they strove which of them should yield first to the *English*, partly to gratify *Lenox*, and partly fearing lest, being forsaken by their Neighbours, they should lie open to all Assaults. The *Scottish* Regent fearing, lest in such a general Confusion, if he did attempt nothing, he should altogether dispirit his Men, who were discouraged enough before, besieg'd the Castle of *Brockty*; and having lain before it almost three Months, without performing any thing considerable, he drew off his Men, leaving only an hundred Horse under the Command of *James Halyburton*, an active young Man, to infest the neighbouring Places, and to hinder any Provisions from being carried in by Land to *Brockty*, or to the Garrison which the *English* had plac'd on an Hill adjoining. These Matters pass'd at the end of that Year. In the beginning of the next, which was 1548, the *English* fortified *Haddington*, a Town in *Lothian* upon the *Tyne*, and burned the Villages, and plunder'd the Country about, which was one of the richest Parts of *Scotland*; and they form'd another Garrison at *Lauder*. *Lenox*, about the end of *February*, having pass'd over the West-border, hardly escaped an Ambush laid for him by part of those, who had yielded themselves; but returning to *Carlisle*, he reveng'd himself, by punishing some of the Hostages, especially *John Maxwell*, the chief Author of the Revolt, according to the Contents of some Letters he had received from the King of *England*. During these Transactions, *Henry of France*, who succeeded his Father *Francis*, sent Forces to the Sea, to be transported into *Scotland*, about six thousand Men, of which three thousand were *German* Foot, commanded by the *Rhinegrave*; about two thousand *French*; and one thousand of divers Nations, all Horse: They were all commanded to obey Monsieur *Dessy* a *Frenchman*, who had been a Commander in *France* some Years, and had done good Services there. They landed at *Leith*; and were ordered to Quarter at *Edinburgh*, till they had recover'd their Sea-sickness. The Regent and the Forces with him march'd to *Haddington*, where they block'd up all the Passages, and laid a close Siege to the Place. He issued a Proclamation into all Parts; in pursuance whereof, in a short time, there came in to him about eight thousand *Scots*. There the Nobility assembled, and the Consultation was renewed concerning the young Queen's going into *France*, and marrying the *Dauphin*; a Council was call'd in a Monastery of Monks, without *Haddington*, in the very Camp. In that Convention there were various Disputes; some said, that if they sent away the Queen, they must expect perpetual War from *England*, and Bondage from the *French*. Others were of Opinion, that, by reason of Agreement in

in Religion, and the Condition of the present Times, it was best to embrace the Terms offered by the *English*, which was a ten Years Peace, with no bad Covenants or Obligations to the *Scots*. For the Sum of the League was, That, *If the King of England, or Queen of Scotland, died within ten Years, things should be, on both sides, as they were before; and, should no fortuitous Event should happen between, yet the Kingdom might be hereby freed from its present Pressures, which had almost lost its Strength; and the Soldiery, who were almost all lost in the late Battle, might have time to grow up and increase in a continued Peace; and, that intestine Discord being laid asleep, might more maturely consider of the grand Affairs, than they could do amongst Drums and Trumpets: And, in such Consultations Delays were sometimes of great Advantage, and rash precipitate Doings were attended with speedy Repentance.* Thus they. But all the Papists favoured the *French*, and some others too, whose *French* Bounty had either forestall'd, or else had raised up to Expectations of great Advantage; amongst whom was the Regent, he had a yearly Revenue of 12000 *French* Livres promised him, and the Command of one hundred Cairassiers; so that most Voices carried it for the Queen's going into *France*. The Fleet which was to convey her, rode at *Leith*; and making as if they would go away, they sailed about all *Scotland*, and came to *Dunbarton*, where the Queen went on Ship-board (having staid some Months for its Arrival) in the Company of *James* her Brother, *John Erskin*, and *William Levingston*: She met with much foul Weather, and contrary Winds, but at last landed at *Bretaign*, a Peninsula in *France*; and went by easy Journeys to the Court.

In *Scotland*, whilst the War stopp'd at *Haddington*, the common People, in several Places, were not wanting to the present Occasion; for the Garrisons of *Hume* and *Fascastle* doing great hurt to the Neighbourhood, the *Scots* observing that *Hume* was negligently guarded by Night, got up to the Top of a Rock, where the Confidence of the Place's being inaccessible, made those within less watchful; and so they killed the Centinels, and took the Castle. And not long after, when the Governor of *Fascastle* had commanded the Country thereabouts to bring in a great Quantity of Provisions into the Castle, at a certain Day, the Country upon this Occasion came in great Numbers, and unlading their Horses, they took up the Provision on their Backs, to carry them over a Bridge made betwixt two Rocks, into the Castle; as soon as ever they were entered, they threw down their Burdens, and upon a Sign given, slew the Guards; and before the rest of the *English* could come in, they seized on their Arms, and placed themselves in the Avenue;

nues : And thus, setting open the Gates, for their own Party to enter, they made themselves Masters of the Castle. In the mean time, the Naval Force of the *English* was not idle ; for the whole Stress of the Land War lying upon *Haddington*, their Commanders thought that the neighbouring Parts were weakened, and put beyond all Power of Defence, so that they landed in *Fife*. And accordingly they pass'd by some Sea-Towns, which were well inhabited, and came to *St. Minnans Kirk*, a Place well enough peopled, that from thence they might march by Land to greater Towns, but less fortified, where the Pillage might be more worth their Labour. *James Stuart*, the Queen's Brother, receiving the Alarm, with the People of *St. Andrew's*, and a few of the Country-men who were left at home, made towards them ; and, in his way, many of the Neighbourhood struck in with him. The *English* were already landed ; and about 1200 of them stood ready in their Arms for the Encounter. The great Guns which they had landed, struck such a Dread into the Country-men, that they quickly fled ; but *James*, after he had a little stopped their Fear, charged the Enemy so briskly, that, tho' he had but a raw and tumultuous Band along with him, he soon routed them, and drove them towards the Sea, killing many upon the Spot, and many in the Pursuit : Not a few of them were drowned in hastening to their Ships ; one Boat with all its Passengers was sunk, whilst they endeavoured in Throgs to get on board. 'Tis reported that there were 600 slain in the Fight, and 100 taken Prisoners. Then the Fleet presently sailed to *Mern*, a Country less inhabited ; their Design was to surprize *Monrofs*, a Town not far from the Mouth of the River *Dee* : They resolv'd to land in the Night, and therefore they staid at Anchor, out of Sight of Land, as long as there was any Light in the Sky. But as they were making to Shoar in the Dark, they discover'd themselves by their own Imprudence, by hanging out Lights in every Boat. *John Erskin of Downe*, Governour of the Town, commanded his Men to arm, without making any Noise ; and he divided them into three Bodies ; he placed some behind an earthen Bank, which was raised on the Shoar, to hinder their Landing ; he, with some Archers lightly armed, made directly towards the Enemy ; and a third Band of Servants and promiscuous Vulgar he plac'd behind a neighbouring Hill, backing them with a few Soldiers to govern the Rabble. Matters being thus ordered, he with his Archers fell upon the Enemy in their Descent, and maintain'd a sharp Dispute with them, till, in a tumultuary kind of Fight, he had drawn them on to the Bank ; there he join'd his other Party, who stood ready at their Arms, and they all fell on the Enemy ; yet they had not given Ground, unless the last Body had thrown themselves

with Colours flying from the next Hill ; then they made such haste to their Ships, that of about 800, which came on Shoar, hardly the third part escaped to their Ships.

IN the mean time great Sallies were made about *Hadington*, not without Loss on either side, but most on the *English* : Whereupon, they being in some want of Provisions, and fearing a greater ; and perceiving also that the Relief prepared came slowly on, and that they were so weakened, as to be hardly able to admit of the Delay ; two brave Soldiers, *Robert Bovy* and *Thomas Palmer*, were commanded to march thither from *Berwick*, with 1000 Foot, and 300 Horse, and to make all the Speed they could. These all fell into an Ambush laid for them, and scarce a Man of them escaped alive. The *English* resolv'd to send more Aids, but the *French* discovering their Design, blocked up the narrow Passages, by which they were to march ; but *Deffius*, being deceived by one of the Enemy's Scouts that he had taken, who told him that the *English* were far off, and were marching another way to relieve the Besieged, left the Straits he had possessed, and went to another Place. In the interim, the *English* march'd thorow to the Relief of their Friends without any hindrance : They brought with them 300 fresh Men, Powder and Ball, and such other Provision as the Garrison stood most in need of.

WHILST these things were acted at *Hadington*, with various Success on both sides, which did not at all make to the main of the War, News was brought that the *English* had levied a compleat Army to raise the Siege : Whereupon *Deffius*, knowing that he was not able to encounter the Forces which were coming, removed his Leaguer farther off from the Town, and sent back his great Guns, all but six small Field-pieces, to *Edinburgh*. Upon the coming of the *English* Army, the Siege was raised, because the *Scots* Commanders would not hazard the State of the Kingdom upon a single Battle ; so that the *Scots* march'd every one the next way home ; the *French* also, though much press'd upon by the *English*, got well off. The *French* Soldiers, in their return, slew the Governor of *Edinburgh* and his Son, together with some of the Citizens who joined with them, because they refused to admit them into the Town with all their Forces, in regard they knew they could not keep them from Plundering. *Deffius* in the interim, lest the Sedition should increase, drew off ; and withal supposing that the Enemy would be more secure at *Hadington*, because of their good Success, resolved to make an Attempt to surprize it on a sudden. Thither he march'd all that Night, and by break of Day slew the Centinels, and came up to the Walls : They took the Fort before the Gate, killed the Watch ; some endeavoured to break open the

the Gate: They also seized upon the Granaries of the *English*. In this Hurry, the Noise of those who were breaking open the Gate, and the Huzza's of the *French*, crying out *Victory, Victory*, rous'd up the *English* from their Sleep. In this great Confusion a Soldier set fire to a Brass Gun, placed casually against the Gate, that he might, in a present Danger, make Trial of a doubtful Remedy. The Bullet broke through the Gate, and made a Lane in the thick Ranks of the *French*; so that, what between the Exclamations of the Soldiers, crying out *Victory*, and the Noise of the shatter'd Gates, such a confused Clamour was carried to the Rear, that they were surprized with Fear, not knowing the Cause, and so fled; which occasioned the rest to follow after. The *French* being thus repulsed, march'd into *Teviotdale*, where the *English* had done great Damage: There, under the Conduct of *Dessius*, they drove the Enemy from *Jedburgh*, and made many Inroads into *English* Ground, not without considerable Advantage. At length, when they had wasted all the Country, besides their daily Duty, they fell into great Want; and the Commonalty pitied them the less, because of their late Sedition at *Edinburgh*; for they looked upon that Attempt as a Step to Tyranny. And from that Time forward, the *French* did nothing worth speaking of. The King of *France* was made acquainted by Letters from the Regent and Queen Dowager, how *Dessius* spent much Time on light Expeditions, and generally insignificant; that he was more injurious to his Friends than Enemies; that the *French* Soldiers were grown so insolent, since the Tumult at *Edinburgh*, that, by reason of the intestine Discord, all was like to be ruined. Whereupon *Dessius* was re-called, and Montieur *Paul Terms*, a good Soldier and prudent Commander, was sent with new Supplies for *Scotland*. *Dessius* thought it would be for his Honour to recover the Island *Keith*, which was taken a few Days before, and was begun to be fortified; so he got together a Fleet at *Leith*, and went aboard with a select Company of *Scots* and *French*. The Queen Dowager was a Spectator of the Enterprize, and encouraged them, sometimes particularly, sometimes all in general. After he had landed in the Island, he drove the *English* into the uttermost Corners, kill'd almost all their Officers, and compelled them to a Surrender, but not without much Bloodshed. This was his last noble Piece of Service in *Britain*, and then he surrender'd up his Army to *Terms*. *Terms* drew forth the Army out of their Winter Quarters, and commanded them to march towards the Northern Shires; he himself, *Dessius* being dismiss'd, follow'd soon after, and laid Siege to the Fort of *Brockty*, and in a short time took it, and also the Castle adjoining, from the *English*, putting almost all of

both Garrisons to the Sword. When he was returned into *Lothian*, his great Care was to hinder Provisions from being carried to *Hadington*; when lo, upon a sudden, a great Army of *English* and *Germans* shewed themselves ready for the Encounter; whereupon he made a quick Retreat in good Order, till he came to a Place of greater Safety. In the interim the *Scotts* Cavalry, which skirted upon the Enemy on every side, perceiving the *German* Baggage to be unguarded, plundered them in a moment. Provisions were carried into *Hadington*, without any Opposition. During these Matters, *Julian Romerus*, with a Troop of *Spaniards*, at *Coldingham*, was taken in his Quarters, where he lay with as great Security as if all had been at Peace, and almost all his whole Party was destroy'd. *Terms*, when the *English* Forces were marched home, resolved to return to the taking of *Hadington*. They were stout Men that defended the Town; but in regard the Country was wasted all thereabouts, and Provisions could not be brought from far but with great Hazard, and sometimes certain Loss; and besides, the *English* were troubled with a most grievous Sedition at home, and were further press'd upon by a War with *France*: Hereupon the Garrison of *Hadington*, having no hope of Relief, burnt the Town, and on the 1st of *October*, 1549, march'd away for *England*.

MOREOVER, the Garrison at *Lauder* was almost ready to surrender, as being in great Distress for want of Necessaries, when lo, News was brought on a sudden of a Pacification made between the *English* and *French*; which was published in *Scotland*, April the first, 1550; and the May following, the *French* Soldiers were transported back into *France*. That Peace, as to foreign Parts, lasted about three Years, but it was as troublesome and pernicious as the hottest War; for those who sat at the Helm, the Regent, and his Brother the Archbishop of *St. Andrew's*, were both extremely cruel and avaritious, and the Archbishop very licentious in his Conversation; for, as if he had been authorized to injure all Mankind, he made his Will his Law. The first Prefage of the ensuing Tyranny was the suffering the Murder of *William Creighton*, an eminent Person, to go unpunished. He was slain by *Robert Semple*, in the Regent's own Palace, and almost in his Sight; and yet the Murderer was exempted from Punishment, by the Intercession of the Archbishop's Concubine, who was Daughter to *Semple*. This Archbishop, as long as the King lived, was one of his Confidants, and pretended a great Zeal for the Reformed Religion; but when the King was dead, he ran into all the Excesses of the wildest Impiety. Amongst the rest of his Mistresses, he took away this young *Madam Semple* from her Husband, who was his Neighbour

bour and Kinsman, and kept her almost in the place of a lawful Wife, tho' she was not handsome, nor a Woman of good Reputation, nor noted for any thing but her Wantonness. After this follow'd the Death of *John Melvil*, a Nobleman of *Fife*, who was a great Intimate of the last King's. Some Letters of his were intercepted, written to a certain *Englishman* in the Behalf of his Friend, a Prisoner there: And tho' there could be no Suspicion of Treason in the Case, yet the Author of them had his Head cut off. And that which made the Matter still worse, was that his Estate was given to *David*, the Regent's youngest Son. The Loss arising by these wicked Practices reached but a few, but the Envy of them extended to many, and the bad Example almost to all. This Unskilfulness of the Regent's managing the Government, together with the Sluggishness of all his former Life, did mightily offend the Commons; so that he every Day grew more cheap than other, especially after the the Suffering of *George Wiseheart*; for most imputed the following Calamities to the Death of that religious Man; especially they who not only knew the purity of Doctrine which *George* held forth, and admired the unblameableness of his Life; but look'd upon him as divinely inspired, because of the many and true Predictions which he had made. Hereupon the Authority of the Regent grew every Day less and less. And soon after these, followed another, and that a more spreading Mischief, which drew a general Complaint against him, which it was impossible to smother. There were Judicial Conventions appointed to be held throughout the whole Kingdom; the Pretence was to suppress Robberies, but the Event shew'd, that it was nothing else but to cover Oppression under a plausible Name: For Money was extorted from all, good and bad, as much from honest Men as Thieves; and both were punished, not according to the greatness of the Crime, but of Estate. Neither could he keep off his Cruelty and Avarice from the Reformed, tho' himself had formerly profess'd to be one of them; and now he had not the Cardinal as a blind for his Crimes; nay, the Money, thus basely got in the Name of the Regent, was as profusely and unadvisedly spent, by the Lust of his Brother.



THE HISTORY OF SCOTLAND.

B O O K XVI.



MAITERS being thus settled at home, the Queen Dowager took a Resolution to go into *France*, partly to visit her Native Country, her Daughter, and Relations; and partly to secure her Hopes of attaining the Supreme Power, which seemed to be freely thrown upon her; and accordingly she chose those to attend her on her Journey, who were Favourers of her Design. For this ambitious and politick Lady was full of Hopes, that the Regent would, by his own Mismanagement, so ruin himself, as to make way for her to succeed him. She staid with the *French King* above a Year; in which time she informed him of the State of Affairs in *Scotland*; who heard her favourably; and, by means of her Brothers, she easily obtained of him what she desired. The King of *France*, the better to bring about his Designs, with-

without any Tumult in *Scotland*, advanced to high Honours all those of the *Scottish* Nobility, every one according to his Degree, who had adhered to the Queen Dowager: They also who were of Kin to the Regent, were in like manner prefer'd; his Son *James* was made Captain over all the *Scottish* Auxiliaries in *France*, and a yearly Pension of 12000 *French* Livres promised him. *Huntley* (whose Son had married his Daughter) was made Earl of *Murray*. Of the Sons of *Roths*, by different Mothers, who quarrell'd about their Patrimony, the youngest, who was Kin to the *Hamiltons*, was made Earl. The King of *France*, by the Advice of the Queen Dowager, sends for *Robert Carnagy*, one of the Regent's Household, who was lately sent over by him into *France*, to give that King Thanks for his frequent Assistance of the *Scots* against the *English*: As also *David Painter*, Ambassador for some Years in *France*, in behalf of the *Scots*; besides *Gawin*, Abbot of *Kilwinning*, all firm to *Hamilton's* Faction. He declares to them, what he had before treated with the *Gusfes*: The Sum of which was, ' That the ' Regent would do the King an acceptable Piece of Service, if ' he would give leave to the Queen Dowager to govern that ' little time of Magistracy which was left him; which, as 'twas ' but a just and equal Request agreeable to their Laws; so, if he ' complied with him therein, he would take care that it should ' not be prejudicial to his Interests: Nay, he should find that by ' this means, he had, in him, procur'd himself a fast, firm, munificent Friend: He wishes them to inform him, how he had ' at present, freely, and of his own accord, rewarded some of ' his Friends, by which he might easily judge, what Favours he ' might expect from him for the future. Thus *Carnagy*, loaden with great Promises, was dismiss'd, and some time after, *Painter*, the *Scottish* Ambassador, Bishop of *Ross*, was order'd to follow him. He, as being a Man of great Eloquence and Authority, dealt with the Regent and his Friends, to give up the Administration of Affairs into the hands of the Queen Dowager; and with much ado he obtain'd it: So that, for his Diligence and Faithfulness in that Service, the King of *France* gave him an Abbey in *Poitou*. The Queen, being now secure of the Success of things in *Scotland*, and having made sufficient Provision, as she thought, how to deprive the *Scots* of their ancient Liberty, and to bring them *A-la-mode de France*, was accompanied by Monsieur *D'Osel* as Ambassador, to carry things on, a sharp Man, whose Counsel she was to make use of in all things of moment; and she returned home by Land through *England*. The next Year after she follow'd the Regent, who kept Assizes in almost all Parts of the Kingdom, and so by degrees made the Nobility her own. In this Progress, some few Offenders were punished, the rest were fined.

The Queen could not approve such Proceedings, and yet she was willing enough to hear them: For she believed, that what Favour the Regent lost, it all returned upon her. In the mean time, having won over the Nobility to her, she used some Friends to deal with the Regent, that he would freely resign up the Government. His Relations, upon the View of his Strength, perceived that his Treasure was low, and his Friends few; and that he would have much ado to make up and clear his Accounts; for King *James* the fifth, at his Decease, had left a great deal of Money, Arms, Ships, Horses, Brass-Guns, and abundance of Household-stuff (all which he had lavish'd out amongst his Friends in a few Years;) and that his Account would be speedily called for, the Queen being now almost of Age. And, if he would extricate himself out of all these Troubles, by quitting the Government, it would be no great Loss; for thereby he would put give up the Sway wholly to the *French*, which was entirely manag'd by their Counsels before: And he would have this Advantage also, that by laying down the invidious Title of *Viceroy* or *Regent*, which however he could not long keep, he would procure Safety and Security to himself and his. This Prospect pleased; so that an Agreement was made on these Conditions, That for what Goods of the late King's, *Hamilton* had made use of, the *French* King should see him indemnified; as also that he should be free from any Account, on the pretence of the Regency; only he was to take an Oath to restore what did appear not imbezil'd. However, in this he did not perform his Promise; for about twelve Years after, when his Castle of *Hamilton* was taken, after the Battle of *Langside*, many things were there found which shew'd his Perjury. Besides, there were large Presents made him, and he was honour'd with the Title of Duke of *Castelrot* (which is a Town in *Poitou*, situate near the River *Vien*) and had a yearly Pension of twelve thousand *French* Livres; half of which Sum was paid for some Years. Another Condition was also added, That, if the Queen died without Children, *Hamilton* should be declared by all the Estates the next Heir. These were the Conditions of the Surrender, which were sent into *France*, that they might there be confirm'd by the Queen, and her Guardians. The Queen, by the Advice of her Mother, makes *Henry* the second, King of *France*, *Francis*, Duke of *Guise*, and Cardinal *Charles*, his Brother, her Guardians. The Regent, tho' by the Persuasion of *Painter* he had promis'd to relinquish the Government, and the time to do it was very near, yet, when he came to the Point, according to his usual Inconstancy, he was at a great *Nonplus*; for he began to consider, how shocking a thing it would be for him, to fall down from the Supreme Magistracy to a private Life, since then he should be ob-

nomious

notious to those many whom in his Government he had offend- ed. On these Reflections he began to elude his Promise, and to frame Excuses, in regard the Queen was not yet full twelve Years old. Thus, tho' those Allegations might have been answer'd, yet the Queen Dowager chose rather to retire to *Sterlin*, and there to expect the Expiration of the set Time for the giving up the Charge, than to make any Quarrel about a small Matter, tho' never so true.

IN this her Retirement, the greatest part of the Nobility often came to her (Fortune favouring her side) whom she sought by all means to ingage in her Faction ; and those she had ingag'd she fix'd and confirm'd, filling them all with abundance of Hopes, and making many Promises, both in general and particular, how obliging she would be to them all, when she was advanc'd to the Government, which they all knew would shortly follow. She prevailed so much by these Artifices, that only two of the Nobility remained with the Regent, *John*, his base Brother, and *Levingston*, his near Kinsman : All the rest came over to the Queen. This Solitude of the Regent's Court, and the Fulness of the Queen's, was a plain Sign to him, that all the Estates were alienated from him ; and so he was glad to accept of those Terms which he rejected before, only with this Addition, That the Queen Dowager would procure them to be ratify'd by the Three Estates in the next Parliament, and also by the Guarantees in *France*.

ABOUT the same time, Affairs grew very troublesome in *England*, by reason of the Death of King *Edward* the sixth, a young Prince of high Expectation, by reason of his rare Genius, and Propensity of all kind of Virtue, which was not only born with him, but cultivated by Learning and Study.

AT the beginning of the next Spring, the Nobility assembled at *Sterlin*, where, in a full Assembly, the Transactions with the Regent were confirm'd, which the Queen and Guarantees had subscrib'd. This Addition was also made, That the Regent should keep a Garrison at *Dunbarton*. And, to compleat all, a Parliament was appointed at *Edinburgh*, to be held the 10th Day of *April*, then next following, where all the Pacts and Agreements approv'd by the Guarantees (as hath been said) were produc'd ; and when they were read, the Regent arose, and openly abdicated himself from the Magistracy, and gave up the Ensigns of his Government to *D'Osel*, who received them in the behalf of the Queen, who was absent ; and by Command delivered them up to her, who received them by a general Consent. And thus being advanced into the Regent's Place, she was carried with great Ceremony through the City, to the Palace in the Suburbs. And the Regent, who at his Entrance into the Parli-
liament

liament, was attended with a great Number of the Nobility, and had the Sword, Crown, and Scepter carried before him, according to Custom, now, being degraded, mix'd himself amongst the Crowd, in the Year 1555.

THIS was a new Sight in *Scotland*, and never heard of before that Day, that a Woman should be, by the Decree of the States, advanced to the Helm of Government. Tho' Matters thus inclined to the *French* Interest, yet the *Scots* would never yield, that the Castle of *Edinburgh* should be garrison'd by them; if so, they feared, in case the Queen died without Issue, the *French* would then make it the Seat of their Tyranny; so that it was put into the Hands of *John Erskin*, as an indifferent Person, who was to surrender it to none, but by the Command of the Estates.

AFTER this, when the State of the Publick seemed to be somewhat settled, the Queen-Regent (as now she was called) sent out *George Gordon*, Earl of *Huntley*, to apprehend *John Muderach*, Chief of the Family of the *Mac-Reynalds*, a notorious Robber, who had play'd many foul and monstrous Pranks. 'Tis thought that *Gordon* did not play fair in this Expedition; so that when he return'd without doing the Business he was sent about, he was kept Prisoner till the time appointed for his Answer. In the interim his Relations excused him, and laid the Blame of the Miscarriage upon the Clanship of *Catan*. Thus they spread false Reports among the Vulgar; for they gave out, tho' untruly, that the *Mackintoshes* had spoil'd the Design, by reason of their Animosity against the *Gordons*. This Hatred between these two Clans arose upon this Occasion: When the Queen prepared for her Expedition into *France*, *Gordon* kept *William*, Chief of the *Catan* Family, as his Prisoner, a young Man well educated by the Care of *James*, Earl of *Murray*. There was no Crime proved against him, but only because he would not put himself under his Clanship or Clientele; and, besides, it turn'd to his Prejudice, that he was of Kin to *Murray*, as being a Sister's Son. *Gordon*, having thus provoked the young Man, did not think it safe to give him his Liberty, and so leave him behind him; neither could he find sufficient Cause to put him to Death. And therefore he, by means of his Friends, persuades him, not being versed in ill Arts, to commit his Cause wholly to him; for, by these Means, *Gordon's* Honour, and his own Safety, might be secured. *Gordon*, being thus made Master of the Life and Death of his Enemy, dissembled his Anger, and deals with his Wife to put him to Death in his absence; for thus he thought to cast the Odium of the Fact upon her: But it fell out quite otherwise; for all Men knew the ill Disposition of *Gordon*; and they were as well satis-

satisfied in the Integrity of his Wife, who was a good Woman, and had carried herself like a Regular and Noble Lady, in the whole course of her Life; so that every body was satisfied that *Gordon* was the Author of that Counsel to his Wife. *Gordon* being in Prison, the Queen-Regent's Council were of different Opinions, as to his Punishment; some were for his Banishment for several Years into *France*; others for putting him to Death. But both those Opinions were rejected by *Gilbert*, Earl of *Cassils*, the chief of his Enemies: For he, foreseeing by the present State of things, that the Peace between the *Scots* and the *French* would not be long-liv'd, was not for his Banishment into *France*; for he knew a Man of so crafty a Spirit, and so spiteful at those who blamed or envied him, would in the War which the Insolence of the *French* was like speedily to occasion, be a perfect Incendiary, and perhaps a General for the Enemy. And he was more against putting him to Death, because he thought no private Offence worthy of so great Punishment, or to be so revenged as to inure the *French* to spill the Blood of the Nobility of *Scotland*. And therefore he went a middle Way, that he should be Fin'd and kept in Prison till he yielded up the Right, which he pretended to have over *Murray*: And that he should suffer all the Royal Revenues, arising out of the *Orcades*, *Schesland* Isles, and *Mar*, to be quietly gathered by such Collectors as the Queen-Regent should appoint, and he himself should not meddle with any of the Publick or Regal Patrimony; and likewise should surrender up his Presidency over some Juridical Courts, which brought him in great Profit. Upon these Conditions he was dismissed. And having thus mollified the Mind of the Regent, and those that could do most with her, at last he was admitted in the Privy Council.

IN the mean time, all Court-Offices, which had any thing of Profit to move Competitorship, were by *Gordon's* Advice given to Strangers, on purpose that he might breed a Disgust between the Queen-Regent, and the Nobility of *Scotland*, and so take Delight, though not an honourable one, in their mutual Contest and Destruction of each other: The Earl of *Cassils*, who foresaw this Tempest before it came, began now to be accounted as a Prophet.

AFTER this, Matters were quiet till *July*, in the Year 1555, and the Queen-Regent having gotten this respite from War, applied herself to rectify the Disorders of the State: She went to *Inverness*, and held publick Conventions in the Nature of Assizes, in all accustomed Places, wherein many Disturbers of the Peace were severely punished. She sent *John Stuart*, Earl of *Arbol*, against *John Muderach*, to effect that which *Gordon*, in his Expedition, had failed in. He, besides his Fortitude and Con-

Constancy (Virtues proper to him) was also so prudent and successful, that he took him, his Children, and whole Family, and brought them to the Queen. But *Muderach* being impatient of sitting still, or else excited by the Sting of an evil Conscience, deceived his Keepers, escaped out of Prison, and fill'd all Places again with Blood and Rapine. The Regent hearing of this, was forced to go the Circuit sooner than she had determined, to bring him and other Malefactors to Justice: Which having done, she return'd; and in a publick Assembly, restored some of those who slew Cardinal *Beton*, that were popular Men (whom the late Regent had banished) from their Exile; by which Fact of hers she procured not so much Applause as Ill-will from the many new Taxes she devised. It was thought that *D'Oscl*, *Ruby*, and those few *French* about the Regent, put her upon those new Projects to raise Money, i. e. that Mens Estates should be surveyed and registered in Books made for that purpose; and that every one should pay Yearly a certain Sum assessed upon him out of it, into a Treasury set apart for that End, as a Fund for War; for with that Money, thus kept in a peculiar Treasury, mercenary Soldiers were to be hired to guard the Frontiers, and so the Nobility might remain quiet at Home, except some great Invasion were made by the Enemy, which an ordinary Force could not resist. The poorer Sort were much aggrieved at this new pecuniary Imposition, and inveigh'd openly against it with bitter Words; but the greatest part of the Nobility kept their Disgust within their own Breasts, every one fearing that, if he should first oppose the Will of the Queen-Regent, the whole Envy of the Refusal would fall upon him alone. But the next Rank of People were as angry with the Nobility, for betraying the publick Liberty by their Silence, as they were with the Queen; and thereupon about 300 of them met together at *Edinburgh*, and chose *James Sandeland* of *Calder*, and *John Weems*, out of their whole Body, and sent them to the Queen-Regent, to represent to her the Ignominy in paying this Tax; and to pray that it might not be assessed or levied upon them, because it would betray the publick and private Poverty: And also to inform her, that their Ancestors had not only defended themselves and their Estates against the *English*, when much more powerful than now they are, but also had made frequent Inroads into *England*; and that themselves had not so far degenerated from their Ancestors, but that they were willing to lay down their Lives and Fortunes for the Good of their Country, if need required. And as for the hiring of mercenary Auxiliaries, that was a Matter full of Danger, to commit the State of *Scotland* to Men who had neither Estates nor Expectations, but who would do any thing for Money; and if occasion

were

were offered, their profound Avarice would incite them to attempt Innovations ; so that their Fidelity hung only on the Wheel of Fortune. But supposing they were well qualified, and had a greater Love to their Country, than Respect to their own Condition, yet was it likely, nay was it not incredible, that the Mercenaries should fight more valiantly, to defend the Estates of others, than the Masters of them would do, each Man for his own ? Or, that a Regard to a small Salary or Pay, which was likely to cease in time of Peace, would raise up a greater Courage in the Minds of the Commonalty, than in the Nobility, who fought every Man for his Fortune, Wife, Children, Religion and Liberty ? Besides, this Project concerns the very Vitals of the *Scottish* Government, and it was a thing of greater Consequence, than to be debated at this time, and in this tender Age of our young Queen ; for if it were granted, it could be effected without a Sedition ; yet this new way of managing a War is both useless, and also much feared and suspected by the Generality ; especially since out of the Tribute of the *Scots*, Men none of the richest, Money enough could hardly arise to maintain a Guard of Mercenaries, for the Defence of the Frontiers ; and therefore it was to be feared, that the Event of this Counsel would be, to open the Door of the Frontiers to the Enemy, not to shut it. For, if the *English*, living in a richer Kingdom, should erect a fuller Treasury for that Use, there was no doubt but they might maintain Forces double to ours with less burden to their own People ; and then they would break in, not only upon the Frontiers, but even into the very Body of the Kingdom. The other part of their Oration, I know not whether it be not better to suppress in Silence, than to declare it amongst the Vulgar : Some Mutterings there were, who will collect this Money ? How much of it must necessarily be expended upon Distrainers and Treasurers, as a Reward for their Pains ? Who will undertake that it shall be spent in publick Uses, and not on private Luxury ? 'Tis true, the Probity and Temperance of our noble Princess, who now rules, gives us great Hope, nay Confidence, that no such thing will be ; yet if we consider what hath been done by others abroad, and by our selves at Home, we cannot contain or so govern our selves, but must needs fear, that what hath often been done, may possibly be done *again*. But, to let these things pass, which perhaps we have no cause to fear ; let us come to that wherein our Ancestors placed their greatest Hope of Defence, to maintain their Liberty against the Arms of an overpowering Enemy. There was no King of *Scotland* ever esteemed wiser than *Robert*, the first of that Name ; and all confess that he was the most valiant of Princes : He, at his Death,

as he had often done in his Life, out of a Prospect to the Good of his Subjects, gave this Advice, That the *Scots* should never make a perpetual Peace, no nor one for any long time, with the *English*. For he, out of the Wisdom of his own Nature, and also by his long Experience, and Exercise under both Conditions, prosperous and adverse, knew well enough, that, by Idleness and Sloth, the Minds of Men would be broken with Pleasure, and their Bodies also grow languid: for, when severe Discipline and Parcimony is extinct, Luxury and Avarice grow up, as in a Soil untill'd, accompany'd also with an Impatience of Labour, and a Slothfulness occasion'd by continued Ease, averse from and hating a military Life: by which Mischiefs, the Strength of Body and Mind being enervated and weakened, loses all its Valour, and an unnatural short-liv'd Pleasure, the Fruit of Idleness, is over-balanced by some signal Calamity.

UPON this Oration, the Queen-Regent fearing a Sedition, if she persisted, remitted the Tribute, and acknowledged her Error. 'Tis reported she was often heard to say, That it was not *Herself*, but a certain chief Man of the *Scots* themselves, that were the Authors and Architects of that Design. By those Words, some thought she meant *Huntley*, a Man of a fierce Disposition, and newly released from Prison; and, as it seems, more mindful of the Injury of his Imprisonment, than of the Respect shewn in his Deliverance. And therefore when he saw that the Regent was intent upon this one thing, to accustom the *Scots* to pay Tribute, fearing that thereby her Power would increase, and the Authority of the Nobility would be weakened and infringed, in regard she, being a Foreigner, sought to bring all things into the Power of her own Countrymen, it was thus thought he gave this Counsel to her, which suited well with her Mind, as to the raising of Money, which she was then about; for otherwise, the Advice was plainly destructive, hostile, and pernicious; for he knew well enough that the *Scots* would not pay such great Taxes; neither would they be such obedient Subjects as they had been before. Some thought that *David Painter*, Bishop of *Ross*, found out this way of Tax, for he was a Man of great Wit and Learning; he had receiv'd many Favours from the *Hamiltons*, and was a Friend to their Family and Designs.

THE next Year which was 1557, while the Ambassadors of *Scotland* were treating about Peace at *Carlisle*, the King of *France* sent Letters to *Scotland*, to desire the Regent to declare War against *England*, according to the League: The Cause was pretended to be, because the Queen of *England* had assisted *Philip* of *Spain*, her Husband, who was engag'd in fierce War against *France*,

France, by sending him Forces into the *Netherlands*. The Ambassadors being returned from *England* without either confirming Peace or War, the Regent call'd together the Nobility, at the Monastery of *Newbottle*, where she declar'd to them the many Incurfions the *English* had made upon the *Scottish* Ground; what Preys they had taken, and when Reftitution was demanded, none was made; fo that she desired the *Scots* to declare War againft the *English*, both to revenge their own Wrongs, and thereby alfo to affift the King of *France*: Yet she could not prevail with the Nobility to begin firft; and therefore, by the Advice, as 'tis thought, of *D'Ofel*, she brought about the Matter another way; She commended a Fort to be built at the Mouth of the River *Aye*, againft the fudden Incurfions of the *English*, wherein alfo she might lay up great Guns, and other Neceffaries for War, as in a safe Magazine; from whence she might fetch them upon Occafion, and fo fave Labour of carrying them from the remoter Parts of the Kingdom, whereby much time would be fpent: and, befides the troublefomenefs of the Carriages, opportunity of Action would be loft. Thefe Conveniencies were vifible enough, but she had another Reach in it; she knew that the *English* would do their utmoft to hinder the Work, and not fuffer a Garrifon to be erected under their Nofes, fo near *Berwick*. Thus the Seeds of War (which she desired) would be fown, and the fault of taking up Arms caft upon the Enemy; and the Event answered her Expectation. For the *Scots*, being provok'd by the Wrongs of the *English*, whilft they were compell'd to defend their own Borders, eafily affented to the Regent's defire, to make War upon *England*: Whereupon the Ambassadors, fent into *England* to make a Peace, were call'd back, a Proclamation was made, a Day appointed for a General Rendezvous at *Edinburgh*; when the Camp was form'd at *Maxwel Heugh*, and the Council had not yet decreed any thing concerning the manner of carrying on the War, they who were forward to gratify the Regent, and oblige the *French*, run up and down, plundering about *Werk-Caftle*, fittuate in the Borders of *England*, *D'Ofel* had brought fome *French* Troops thither, and fome Ordnance, as many as he thought were fufficient to take in the Caftle, and carried them over the *Tweed*, without ftaying for the Order of the Council, which highly incens'd the *Scots* Nobility againft him; for in fo doing, he feem'd to aim, that the whole Honour of fuch an Expedition fhould rather redound to himfelf than to his Mafter, as alfo to make the *Scots* obnoxious to, and under his Command, who were wont to have the chief Command themfelves. Thus the *Scots* were mightily offended, that they were fo fliighted by a private Man, and a Stranger too, fo as to be led

led by the Nose by him, without so much as asking their Opinions, as was formerly wont to be done: And thus, by doing things of his own Head, without consulting the Nobility, he had arrogated more to himself, than ever any of their own Kings had done.

HEREUPON the matter was deliberated in Council, where it was unanimously agreed, that they would not venture the Strength of the Kingdom against an Enemy, at the Humour of every private Person; especially seeing they were never wont to obey their own lawful Princes in that Case, but after Matters had been open'd and seriously debated in Council, and therefore *Osel's* Imperiousness in the Case, was nothing but an Essay to try how capable they were to bear the Yoke of Slavery: Whereupon they commanded *Osel* to draw back the Ordinance; and if he refus'd, he should be punish'd as a Traytor. The Queen-Regent, and *Osel* himself, highly resented this Affront: The Regent thought that her Majesty was impair'd thereby; and the other, that his Master's Honour (whose Ambassador he was) was concern'd: But they, being the weaker, were forc'd to yield for the present; and there seem'd no Remedy to occur, but that the Queen of *Scots*, who was now marriageable, should marry the *Dauphin*, as soon as conveniently it could be effected; for then the Wife, being in the Power of her Husband, the Authority of the Council would be much lessened.

DURING that Winter, there were various Excursions made, and with different Success; but one was most memorable at the Foot of *Cheviot-hills*, where a Fight was maintain'd a long while, between the Duke of *Norfolk* and *Andrew Carr*. The Victory was a long time doubtful, but at last inclin'd to the *English*, and *Carr* was taken Prisoner, many brave Men being wounded on both sides. Hereupon an Assembly was summon'd to *Edinburgh*, to be held in *October*, to hear the Letters sent from the *French King*. In which, after a prolix Enumeration of the ancient Leagues between them, and their mutual Obligations to one another, he desir'd the *Scots* Parliament, that a Choice might be made of fit Persons, out of all the three Orders, with ample Commission, who (in regard his Son the *Dauphin*, about the end of *December*, was entering upon the Year fit for Marriage, according to the Law) might be sent Ambassadors to conclude the Marriage, which was almost already made (for the Queen of *Scots* had been carried over into *France* upon that Hope) and thus the Nations, which were anciently Confederate, would now coalesce into one Body; and the old Friendship between those People would be connected by an indissoluble Bond. This if they would do, he made them magnificent Promises, that whatever Fruits of Benevolence they hoped for from Allies, the same they might expect from him.

THEO^s

THO' all the *Scots* knew to what End this Haste of the *French* King was directed, and that there were shortly like to be Disputes between them concerning their Liberties; yet they all came, in great Obedience, to the appointed Parliament, where, without much ado, eight Ambassadors were chosen, to go over into *France*, to finish the Marriage: Three of the Nobility, *Gilbert Kennedy*, Earl of *Cassils*, *George Lesly*, Earl of *Rothes*; to whom were added, *James Fleming*, Earl of *Commerland*, Chief of his Family; three of the Ecclesiastical Order, *James Beton*, Archbishop of *Glasgow*, *Robert Reed*, Bishop of the *Orcades*, and *James Stuart*, Prior of the Monastery of *St. Andrew's*, and the Queen's Brother; and two of the Commons, *George Seaton*, because he was Governor of *Edinburgh*, and *John Erskin*, Laird of *Down*, or *Din*, Governor of *Montross*, of a Knight's Family, but comparable for Dignity to any Nobleman. After they had set Sail, and were yet on the Coast of *Scotland*, they were toss'd with a very high Wind; and being farther at Sea, they met with such a terrible Tempest, that two of the Ships were sunk, not far from *Boloign* in *France*, a Town of the *Morini*. The Earl of *Rothes* and the Bishop of the *Orcades* were carried to Land in a Fisher-boat, and were the only two that escap'd of all the Passengers. The rest of the Fleet, having long combated with the Waves, at length arriv'd in other lesser Ports of *France*; where, when all the Ambassadors were again met, they hasten'd so Court. There they began the Treaty about the Marriage: All yielded to it, but the *Guises* were mighty forward to have it hasten'd, both because they judg'd that Affinity would be a great Accession of Authority to their Family; as also because Opportunity seem'd to favour their Design, in regard *Annas*, Duke of *Montmorancy*, who was esteem'd the wisest of all the *French* Nobility, and who was most likely to oppose the Match, was a Prisoner of War. He indeed was not willing the Matter should be so precipitated, for several other Causes, in the Judgment of many, very just and considerable; but above all, lest the Power of the *Guises* (which was suspected by the Wise, and began to be intolerable to all) should grow to that height, as to be unsafe for Kings themselves. For, of the five Brothers of the *Guises*, the eldest was Captain-General of all the Forces which serv'd in *France*: The next was sent into *Lombardy*, to succeed *Charles Cossens*: The third was sent over into *Scotland*, with some Supplies, to Command the Army there: The fourth had the Command of the Gallies at *Marseilles*: And all Money that pass'd under the Hand of *Charles* the Cardinal: So that no Soldier nor *Soy* could stir in all the Territories of the King, without their Approbation and Good-like. Thus was commiserated the Fortune of the good King, and

remembrance the Condition of those Times, when, by reason of Court Factions, the Kings of *France* have been shut up in Monasteries, as in Places of a milder Banishment.

THE Court, for some Days, being transported with these nuptial Revels, when they came to themselves, call'd the *Scots* Ambassadors into Council, where the Chancellor of *France* dealt with them to produce the Crown, and the other Ensigns of Royalty; and that the Queen's Husband should be created King of *Scotland*, according to Custom. To whom the Ambassadors answered in short, That they had received no Commands concerning those Matters. The Chancellor reply'd, That no more was desired of them, at present, than what was in their Power, *viz.* That when this Matter came to be debated in the Parliament of *Scotland*, they would give their Suffrages in the Affirmative, and give it under their Hands that they would do so. That Demand seemed to be fuller of Peremptoriness than the former, and therefore they thought it best to reject it with great Vehemence and Disgust; insomuch that their Answer was, *That their Embassy was limited by certain Instructions and Bounds; which they neither could nor would transgress; but, if they had been left free without any Restriction at all, yet it was not the part of faithful Friends, to require that of them, which they could not grant without certain Infamy and Treachery, tho' there were no Danger of Life in the Case: That they were willing to gratify the French, their old Allies, as far as the just Laws of Amity requir'd; and therefore they desired them to keep within the same Bounds of Moderation in making their Demands.*

THUS the Ambassadors were dismiss'd the Court: And tho' they hasten'd home as soon as they could; yet, before they went a Shipboard, four of the chief of them, *Gilbert Kennedy, Georgy Lest, Robert Reed, and James Fleming*, all brave Men and true Patriots, departed this Life, as did likewise many of their Retinue, not without Suspicion of Poison. It was thought, that *James*, the Queen's Brother, had also taken the same Dose; for altho' by reason of the Strength of his Constitution and his Youth, he escaped Death at that time, yet he lay under a constant Weakness of Stomach, as long as he lived.

THAT Summer, Matters were at that dubious pass in *Britain*, that there seem'd rather to be no Peace, than a War; for there were Skirmishes and Plunderings on both sides, and Villages burnt; IncurSIONS were mutually made, and not without Blood. Two of the Nobility of *Scotland* were carried away Prisoners by the *English*, *William Keith*, Son to the Earl of *Merch*, and *Patrick Grey*, Chief of a Family (so call'd) amongst the *Scots*; the other Calamities of War fell on Persons of meaner Rank.

ABOUT

ABOUT the same time, the *English* sent a Fleet under the Command of Sir *John Clare*, to infest the Coasts of *Scotland*; they came to the *Orcades*, intending there to land, and to burn *Kirkwall*, a Bishop's See, the only Town in that Circuit. When they had made a Descent with a good part of their Force, a fierce Tempest suddenly arose, which carried their Ships from the Coast into the Main; where, after a long contest with the Winds and Waves, they at length made Sail for *England* back again: They who were put ashore were every one slain by the Islanders.

THIS Year, and the Year before, the Cause of Religion seem'd to lie dormant; for it being somewhat crush'd by the Death of *George Wiseheart*, one Party accounted themselves well satisfied, if they could worship God peaceably in their own Tongue, in private Assemblies, and dispute soberly concerning Matters of Divinity; and the other Party, after the Cardinal was slain, shew'd themselves rather destitute of an Head, than not desirous of Revenge: For he who succeeded in his Place, rather coveted the Money than the Blood of his Enemies, and was seldom cruel, but when it was to maintain his Plunder and his Pleasures.

IN *April*, *Water Mills*, a Priest, none of the most Learned, was yet suspected by the Bishops, because he left off to say Mass; whereupon he was haled to their Court. Tho' he was weak by Constitution of Body and Age, extream poor, and also brought out of a nasty Prison, and lay under such high Discouragements; yet he answer'd so stoutly and prudently too, that his very Enemies could not but acknowledge, that such Greatness and Confidence of Spirit, in such an enfeebled Carcase, must needs have a Support from above. The Citizens of *St. Andrew's* were so much offended at the Wrong done him, that there was none found who would sit as Judge upon him; and all the Tradesmen shut up their Shops, that they might sell no Materials towards his Execution; which was the Cause of his Reprieve for one Day more than was intended. At last, one *Alexander Somervail*, a Friend of the Archbishop's, was found out the next Day, a great Villain, who undertook to act as Judge for that Day. This is certain, the Commonalty took his Death so heinously, that they heap'd up a great Pile of Stones in the Place where he was burnt, that so the Memory of his Death might not end with his Life. The Priests took order to have it thrown down for some Days, but still, as they threw it down one Day, it was raised up the next, till at last the Papists convey'd the Stones away to build Houses with, about the Town. *July* the 20th was the Day appointed by the Bishops, for *Paul Messen*, an eminent Preacher of God's Word in those Days, to come to his Answer. There was a great As-

sembly of the Nobility at that time, so that a Tumult seem'd unavoidable; whereupon the Process was deferr'd to another time: Several were condemn'd, but it was of those that were absent; who, that they might not be terrified with the severity of the Punishment, were commanded to come by the first of *September*, and Pardon was promised them, if they recanted.

THE same first of *September* was *St. Giles's Day*, whom the Inhabitants of *Edinburgh* look on as their Tutelar Saint, carousing to him in great Goblets, and making high Entertainments for their Neighbours and Guests. The Regent, fearing lest in such a confus'd Rabble some Tumult should arise, was willing to be present herself at the Wake. The Papists were very glad of her coming, and easily persuaded her to see the Shew and Pageant, wherein *St. Giles* was to be carried about the City; but *St. Giles*, alas! did not appear, for he was stolen out of the Shrine by some body or other. However, that *St. Giles* might not want a Pageant, nor the Citizens a Shew upon that Festival Day, there was another young *Gilesling* (forsooth) set up in his Room. After the Regent had accompanied him through the greatest part of the Town, and saw no danger of any Insurrection, she retired, weary as she was, into an Inn to repose herself. But presently the City Youths pluck'd down the Picture of *St. Giles*, from the Shoulders of those who carried him, threw him into the Dirt, and spoil'd the Glory of the whole Pageantry. The Priests and Friars running several Ways for Fear, created a belief of a greater Tumult: But when they had understood that there was more Fear than Danger in the thing, and that the whole Matter was transacted without Blood, they crept again out of their Holes, and gathered themselves together to consult about the main Chance; where, tho' they were quite out of Hopes to recover their ancient Repute; yet they dissembled Confidence, as if their former Power had remained: And, to try how to retrieve their Affairs in so desperate a Case, they thought to strike Fears into their Enemies, and appointed a Convocation to be held at *Edinburgh*, *November 8*. When the Day of their convening came, the Priests met in the Church of the *Dominicans*, and there cited *Paul Messen* by Name, whom in a former Assembly they had commanded to appear: He not appearing was banished, and a severe Punishment denounced on those who would receive him into their Houses, or supply him with any Necessaries to support his Life. But that Commination did not terrify the Inhabitants of *Dundee* from doing their Duty, for they supplied him with Provision, and harbour'd him from one House to another; nay, they even dealt with the Regent, by some Men who were in Favour at Court, that his Banishment might be remitted; but all the Priests

Priests strenuously opposed it; and besides, they offered a great Sum of Money against him; so that nothing could be done.

WHILST these things were acting, some eminent Persons, especially of *Fife* and *Angus*, and some chief Burghers of several Towns, travell'd over all the Shires of *Scotland*, exhorting all the People to love the sincere preaching of the Word, and not to suffer themselves, and their Friends of the same Opinion in Religion with themselves, to be oppress'd and destroy'd by a small and weak Faction; alledging, if their Enemies would transact the Matter by Law, they should easily cast them; but if they chose Force rather, they were not inferior to them. And they had Schedules, or Writing-Tables, ready, for those who were pleased therewith, to subscribe their Names. These first assumed the Name of *Congregation*, which was made more famous afterwards by those who joined themselves thereto.

THESE Assertors of the purer and reformed Religion, foreseeing that Matters would soon come to some Extremity, by joint Consent determined to send some Demands to the Queen, which unless they were granted, there was likely to be no probability of a Church, neither could the Multitude be restrained from an *Insurrection*. They chose Sir *James Sawdeland* of *Calder*, a worthy Knight, venerable both for his Age, and for his well-spent Life, to carry their Desires to the Regent, who open'd the Necessity of sending such a Message, and requested, in the Name of all, who stood for the Reformation of Religion, ' That all publick Prayers and the Administration of the Sacraments, should be celebrated by Ministers in their Mother-Tongue, that all the People might understand them : That the Election of Ministers, according to the ancient Custom of the Church, should be made by the People; and that they who presided over that Election, should enquire diligently into the Lives and Doctrines of all that were to be admitted; and, if by the Negligence of former Times, unlearned and flagitious Persons had crept into Ecclesiastical Dignities, that they might be removed out of the Ministry, and fit Persons substituted in their Places. The Priests were even mad, and storm'd mightily, that any Man durst appear and own so impudent a Fact, as they call'd it: But when their Heat was a little allay'd, they answer'd, that they would refer the Matter to a publick Disputation; and indeed, what Danger could there be in that, when they themselves were to be Judges in their own Cause? On the other side, the Sticklers for the Reformation alledged, That the Matter ought not to be determined by the Wills of Men, but by the plain Words of Holy Scripture. The Priests propounded also other Terms of Agreement, but such

ridiculous ones, that they are not worthy of an Answer ; as, If the Reformers would keep up the Mass in its ancient Honour ; If they would acknowledge Purgatory after this Life ; If they would yield to pray to Saints, and for the Dead ; that then they would also yield, that they should pray in their Mother-Tongue, and celebrate the Sacrament, Baptism, and the Lord's-Supper, in the same. The Reformers pressed the Regent (as before) that in so just a Cause, she would please to gratify them with an Answer, agreeable to Equity and Reason. The Regent favoured the Cause of the Priests, and secretly promised them her Assistance, as soon as Opportunity was offered. And she commanded the adverse Faction to use Prayer, celebrate the Sacraments, and perform other religious Exercises in their Mother-Tongue, but without Tumult ; only their Teachers were not to make any publick Sermons to the People at *Edinburgh* or *Leith*. Tho' this Condition was carefully observed by them, yet many Testimonies, that her Affection was alienated from them, did daily appear : And the Papists at *Edinburgh* made almost the same Answers to the Demands which were brought in by the Nobility ; only this they added farther, ' That, as to the ' Point of electing Ministers, in such kind of Questions, they ' were to stand by the Canon-Law, or the Decrees of the ' Council of *Trent*. ' Neither did they, in that Assembly, attempt any thing in their own Matters, only commanded the Bishops to send secret Informers into all Parishes of their Dioceses, who were to take the Names of the Violators of the Papistical Laws, and bring them in to them : And tho' they plainly perceived that their Threats were little esteemed, yet trusting to the publick Authority, which was on their side, and having Confidence in the Arms of *France*, they insulted over their Inferiors as imperiously as ever they did before. To mitigate their Minds in some sort, and to deprecate their severe and bitter Sentence against the Preachers of the Gospel, *John Erskin*, Lord of *Down*, a Man Learned, Pious, and Affable, was sent to them : He intreated them, out of that Piety which we all owe to God, and Charity towards Men, that they would not think it much, at least to tolerate People to pray to God in their Mother-Tongue, when they were met together for that Service, for that was according to Scripture-Command. They were so far from granting his Request, that they us'd him with more bitter and arrogant Words than formerly, adding also more cruel Threatnings and Reproaches ; and, lest they might seem to have acted nothing in that Assembly, they caused some thread-bare Popish Laws to be printed, and fasten'd upon the Doors of Churches, which, because they were commonly sold
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for a Farthing, the common People called them the *Quadrantary*, and sometimes the *Triobolar* Faith.

MOREOVER, they who the Year before had perform'd the Embassy in *France*, came into the Assembly, and easily obtain'd that their Transactions should be ratified: And after that, the *French* Ambassador was introduced, who, after he had made a long Oration concerning the ancient and long continued Goodwill of the *French* Kings toward all the *Scottish* Nation, did earnestly desire of them all, both singly and jointly, That they would set the Crown (which he, by a new and monstrous Name, called *Matrimonial*) upon the Head of the Queen's Husband, alledging, that he would gain but an empty Name, without any occasion of Power and Profit. He also used many other flattering Words, not necessary here to be repeated; which, the more accurate they were in a trifling Business, by so much the more they were suspected, as Coverts of concealed Fraud. Yet the Ambassador, partly by immoderate Promises, and partly by earnest Entreaties, and partly by the Favour of some, who colloqued with the future Power, gain'd the Point, that the Crown was ordered for the *Dauphin*; and *Gilesy Campbel*, Earl of *Argyle*, and *James*, the Queen's Brother, were chosen to carry it to him. These Persons, perceiving that they were sent abroad to their own Ruin, in regard the *French* Ambition hung as a Storm ready to fall upon their Heads, made no great Haste to fit up their Equipage, but deferred their Preparation from Day to Day, until they had ponder'd all things, and taken surer Measures of what was likely to ensue, especially since now a nearer and more eminent Title of Honour offered itself: For *Mary* Queen of *England* being dead, the Queen of *Scots* carried herself as her Heir, and bore the Arms and Ensigns of *England*, engraving the same on all her Householdstuff, and Furniture; and tho' *France* was at that time miserably distressed in asserting her Power and Dominion over *Milan*, *Naples*, and *Flanders*, yet she added to the rest of her Miseries this Mock-Title of *England*. The wiser sort of the *French* saw this well enough, but they were forced to comply with the *Guises*, who then could do all at Court; for by this kind of Vanity they would needs be thought to add much Splendor to the *French* Name.

BESIDES, the Regent having received the Decree concerning a Matrimonial Crown, seem'd to have put on a new Disposition, for she turn'd her ancient Affability, which was acceptable to all, into an imperious Arrogance; and, instead of gentle Answers, wherewith before she used to sooth both Factions, as, That it was not her Fault, but that of the Times, that she could not promise so largely as she desired, before that Decree was pass'd: Now she thought herself secure, and therefore used

another kind of Language and Deportment. A Parliament was summoned to be held at *Sterlin*, May 10; and, whereas she often said, *That now she was free from other Cares, she would not suffer the Majesty of Government to be debased, but endeavour to restore it to its ancient Glory, by some eminent Example*: These Words portended a Storm ensuing, and therefore many applied to her for her Favour; and, amongst the rest, to make their Request more likely to be granted, upon the account of the Dignity of the Messengers, *Alexander Cunningham*, Earl of *Glencarn*, and *Hugh Campbel* Sheriff of *Air*, a worthy Knight, were sent to her. When they came, she could not contain herself, but must needs utter this Speech, as a Witness of her Impiety, *Do you and your Ministers what you will or can, yea tho' they preach never so sincerely, yet they shall be banish'd the Land*. When they reply'd, in great Humility, *That she would be pleas'd to call to mind what she had often promised them*: She answered, *That Promises of Princes were no farther to be urged upon them for Performance, than it stood with their Convenience*. Whereupon they rejoined, *That then they renounced all Allegiance and Subjection to her*; and advised her to consider, what inconvenience was likely to ensue hereupon. She was unexpectedly struck with this Answer, and said, *She would think upon it*. And when the fierceness of her Anger seem'd somewhat to abate, it was again kindled much more violently, when she heard that the Inhabitants of *St. Johnston's* had publickly embraced the *Reformed Religion*: Whereupon she turn'd to *Patrick Raven*, Mayor of the Town, commanding him to suppress all those Tumults for innovating of Religion. His Answer was, *That he had Power over their Bodies and Estates, and those he would take care should do no hurt; but that he had no Dominion over their Consciences*. At which Answer she was so enraged, that she said, *she hoped none would think it strange, if he were shortly made to repent his stubborn Impudence*. She also commanded *James Haliburton*, Sheriff of *Dundee*, to send *Paul Messen* Prisoner to her; but he was advised thereof by the Sheriff, and so gave way to the Time, and slipp'd out of Town. She wrote also to the Neighbour-Assemblies to keep the *Easter* following after the Popish Manner. But, when none obey'd her therein, she was so enraged, that she cited all the Ministers of the Churches of the whole Kingdom to *Sterlin*, to appear there on the 10th of *May* ensuing.

WHEN that Matter came to be noised abroad, the *Evangelicks* exhorted one another, that they and their Ministers would also appear at the Meeting, so that there was a great Multitude of those that were likely to be at that Assembly; which tho' they came unarmed, yet the Regent feared, that things would not

not go well on her side; Whereupon she sent for *John Erskin* of *Down*, who happen'd to be in Town at that time, and prevail'd with him to cause the unnecessary Multitude to return home, which would not be very difficult for him to do, because of the great Authority he had amongst them; and in the mean time she promised she would act nothing against the Men of that Persuasion. Many there were, who being made acquainted with this Promise of the Regent, changed their purpose of going thither, and returned home; yet nevertheless she, on the Day appointed for the Assembly, call'd over the Names of those who were summon'd, and those who did not answer to their Names she Out-lawed. *Erskin*, seeing what little Credit was to be given to her Promises, and fearing to be seized on by Force, had withdrawn himself, and found the Lords *Strathbearn*, *Angus*, and *Merns*, yet in a Body, tho' doubting of the Faith of the Queen: They finding, by his Discourse (what they suspected before) that the Queen's Rage was implacable, and that the Matter could no longer be dissembled, prepared themselves against open Force.

MATTERS standing in this ticklish Posture, *Knox* assembled the Multitude at *Perth*, and made such an excellent Sermon to them, that he set their Minds, already moved, all in a Flame. After Sermon, the greatest part of the Audience went home to Dinner, but a few of the meaner sort, such as were also enraged with Anger and Indignation, staid behind in the Church. Amongst them a poor Priest thinking to try how they stood affected, prepared himself to say Mass, and drew out a large Frame, or rather Idol Case, in which was contained the History of many Saints curiously engraven. A young Man standing by cried out, that what he did was intolerable; upon which the Priest gave him a Box on the Ear; the Youth took up a Stone, and, thinking to hit the Priest, the Blow lighted on the Frame, and brake one of the Pictures; the rest of the Multitude, being in a Rage, some fell upon the Priest and his Frame, others upon the Shrines and Altars; and thus, as it were, in a moment of Time, they demolish'd all the Monuments of superstitious or profane Worship.

THESE things were done by the meaner sort, while the richer were at Dinner: With the same furious Violence, they ran several ways to the Monastery of the Friars, the rest of the common People still flocking in to them: And tho' the Friars had provided some Aid against such Assaults, yet no Force was able to resist the rash Violence of the Multitude. The first Assault was made upon the Images and Church-stuff, and the poorer sort ran in to Plunder. The *Franciscans* were furnish'd with Household-stuff, not only plentiful, but stately, more than would serve

serve ten times as many as they were. The *Dominicans* though not so opulent as they, yet had enough to evince their Profession of Begging to be a very vain one; so that one wittily call'd them (not *Friars Mendicants*, but) *Friars Manducants*. The Poor seized on all their Furniture; for they who had Estates, to prevent all suspicions of Covetousness, suffered some of the Monks, and especially the *Prior* of the *Carthusians*, to go off with great Quantities of Gold and Silver Plate: Nay, the Abstinence of the Soldiers from Plunder was as incredible, as their Celerity in demolishing the Buildings was wonderful. For those large Houses of the *Carthusians* were so hastily overthrown, and even the Stones carried away, that within two Days time there was hardly the Sign of any Foundation left. When the News of all this came to the Queen, with some Exaggerations, they so inflamed her lofty Spirit, that she swore she would expiate this nefarious Wickedness with the Blood of the Citizens, and with the burning of the City. The Inhabitants of *Cowper* in *Fife*, hearing of this Procedure of Affairs at *Perth*, they also by general Consent either broke the Images, or threw them out of the Church, and thus cleansed their Temple: At which the Parson of the Parish was so grieved, that the Night following he laid violent Hands on himself. The Regent was amazed to hear this News, and sent for *Hamilton*, the Earls of *Argyle* and *Arbol*, with their Allies and Clanships, to come to her, and though she desired, by her quick proceeding, to prevent the Preparations of her Enemies, yet the Carriage of the Brass-Ordinance was so tedious, that it was about the 18th Day of *May*, before they came to the Parts adjoining to that City. When the Nobles that were at *Perth* heard of the Preparations that the Regent had made against them, they also sent Messengers to their Friends, and to the Reformed all about, not to desert them in this last Extremity of Life and Fortune. Whereupon all the Commonalty came zealously and speedily in, and some also out of *Lothian*, that they might not be wanting to the common Danger: But *Alexander Cunningham*, Earl of *Glencarn*, exceeded them all in his Force and Readiness; for he, hearing how things stood, gathered together 2500 Men, Horse and Foot, and led them on Night and Day, through rough and by Ways, till he came to *Perth*. *James Stuart*, natural Son to the late King, and *Gilespy Campbell*, Earl of *Argyle*, were as yet in the Army of the Regent, for though they were the chief Authors of reforming Religion, yet, because all hopes of Concord were not quite lost, they staid there; that so, if Peace might be made on just Terms, they might do some Service to their Friends; but, if the Minds of the Papists were wholly averse from Peace, then they resolved to run the same Hazard with the rest at *Perth*.

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THE Regent, being before inform'd by her Spies, that the Enemy were about 7000 strong, all very hearty, and resolved to fight, though she had with her almost an equal Number of Scots, besides the *French* Auxiliaries, yet was loth to venture all upon a Battle: And therefore she sent *James Stuart*, and *Gilespy Campbel* (whom I named before) to treat with the Enemy: They, on their part, chose out *Alexander Cunningham*, and *John Erskin of Down*, to treat with them. The Queen was now somewhat more placable, because she heard that *Glencarn* had also joined his Forces with the rest of the Opposers of Idolatry. Whereupon the four Commissioners made an Agreement, that all the Soldiery of the Scots should be disbanded on both sides, and the Regent should have liberty to enter the Town, and stay there with her Retinue for a few Days, till she had refreshed herself from the toil of her Journey; yet so, that they were not to injure any of the Townsmen in the least. As for the *French*, none of them were to enter, or to come within three Miles of the Town. All the other Differences were referred to the Decision of the next Parliament. Thus, the present Insurrection being quieted without Blood, the Assertors of the Reformation departed joyfully, for they desired not to make a War, but only to defend themselves; and thereupon they gave God thanks, who had given an unbloody end to the War. The Earl of *Argyle* and *James Stuart* left the Regent at *Perth*, and went to *St. Andrew's* there to refresh themselves after their Toils. But she, the Volunteers being disbanded on both sides, having enter'd the Place with a small Retinue, was honourably receiv'd according to the Ability of the Citizens. The *French* Mercenaries passing by the House of *Patrick Murray*, an honest and worthy Townsman; six of them levelled their Pieces against a Balcony, out of which his whole Family looked to behold the Sight; upon the Discharge, they kill'd only *Patrick's* Son, a Youth of thirteen Years of Age: The Body was brought to the Queen; and when she heard of what Family he was, she said, That *the Chance was to be lamented; and so much the rather, because it lighted on the Son, and not on the Father; but that she could not prevent nor help such casual Accidents.* This her Speech gave all to understand, that she would no longer stand to her Agreements, than till she had Force great enough to her Mind; and her Deeds confirm'd the Truth of this Suspicion: For within three Days after, she began to turn all things topsy-turvy; some of the Citizens she fined, others she banish'd; and changed their Magistrates, without any judicial Proceedings; and, going to *Sterlin*, she left some mercenary Scots under *French* Pay, in the Town, to garrison it; whereby she pretended she had not broken her Word, which was, that

the City should be left free, and no *Frenchman* enter into it. When it was objected to her, That by the Agreement all those were to be accounted *French*, who had sworn Allegiance to the *French King*; then she had recourse to that common Refuge of the Papists, That *Promises were not to be kept with Hereticks*. But her Excuse would have been as honest, if she had told them, That she had no Obligation lay on her Conscience, but that she might lawfully take away both Life and Goods, from such a sort of People as they were; and moreover, That *Princes were not to be so eagerly pressed for the Performance of their Promises*.

THESE Things sufficiently declared, that the Concord was not like to be lasting: And besides, the things which followed gave further occasion for a sinister Opinion of her; for she persecuted *James Stuart* and *Gilespy Campbel*, with threatening Letters and Commands, denouncing the Extremity of the Law against them, unless they came in to her: As for the Army of the adverse Faction, she disregarded that, because she knew it was made up of Voluntiers, and such as fought without Pay; and when they were dismiss'd, they would not easily be brought together again. After she had restor'd the Mass, and settled other things as well as she could, she left a Garrison in the Town, as I said before, and went towards *Sterlin*. She was very desirous to have the Possession of *Perth*, in regard 'twas situate almost in the middle of the whole Kingdom, and was the only walled Place in it: And besides, all the neighbouring Nobility was averse from the Papists, and therefore she desir'd to put this Curb upon them. Moreover it had many Conveniencies, and especially for conveyance of Land or Sea-Forces; for the Tide comes up thither from the River *Tay*, which washeth its Walls; and so it affords a Passage for Commerce with foreign Nations, and 'tis almost the only Town to which access may be had by Land, even to the utmost parts of the Kingdom: As for other Towns, the Passages to them are intercepted by long Bays, running in from the Sea; and the Passage is slower through them, by reason they have not that number of Ships as to carry a great Multitude at once; so that oft-times Passengers are stopp'd many Days, by contrary Winds, or by the Violence of Tempests.

FOR these Reasons, *Perth* is accounted the most convenient Place for holding Assemblies, and also for collecting Forces from all parts of the Kingdom. But at that time the Regent got not so much Advantage by the commodious situation of the Place, as she reap'd Envy by violating her Faith, in breaking her Capitulations; for that was the *last Day* of her Felicity, and the *first* wherein she was publickly condemn'd: For, when
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the Matter came to be divulged, it gave Occasion of many Insurrections in all parts of the Kingdom. For the Earl of *Argyle*, and *James Stuart*, perceiving that their Credit was broken, by the violation of that Truce, which they were the Authors of, convened the Neighbour-Nobility at *St. Andrew's*, and join'd themselves to the Reformed, and wrote to their Confederates of the same Sect, that the Regent was at *Falkland*, with French Forces, and that she was intent on the Destruction of *Cowper* and *St. Andrew's*; and unless Help were presently sent, all the Churches in *Fife* would be in great Danger. Whereupon a great Multitude came presently in to them from the neighbouring Parts, mightily enraged against the Queen and her Forces. For they found they were at War with a faithless and barbarous People, that had no respect to Equity, Right, Faith, Promises, or the Religion of an Oath, but esteem'd so lightly of them, that they would say and unsay, do and undo, at every waving blast of Hope, and uncertain gale of smiling Fortune; and therefore, for the future, no Conditions or Articles of Peace were to be hearkened to, unless one Party were extinguish'd, or, at least, Strangers were driven out of the Kingdom: So that they prepared themselves to overcome or die.

By these, and such like Speeches, the Minds of all present were so inflam'd, that first of all they made an Assault on *Carail*, a Town situate in the further Angle of *Fife*, where they overthrew the Altars, and broke down the Images, and spoil'd all the Apparatus of the Mass-Trade: And, that which was almost incredible in the Case, Anger prevail'd more in the Minds of the Vulgar, than Avarice. From thence they went to *St. Andrew's*, where they spoil'd the Temples of the other Saints, and levell'd the Monasteries of the *Franciscan* and *Dominican* Friars to the Ground. And, though all this was done almost under the Nose of the Archbishop, who had a sufficient Number of Horse, which were able, as his Hopes lately were, to defend the Town; yet seeing the eagerness of the People, and such a numerous concourse of all sorts of Volunteers, he withdrew himself and his Followers from the Fury of the Multitude, and went to *Falkland* to his Clans and Kindred. The Regent was so enraged at the hearing of this, that, without any further Deliberation, she commanded a March the next Day, and sent Quarter-Masters before, to assign Quarters for the French at *Cowper*: She also sent abroad her Commands to all Places, that all who were able to bear Arms, should follow her to *Cowper*; besides, she gave a Watch-word to the present Forces of the French and the *Hamiltons*, that they should be all ready to be in Arms on sound of Trumpet. This Design of hers was made known to the Reformers, by their Spies and Scouts; whereupon their Friends

Friends and Acquaintance were summon'd to repair to those, who were already assembled; and, to prevent the Design of the Regent, they march'd presently towards *Cowper*; and at the same instant, the Inhabitants of *Dundee*, and the Nobles of the adjacent Country, to the number of about 1000 Men, upon the same Alarm, joined themselves with them. That Night they halted there, but the next Morning early they drew their Forces out of the Town, and stood in array in the adjoining Fields, expecting the Army of the Papists, and gathering up their own Forces, as they came gradually and stragglingly in. In the Camp of the Regent there were 2000 *French*, under the Command of *D'Ofel*, and 1000 *Scots* led by *James Hamilton, Duke of Chastel-beraul*, as he was then call'd. These sent their Cannon before them into the second Watch, and marching early in the Morning, came all so near, as to see the Enemy, and to be seen by them. There was a small River between them, where, at convenient Posts, their great Guns were planted: Five hundred Horse were sent before, to make light Skirmishes with the Enemy, and also to hinder their Passage over the River, if they should attempt it. The Alacrity of these Men gave some stop to the *French*; which was further increas'd by the coming in of *Patrick Lermont*, Mayor of *St. Andrew's*, with 500 Citizens in Arms, who, for the Conveniency of their March, being stretched out in length, made a shew of a far greater Number than they were. This kept the Regent's Forces from discovering the Number and Order of their Enemies, which they much desir'd to know; neither could they discover that the General Officers were present, that so they might give Notice to their own People, as they were commanded. And therefore some of the *French* went to the top of an high Hill adjoining, to have as full a View of the Enemy as they could, from such a Distance. From thence they discover'd many Bodies of Horse and Foot, with small Distances betwixt them, and behind them a great number of Men to attend the Baggage and Waggons, which made a long Shew at the edge of a certain Valley; so that they thought that that whole numerous Party was laid in Ambush for them: And this News they carried to their Fellows, aggravating all things beyond what they were indeed. Whereupon the Commanders of the Army, by the Advice of the Council, sent to the Regent, who staid behind at *Falkland*, to acquaint her how Matters stood; That the *Scots* seem'd more numerous than they expected, and more ready to fight; and, on the contrary, their own Men murmured; and some of them publickly gave out, That they scorn'd, for the sake of a few Strangers, to be led to an Engagement against their own Countrymen, Friends and Relations. Whereupon, by the Assent of the Queen,

Queen, three Ambassadors of the Nobility were sent from *Hamilton*, such as had some Friends, or Sons, in the Enemies Army. These Ambassadors could not make a Peace, because the Reformers, being so often deluded by vain Promises, gave no Credit to their Concessions; and the Regent at that time had not any other Voucher but her Word to make good her Stipulation; and if she had, she would have thought it below her Dignity to have offered it. Besides, there was another Difficulty in the Case, which was the Expulsion of Foreigners out of the Kingdom (a thing principally insisted upon) and that she could not do, without acquainting the *French* King; so that only dilatory Truces were made, not to incline their Minds to Peace, as they had often experienced before, but to procure foreign Aid; only this was agreed between them, That the *French* Forces should be transported into *Lothian*, and a Truce should be made for eight Days, till the Regent could send some Pacificators of her own to *St. Andrew's*, to propound equal Conditions of Peace to both Parties. But the Reformers, plainly perceiving that the Regent did but protract Time, till she passed her Army over the next *Firth*, because then she could not compose things to her own Advantage: The Earl of *Argyle* and *James Stuart* desired her by Letters, that she would draw the Garrison out of *Pertb*, and leave the City to its own Laws, as she promised when she was admitted into it; and, that the Envy of her Breach of Covenant was brought upon them, who were the Authors of the Agreement. The Regent giving no Answer to these Letters, they turn'd their Ensigns towards *Pertb*, from whence miserable Complaints and Groans for Relief were daily brought them. For the Laird of *Kinsans*, a neighbouring Laird, whom the Regent at her Departure had made Governor of the Town, to shew his Officiousness, mightily oppressed the Citizens; for taking the Opportunity of his Command over them, he indulg'd his own private Passions, and reveng'd the old Grudges which he had with many of them, even to Extremity, banishing some, and pillaging others, on the account of Religion; and he also allow'd the like Liberty to his Soldiers.

THE Forces which were at *Cowper*, understanding of these Injuries done to their Friends and Partners in the Reformation, beat up a March thither, very early in the Morning; they besieg'd the Town, which, after a few Days, was surrendered to them: *Kinsans* was outed of his Governorship, and *Patrick Raven*, the old Governor, substituted in his Place. Afterward they burnt *Scone*, an old and unpeopled Town, because, contrary to their Faith given, they had kill'd one of their Number.

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By their Spies they were informed, that the Regent was sending a Garrison of *French* to *Sterlin*, so that they, who were beyond the *Forth*, might be cut off from the rest. To prevent this Design *Gilesy Campbel* and *James Stuart*, late in the Night, with great Silence, remov'd from *Perth*, and enter'd *Sterlin*, where they presently overthrew the Monasteries of the Friars. They also purg'd the other Churches about the City, from all Monuments of Idolatry : And thus, after three Days, they march'd towards *Edinburgh*, and destroy'd the superstitious Relicks at *Linlithgow*, a Town in the Mid-way ; and though they were but a very few in Number, the common Soldiers, as if the War had been ended, slipping home to their domestick Affairs ; yet they crush'd the Papists in so many Towns ; and so great a Terror seized on the mercenary *Scots* and *French*, that they fled, with all their Baggage which they could draw after them, to *Dunbar*. The *Scots* Nobles who were the Leaders of the Reformation, staid there several Days to order Matters ; for, besides cleansing of the Temples from all Popish Trinkets, they appointed Preachers to expound the Word of God, purely and sincerely, to the People.

In the mean time, word was brought from *France*, that King *Henry* the second was dead ; which News increas'd the Joy, but lessen'd the Industry of the *Scots* ; for many now betook themselves to their private Affairs, as if all the Danger had been over. On the other side, the Regent, fearing lest she and the *French* should be expelled out of *Scotland*, was highly vigilant and intent upon all Occasions. First, she sent forth Scouts to *Edinburgh*, to fish out the Enemies Designs ; by whom being informed, that the common Soldiers had dispers'd themselves, and that the few which remain'd, kept no military Discipline nor Watch : She thought not fit to slip such an Opportunity, but march'd with the Forces which she had, directly to *Edinburgh*. Duke *James Hamilton*, and *James Douglas*, Earl of *Morton*, very dutifully met her ; but they, not being able to compose Matters, only got this Point, That the Battle should not begin that Day. At last, after many Conditions had been canvass'd on both sides, on the 24th of *July*, in the Year 1559, a Truce was made to last till the 10th of *January*. The sum of the Terms were, ' That no Man should be compell'd in Matters of Religion : That no Garrison should be placed in *Edinburgh* : ' That the Priests should not be hindered from receiving the ' Fruits of their Lands, Tithes, Pensions, or other Incomes, ' freely : That none should demolish Churches, Monasteries, ' and other Places, made for the Use of Priests, or should ' transfer them to other Uses : And that the Day after, the ' Mint for coining Money, and the Royal Palace, with all the ' Furniture

‘ Furniture they found there, should be restored to the Regent.’

SHE was more careful to keep the Articles of this Truce both by herself and her Subjects, because she had shewn so much scandalous Levity in keeping the Pacts made in former Times. However, by Men of her own Faction, she caus'd the *Scots* to be irritated, who are by Nature inclinable to Passion, and so gave Occasion of harrassing the unhappy Commonalty. But, having no Colour for her Project, sufficient to disguise her Cruelty, under the pretence of Law she caused false Reports to be spread abroad, That Religion was but made the Pretence for Rebellion; that the true Cause of rising in Arms was, that, the lawful Line being extinct, the Kingdom might be transferr'd to *James*, the late King's Bastard-Son. When she perceiv'd that the Minds of Men were somewhat possess'd by these, and such other kind of false Reports, she sent some Letters to the said *James*, pretending that they came from *Francis* and *Mary*, King and Queen of *France*, wherein he was upbraided with the pretended Favour he had received from them; and withal was severely threatened, if he did not lay aside his Design of Revolting, and return to his Duty. *James* answered, That he was not conscious to himself, either in Word or Deed, of any Offence, either against King, Regent, or Laws; but, in regard the Nobility had undertaken the Cause of the Reformers of Religion, which was decay'd, or rather had joined themselves to those who were first therein, he was willing to bear the Envy of those Things, if any did arise, which were acted in common by himself and others, they aiming at nothing but the Glory of God; neither was it just for him to desert that Cause, which had *Christ* himself for its Head, Favourer, and Defender, whom unless they would voluntarily deny, they could not surcease their Enterprize. Setting that Cause aside, he and others, who were branded with the invidious Name of Rebels, would be most obsequious and loyal in all other Things. This Answer was given to the Regent, to be sent into *France*; where it was look'd upon as proud and contumacious; whereas some esteem'd it modest enough, especially as to the Point of upbraiding him with Favours, whereas in truth he had received none, unless such as were common to all Strangers.

WHILE these things were transacting, a thousand *French* Mercenaries arriv'd at *Leith*, as also the Earl of *Arran*, Son to *James Hamilton*, late Governor, came to the Convention of the Nobility, which was held at *Sterlin*. The Regent thought herself very secure, upon the Arrival of the *French*, and began openly to apply her Mind to subdue all *Scotland* by Force. But the Cause of the Earl of *Arran*'s Return was this, he was more

eager and zealous in the Cause of Reformation, than was safe for him in those Times, and therefore he was design'd to be put to Death by the *Guises*, who were the Favourites of *Francis* the Younger, for the Terror of the inferior Orders of Men : Nay, the Cardinal of *Lorraine* was so bold in a Speech, which he made in the Parliament of *Paris*, inveighing against the Cause of Reformation, that he said, *They should shortly see some eminent Man suffer upon that Account, who was little inferior to a Prince*. He, being made acquainted therewith, and withal calling to mind, that he had a little before been free in his Discourse with the Duke of *Guise* upon that Head, by the Advice of his Friends provided for his Safety by a secret Flight ; and, contrary to all Men's Expectation, came home in the midst of his Country's Tumults, joined himself with the part of the Reformers, procur'd his Father also to join with them ; and so he reconcil'd many to him, who had been his Enemies before, upon old Grudges.

THE Chief of the Party there present, being inform'd, that for certain some Auxiliaries were arrived, and others were levying to be speedily sent over to *Leith*, which was strongly fortify'd, to be made a Magazine for Provisions and Ammunition for War ; and that the *French* intended to make use of that Town, as a Place to secure their Retreat, if they were distress'd, and as a Port to receive their Friends, if they prosper'd : Hereupon the *Scots* gather'd their Forces together, and endeavour'd to besiege *Leith*, but in vain ; for the Regent and Governor of *Edinburgh* Castle, who had not yet joined himself with the Reformers and Vindicators of publick Freedom, had the Possession of almost all the Brass Cannon in *Scotland* ; and besides, the Party had not Strength enough to shut up a Town in a formal Siege, which had the Sea on one side, and was also divided by a River.

In the mean time the King of *France*, being informed, how Matters stood in *Scotland*, sent thither *Labros*, a Knight of the Order of *St. Michael*, with 2000 Foot, to assist the Queen in the Maintenance of the Popish Religion. There were also sent with him the Bishop of *Amiens*, and three Doctors of the *Sorbonne*, to dispute Matters controverted, by Arguments, if need were. The Arrival of them did so raise up the dejected Spirit of the Regent, that she solemnly promised, she would now be speedily reveng'd of the Enemies of Saints and Kings. There were then twelve of the chief Nobility assembled at *Edinburgh*, which gave Answer to Mr. *Labros* and the Bishop, who alledged they were sent over Ambassadors, and therefore desired a Day to propound their Demands, viz. ' That they did not seek Peace, as they pretended, but that they threaten'd War ; other-
' wise

wife, if it were only to dispute, to what purpose was it to bring so many arm'd Forces? As for themselves, they were not so imprudent, as to commit themselves to a Dispute, where they must be forc'd to accept of what Conditions their Enemies pleas'd : But, if a Pacification might be acceptable to them, they also would take care, that they might not seem to be compell'd by Force, but overcome by Reason ; and, if they did really aim at what they pretended, they should send back the foreign Soldiers, and meet unarmed, as they had done before ; that so the Matter might be determin'd by Equity and Right, not by Force of Arms.' This they said to the Ambassadors. As to the fortifying *Leith*, they wrote back to the Regent to this purpose.

That ' They did much admire, that the Regent had, without any Provocation, so soon forgot, and receded from her Agreements, as, by driving out the ancient Inhabitants of *Leith*, and placing a Colony of Strangers there, and so erecting a Fort over all their Heads, to the Ruin of their Law and Liberties, as she had done ; and therefore they earnestly desired her to desist from so pernicious a Resolution, which was rashly undertaken by her against the Faith of her Promises ; against the publick Benefit, Law and Liberty ; lest otherwise they should be compell'd to call for the Assistance of all the People in this Case.

ABOUT a Month after, they sent an Answer from their Convention at *Edinburgh*, to the same purpose, withal adding this to their former Requests, That she would demolish all new Fortifications, and send away all Strangers and Mercenaries, that so the Town might be free for Traffick and mutual Commerce ; which if she refus'd to do, they would look upon it as a sure Argument, that she was resolv'd to bring the Kingdom into Slavery, which Mischief they would do all they could to prevent.

THE Regent, three Days after, sent *Robert Forman*, principal Herald (King of Arms, as they call him) giving him these Commands, in answer to them. *First of all, you shall declare to them, that I am mightily surpriz'd, and look upon it as an unexpected thing, that any other Man should claim any Power here, besides my Son-in-Law and Daughier, on whom all my Authority depends. The former Conduct of the Nobility, and these their present Requests, or rather Commands, do sufficiently declare, that they acknowledge no Authority superior to themselves. That their Petition, or rather their Threats, tho' gilded over with smooth Words, are not at all new to me. Next, you shall require the Duke of Castle-herault, to call to mind what he promis'd me by word of Mouth, and to the King by Letters, that he would not*

only be Loyal to the King, but also would take effectual Care, that his Son, the Earl of Arran, should not mix himself in these Tumults of his Country : And you shall ask him, whether his present Conduct correspond with those Promises ? To their Letters you shall answer, That, for the sake of the publick Tranquillity, I will do, and so I promise, whatsoever is not contrary to my Duty towards God, or the King. As for the Destruction of Law and Liberty, is never enter'd into my Heart, much less to subdue the Kingdom by Force. For whom, said she, should I conquer it, seeing my Daughter doth now, as lawful Heiress, possess it ? As to the Fortification at Leith, you shall ask, Whether ever I attempted any thing therein, before they, in many Conventions, and at length by a mutual Conspiracy, had openly declared, That they rejected the Government set over them by Law, and, without my Advice or Notice, tho' I held the Place and Authority of a chief Magistrate, had broke the publick Peace at their Pleasure, and had strengthened their Party by taking of Towns, and had treated with old Enemies for establishing a League ; and that now many of them kept Englishmen in their Houses ; so that, to omit other Arguments, What Reason have they to judge it lawful for themselves to keep up an Army at Edinburgh, to invade those that are in Possession of the Government ; and yet it must not be lawful for me to have some Forces about me at Leith for my own Defence ? Their Aim is principally this, to compel me, by often shifting of Places, to avoid their Fury, as I have hitherto done. Is there any mention in their Letters about Obedience to lawful Magistrates ? Do they discover any way to renew Peace and Concord ? By what Indication do they manifest, that they are willing these Tumults should be appeased, and all things reduced to their former State ? Let them colour and guild their Pretences how they please, with the shew of publick Good, yet 'tis plain that they mind nothing less ; for if that one thing were a hindrance to Concord, I have often shew'd the Way that leads unto it. They themselves are not ignorant, that the French, at the Command of their own King, had long since quitted Scotland, if their Conduct had not occasioned the Soldiers longer Stay. And therefore, if now they will offer any honest Conditions, which may afford a probable Ground of Hope, that the Majesty of the Government may be preserved, and that they will with Modesty obey their Superiors ; I shall refuse no Way of renewing Peace, nor omit any thing relating to the Publick Good. Neither am I only thus affected towards them, but the King of France is of the same Mind too, who hath sent over an Illustrious Knight of the Order of St. Michael, and another prime Ecclesiastical Person, with Letters and Commands to that purpose, whom yet they have so slighted, as not to vouchsafe them an Answer, no nor Audience neither. And therefore you shall require the Duke,

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the other Nobles, and Persons of all sorts, presently to separate themselves, otherwise they shall be proclaimed Traytors.

To this Letter the Nobles sent an Answer the Day after, which was *October 23*, to this purpose ; ‘ We plainly perceive by your Letters and Commands, sent us by your Herald, how you persist in your Disaffection to God’s true Worship, to the publick Good of the whole Country, and to the common Liberty of us all ; which that we may preserve according to our Duty, we do in the Name of our King and Queen, suspend and inhibit that publick Administration which you usurp under their Names, as being fully persuaded, that your Conduct is quite contrary to their Inclinations, and against the publick Good of the Kingdom : And as you do not esteem us a Senate and publick Council, who are the lawful People of our King, Queen, and Country ; so we do not acknowledge you as Regent, in supreme Authority over us, especially since your Government (if you have any such entrusted to you by our Princes) is, for weighty and just Reasons, abrogated by us, and that in the Names of those Kings, to whom we are born Counsellors, especially in such Things as concern the Safety of the whole Commonwealth. And, though we are determined to undergo the utmost Hazard for the freeing of that Town, wherein you have a Garrison, from foreign Mercenaries, which you have hired against us ; yet, for the Reverence and due Respect we bear to you, as the Mother of our Queen, we earnestly intreat you to withdraw yourself, e’er Necessity compels us to reduce that Town by Force, which we have often endeavour’d to gain by fair Means. And withal we desire, that within the Space of twenty-four Hours, you would withdraw likewise those, who challenge the name of Legates or Ambassadors to themselves, and forbid them, either to decide Controversies, or to manage publick Affairs ; and also, that all mercenary Soldiers in the Town would retire likewise ; for we would willingly spare their Lives, and consult their Safety, both by reason of their ancient Amity which hath been kept up between the Kings of *Scotland* and *France* ; and also, by reason of the Marriage of their King with our Queen, which doth equitably engage us rather to encrease our Union, than diminish it.’

THE same Day, the Herald also related, that the Day before, in a full Assembly of Nobles and Commons, it was voted, That all the Regent’s Words, Deeds, and Designs, tended only to Tyranny ; and therefore a Decree was made to abrogate her Authority ; to which all of them subscribed, as most just :

Moreover, they did inhibit the Trust her Son-in-law and Daughter had committed to her: They also forbid her to execute any Act of publick Government, till a general Convention of the Estates, which they determined to summon as soon as conveniently they could. The 25th Day, the Nobles sent an Herald to *Leith*, to warn all the *Scots* to depart out of the Town within the space of 24 Hours, and to separate themselves from the Destroyers of publick Liberty. After these Threats, Horsemen made Excursions on both sides, and the War began, yet without any considerable Slaughter. In the beginning of this Action, there fell such a great and sudden Terror upon the Party of the Reformed, as did mightily disturb them for the present, and also cut off all Hopes of Success for the future. For the Regent, partly by Threats, and partly by Promises, had wrought off many who had given in their Names to the Reformers, from the Faction of the Nobles; and besides, their Camp was full of Spies, who discovered both their Words and Actions, even those which they thought were necessary to be kept most secret, to the Regent: And when *James Balfour's* Servant was taken carrying Letters to *Leith*, the Suspicion lighted on a great many, and the Fear diffus'd itself over the whole Body: The mercenary Soldiers also mutinied, because they had not their Pay down upon the Day appointed; and if any one endeavoured to appease them, he was severely threatened by them. But People did less admire the Sedition of such Men, who had neither Religion nor Honesty, than they did the Imbecility and Faint-heartedness of the Duke of *Castle-berault*, who was so amazed at approaching Dangers, that his Affrightment discouraged the Minds of many. Those who were most courageous, endeavoured to apply Remedies; and their first Consultation was, to appease the Mercenaries: And seeing the Nobles which remained could not make up a Sum sufficient to quiet and pay them, some declining through Covetousness, others pleading Inability; at last they agreed to melt down all the Silver Plate; and, when the *Say-Masters* were ready to assist therein, the Mints or Stamps, I know not by whose Fraud, were taken away.

THE only Ground of Hope was from *England*, which was adjudged too slow. At last they resolved to try the Fidelity of their private Friends; and thereupon they sent *John Cockburn* of *Ormiston* to *Sir Ralph Sadler*, and *Sir James Crofts*, two Knights of known Valour (who at that time were Officers at *Berwick*) to obtain of them a small Sum of Money, to serve their present Occasion. This their Design, tho' they kept it as private as they could, was yet discovered to the Regent, who commanded the Earl of *Bothwell* to way-lay him in his Return.

He,

He, though a few Days before he had taken a solemn Oath, that he would not prejudice the Cause of the Nobles in the least; nay, tho' he had given them Hopes that he would join himself to their Party, yet nevertheless lay in Ambush for *Ormiston*, assaulted him unawares, wounded and took him Prisoner, and so became Master of all the Money that he brought. When the Noise of this Exploit was brought to *Edinburgh*, it alarm'd the Earl of *Arran* and *James Stuart*, and almost all the Horse to draw out, not so much for desire of Revenge, as to rescue *Ormiston* (if he were alive) or at least to put a stop to their March, that he might not be convey'd to the Regent. But *Bothwell*, having Notice of this by a Spy, prevented their coming by his Flight.

THE same Day, the Governor of *Dundee*, with the Townsmen and a few Volunteers, marched towards *Leith*, and placed their Ordnance on an adjoining Hill. The *French*, who were informed by their Scouts, that almost all the Enemies Horse were absent, drew forth some Troops, to cut off those few Foot, whose small Numbers they saw. The *Dundeans* stood a while in hope of Relief; but, in regard those few Mercenaries which followed them turn'd their backs almost at the first Charge, they also retired, leaving their Guns behind them; at last a Noise was raised in the Rear, that the *French* were gone another way, towards the Gates of the City to seize them, and so keep them out. Upon this, there was such an universal Conspiration, that every one shifted for himself the best he could; and, while each Man endeavour'd to save one, the Weak were trodden under Foot by the Strong; so every body look'd to his own Particular; and there was no Provision made in common for them all. The Papists on the contrary, crept out of their lurking Holes, and openly reproached them: Insomuch, that they who ever pretended great Zeal for the Reformation, began partly to withdraw themselves secretly; and partly they consulted how to desert the whole Business.

ON the 5th Day of *November*, when News was brought, that the *French* were march'd out to intercept some Provisions coming towards *Edinburgh*; besides the Disagreement of the Reformed among themselves, the Mercenaries could scarce be got out of the Town, to oppose them. The Earl of *Arran*, and *James Stuart*, and their Friends, went first out against them, with whom there joined many worthy and valiant Persons. They charged the *French* more fiercely than prudently, so that they were near upon the Point to have been shut out from *Edinburgh*, and so to have paid for their Rashness. For the Marshes on the one side, and the adjacent Wall of an Orchard, left them but a narrow space for their March, and that only open to

the *French* Musqueteers ; so that they were trodden under Foot, partly by their own Men, and partly by the Enemy's Horse. In this Hurry they had been all certainly cut off, unless the Commanders, leaping from their Horses, had put themselves into equal Danger with the rest. Some of the common Soldiers seeing this, stopp'd for Shame, amongst whom was *Alexander Haliburton*, a Captain, a stout young Man, and very forward in the Cause of Religion ; he being grievously wounded, falling into the Enemies Hands, and receiving many Strokes from them, soon after died of his Wounds.

AFTER this Engagement, in which about twenty-five were kill'd, many withdrew themselves, and others were grown almost desperate ; but the Earl of *Arran*, and *James Stuart*, promised to continue their Endeavours, if only a small Company of them would keep together. When all in a manner refused so to do ; the next Consultation was, to leave the City, and, as the Nobles had determin'd, in the second Watch they began their March, and the Day after came to *Sterlin*. There *John Knox* made an excellent Sermon to them, wherein he raised the Minds of many into an assured Hope of a speedy Deliverance out of these Distresses. Here it was agreed upon in a Convention, that, because the *French* were continually strengthen'd and increas'd with new Supplies, they also would strengthen their Party by foreign Aid. And in order thereto, *William Maitland* was sent into *England*, a young Man of great Prudence and Learning : He was to inform the Queen what eminent Danger would accrue to *England*, if the *French* were suffer'd to fortify Places, and plant Garrisons in *Scotland*, in regard they sought the Destruction, not of Religion only, but of Laws and Liberties too ; and, if the *Scots* were overcome by Force or Fraud, or, if they were reduced to Servitude by an unequal Alliance, they would have an easier Step to infringe the Power of the *English*.

THE *English*, after a long Debate of the Matter, at length gave some Hopes of Assistance. The Noblemen, who were the Asserters of Liberty, had divided themselves into two Parties ; some staid at *Glasgow*, that they might command the Neighbouring Provinces, and defend their Partners in the Reformation from Wrong ; Others were sent into *Fife*. The *French* did what Mischief they could to their Enemies ; but, being troubled to hear of the *English* Supplies, they endeavoured to subdue the Remainder of the contrary Faction, before their coming ; and first, they march'd against that Party which was in *Fife* : In their March they plunder'd *Linlithgoe*, and the Estates of the *Hamiltons* ; from thence they marched to *Sterlin*, where they staid no longer but till they could pillage the Townsmen, and then

then pass'd over the Bridge, and led their Army along the Shore of the River, which was full of Towns and Villages well inhabited. They ranack'd all they met with, and at last came to *Kinghorn*. The *Scots*, to stop their Career, put a small Garrison into a Town call'd *Dysert*: Here the *French* made light Skirmishes for twenty Days together; and, because they could not wreak their Fury upon the Masters, they did it upon the bare Walls of their Houses, and raz'd a Village call'd *Grange*, belonging to *William Kirkaldy*, from the very Foundation. He, knowing that the *French* made frequent Excursions from thence to plunder the Country People, a little before Day plac'd himself in Ambush, and observing Captain *P'Abast*, a *Switzer*, to march out with his Company, he kept himself close so long, till the *French* were above a Mile from their Garrison, and then his Horse started up, and intercepted them from their Fellows. The *French* had but one way for it, in those Circumstances, and that was to enter a Country Village near at hand, and so to endeavour to defend themselves behind Walls and Hedges. The *Scots*, being provok'd by the former Cruelty of the *French*, were utterly unmindful of their own Safety, and wholly intent on the Destruction of their Enemies, tho' they had no other Arms, but Horsemen's Lances, yet broke down all that was in their Way, and rush'd in upon them: The Captain who refus'd to take Quarter, and fifty of his Men, were slain; the rest they sent Prisoners to *Dundee*.

THEY who were at *Dysert*, as in a settled Post, met at *Cowper*; out of them and others that were at *Glasgow*, there were some Persons chosen to be sent to *Berwick*, to agree the Terms of the League with the *English*. The chief Articles were these, *That if any Stranger should enter Britain in a warlike Manner, each of them should aid and assist one another: That the Queen of England should pay the Scots in England, and also the English Auxiliaries in Scotland: That the Plunder taken from the Enemy should belong to the English, but the Towns and Castles should presently be restored to the right Owners: That the Scots should give Hostages, which were to remain in England, during the Marriage of the French King with the Queen of Scots; and one Year after.*

THESE Transactions pass'd at *Berwick*, February 27, 1570. One thing the *English* gave strict Warning of to the *Scots*, which was, that they should not join in a set Battle, and so hazard all, before the Aids of their Friends came; for the *English* Lords were much afraid, that the over-eager Spirits of the *Scots* would precipitate the whole Matter into an irrecoverable Confusion.

IN the mean time the *French*, having plundered *Dysert* and *Weemes*, had a Debate among themselves, Whether they should march directly towards the Enemy, or else go along the Shore

to St. *Andrew's*, and so to *Cowper*. The latter Opinion prevail'd, because, by reason of the great Snow which had fallen, all the Highways were so clogged, that the Horse, without great Inconvenience, could not march thro' the midland Countries; wherefore, passing along a little by the Sea, when they came to the Promontory call'd *Kincraige* (*i. e.* the Head or End of a Rock) some of them got thereupon, where there was a large Prospect into the Sea, and they came down in great Joy, and told their Fellows, *That they discovered eight great Ships, of the first Rate, at Sea*: Whereupon the *French* certainly concluded, that those Vessels had brought them over the Succours which they had long before expected; and therefore they saluted them, as the Custom is, with the Discharge of their great Guns, and congratulating one another, invited them on Shore, resolving to pass that Day in a great deal of Mirth and Jollity. Not long after, one or two Boats landed from the contrary Shore of *Lothian*, they (having in their Passage had some Discourse with the Passengers in those foreign Ships) made a Discovery, that it was a Fleet of *English*; and withal, that the Report was, That the Land Forces of the *English* were not far from the Borders of *Scotland*. Hereupon there was a sudden Change of Spirit among them, and their unseasonable Laughter turn'd into Fear and Trembling; so that presently they catch'd up their Colours, and retreated, part of them to *Kinghorn*, others to *Dumfermlin*, many of them leaving their Dinners behind them for very haste; for they were afraid lest the Garrison, which they had left at *Leith*, might be cut off, and they themselves exposed to the Fury of the surrounding Enemy, before they could gather all their Strength into a Body.

DURING this whole March, they plundered more of the Papists, who came in thick to them, than of their Enemies. For of the latter, the richer sort had withdrawn a great Part of their Estates into remote Places of Safeguard; as for those Estates which were not so secured, the *French* Commanders being elevated with their present Success, and also with the Hopes of Aid from *France*, which was every Day expected, in Confidence whereof they hoped to be perpetual Lords of those Countries; reserved the richest Farms and Villages, which most abounded with all kind of Provisions, un plundered, as a peculiar Prey for themselves. But the Papists were either exhausted by the frequent Invitations of the principal Commanders to feast at their Houses, under a Pretence of Friendship; or else were privately pillaged by the common Soldiers; or at least in their Retreat, were openly ransack'd by the *French*, who were in great want of Provisions, and that not without bitter Reproaches of their Cowardice, and their Avarice, in not relieving their Friends:

Friends: Which Things (said they) we leave to you to judge, how near a-kin they are to plain Perfidiousness. This contumelious Pride, join'd with the Rapacity of the *French* Faction, quite turn'd the Hearts of many from them; and not long after, the *Fife* Men, being compell'd partly by Fear of their Enemies, and partly by the Wrongs receiv'd by their own Partizans, join'd themselves to the Reformers; and at last, the remote Countries universally revolted from the Outlandish, and shew'd themselves as eager in repressing the Tyranny of the *French*, as the other *Scots* did in asserting their Religion.

THE Spring was now at hand, and both Parties hasten'd to draw their Forces together into one Place. The Earl of *Martignies*, a Youth of undaunted Courage, landed from *France* with two Ships, bringing with him about One thousand Foot, and a few Horse; he and his Soldiers presently went on Shoar; but the Ships were taken in the Night by the *Scots*. About the same time the Marquis of *Elbeuff*, Brother to the Regent, who was bringing Aid of Men and Money in eight Ships, return'd back into the Haven whence he set sail, partly for Fear, because the Sea was full of *English* Ships, and partly excusing himself for the badness of the Weather: Besides, a new Fleet of *English* was sent in to second the former, who flew up and down the whole Chanel, and held *Keith* Island besieged, stopping all manner of Provision from passing by Sea into *Leith*.

IN the mean time, the chief of the Assertors for Liberty, who commanded in *Fife*, went to *Perth*, and after three Days Conference there with *Huntley*, they won over all that Northern Part of *Scotland* to their Party: and Order was soon after given, that they should all assemble and rendezvous at the End of *March*. About the same time all the Reformers had a Meeting at *Linlithgoe*: from thence they went to *Haddington*; and, on the first of *April* they join'd the *English*. There were in the *English* Army above Six thousand Foot, and Two thousand Horse. The next Night they pitch'd their Tents at *Preston*. The same Day the Regent, to withdraw herself from the Danger now near approaching, and to avoid the uncertain Hazard of War, retir'd, with some few of her Domesticks, into the Castle of *Edinburgh*, of which *Jahn Erskin* was Governour, a Man of approved Loyalty and Carefulness. He had receiv'd the Command of it by a Decree of the publick Council, as hath been before related, but upon this Condition, That he should render it up to none, unless by the Command of the same Council. The *French* saw, that the Possession of this Castle was of great Advantage to their Affairs, and therefore they us'd great Endeavours to obtain it by Treachery. The Governour, tho' he was not ignorant of their Intentions towards him, and had

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so fortified the Castle, and made such other diligent Provision, that it was secure, either from Force or Fraud, yet was not willing to exclude the Regent at such a time: but, in receiving her into the Castle, he took great Care, that both she and the Castle might be still under his Command. The Nobles, who were the Assertors of publick Liberty, tho' before they had often found, that her Mind was obstinately averse from the Cause which they had undertaken, yet thought it advisable not to pretermitt the present Occasion, as hoping that the Fear of the War, approaching nearer to her, and the Uncertainty of Aid from a remote Country, might incline her Mind to peaceable Counsels. Whereupon the chief of the Party had a Meeting at Dalkeith, from whence they wrote to her to this purpose:

WE have oftentimes heretofore earnestly entreated you, both by Letters and Messengers, to send away the French Soldiers, who do yet another Year grievously oppress the poor Country People; nay, they excite a just Fear in the Commonalty, that they shall be reduced into a miserable Servitude; from which Fear we have many times intreated you to deliver us; but, when our just Intreaties prevail'd nothing with you, we were forc'd to represent our deplorable Estate to the Queen of England, as the nearest Princess to us, and to desire Aid of her, to drive Foreigners, who threatened to make us Slaves, out of our Kingdom, and that by Force of Arms, if it could not otherwise be done. And tho' she, out of a Sense of our Calamities, hath undertaken our Cause; yet, that we might perform our Duty towards the Mother of our Queen, and might prevent the Effusion of Christian Blood, as much as is possible, and might then have recourse to Force of Arms, when we have tried all other Ways to obtain Right without Success, we do as yet esteem it a Part of that good Temper which we ought to keep, again to pray you to command the French Soldiers, with their Commanders and Officers, to depart immediately out of the Land. In order to the Accomplishment whereof, the Queen of England will not only afford them a safe Passage through her Kingdom, but will also assist with her Fleet to transport them. If this Condition be rejected, we call God and Man to witness, that we take up Arms, not out of Hatred, or any wicked Intent, but forc'd thereto by mere Necessity, that so we may try the Extremity of Remedies, that the Commonwealth, ourselves, our Estates, and Posterity, might not be precipitated into utter Ruin. And yet notwithstanding, tho' we at present suffer very heavy Pressures, and more heavy ones are near approaching, no Danger whatsoever shall ever enforce us to depart from our Duty towards our Queen, or from the King her Husband, in the least Tittle, wherein the Destruction of our ancient Liberty, and the Ruin of ourselves and our Posterity, is not concern'd. As for you, most excellent Princess, we beseech you again, that, weighing the
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Equity of our Demands, the Inconveniencies attending War, and how necessary Peace is to this your Daughter's Kingdom, so miserably barrast'd, you would afford a favourable Ear to our just Requests: Which if you shall do, you will leave a grateful and pleasing Remembrance of your Moderation amongst all Nations, and will also consult the Tranquillity of the greatest part of Christendom. Dated at Dalkeith, the 4th of April, in the Year 1560.

THE 6th Day of April, when the *English* drew near by the Seaside, about One thousand Three hundred *French* march'd out of *Leith*, and possess'd a little rising Hill at the End of the Plain, because they thought that the *English* would pitch their Tents there. There was a sharp Fight for above five Hours, for the recovering and keeping the Place, with no small Loss on both sides; at last, the *Scotch* Horse, with great Violence, rush'd in amongst the thickest of the *French*, and drove them back in great Astonishment into the Town; and, if the *English* Horse had come in sooner than they did, as it was agreed, they had been all separated from the others, and so cut off.

AFTER this, there were Conferences manag'd between the Parties, but in vain; for the *English* rejected all Truce, and now and then made some light Excursions, yet not without Bloodshed; 'tis not necessary to recount them. On the 21st of April, *John Monluck*, Bishop of *Vallence* in *Savoy*, was first carried into the *English* Camp, then into the Castle of *Edinburgh*, to the Regent, where he had a Conference with her two Days, and then return'd to the *Scottish* Nobles; the Terms of Accommodation could not then neither be agreed on, because the *Scots* persisted peremptorily in their Demand, that the foreign Soldiers should return home. Hereupon the *English*, because the Distance between their Camp and the Town was too great for their Ordnance to do any Execution, so that their Batteries signified little or nothing, remov'd their Camp on the other side *Leith* River, near the Town, where they might more certainly annoy the Enemy, and also have frequent Skirmishes. On the last Day of April, about two Hours before Sun-set, a casual Fire seiz'd upon part of the Town, which being assisted by the Violence of the Winds, burnt fiercely till the next Morning, destroying many Houses, and making great Devastation, and even took hold of part of the publick Granary, and consum'd a great deal of Provisions. In this Hurly-burly, the *English* were not wanting in their Duty, for they turn'd their great Guns upon that part, and play'd so hot upon the People, that they durst not come to quench the Fire; nay, they enter'd the Trenches, and in some places measur'd the Height of the Wall; so that, if the *French*, at the beginning of the Combustion fearing some Treachery, had not run in great Numbers to the Walls, and thereby

thereby prevented their Ruin in such a general Consternation, that very Day had put an End to the War.

ON the 4th of *May*, the *English* set Fire to the Water-Mills which were near the Town; one of them they burnt down before Day, the other the next Day after; the *French* in vain endeavour'd to quench the Flames. On the 7th of *May*, the Besiegers set Ladders to the Walls to make an Assault, but the Ladders were too short, so that they were beaten off, many wounded, and 160 slain. The three following Days, the *French* were employed, with great Labour and Hazard, in repairing the Walls, the *English* continually playing upon them, where they saw the greatest Numbers. The Papists were extremely puffed up with this Success, so that they now promised to themselves, that the *English* would depart, the Siege would be raised, and the War be finished. But the *English* and *Scots* were nothing discourag'd by this Blow, but exhorted one another to Constancy, and the *English* promised to stay till they heard their Queen's Pleasure from her Court. In the mean time Letters came from the Duke of *Norfolk*, which did mightily encourage all their Spirits: For he wrote to *Grey*, the chief Commander, wishing him to continue the Siege, and that he should not want Soldiers, as long as there was a Man able to bear Arms in his Province (which was very large, reaching from *Trent* to *Tweed*) and, if need were, he himself would come in Person into the Camp; and, to convince him of his Sincerity, he caus'd his own Tent to be erected in the Camp; and, in a few Days, sent 2000 Auxiliaries; so that the Memory of the former Loss was quite worn out, and with great Cheerfulness they renewed the War: And from that Day forward, tho' the *French* made frequent Sallies, yet hardly one of them was successful to their Party.

In the mean time the Queen of *England* sent *William Cecil*, a learned and prudent Person, who was then the chief Minister of State in *England*, and *Nicholas Wotton*, Dean of *York*, into *Scotland*, to treat about a Peace: they were commanded to confer Counsels with *Randan* and *Monluck* of the *French* Party, concerning Conditions of Peace: For the Kings of *France* thought it a thing below their Dignity, to enter into an equal Dispute with their own Subjects. The Fame of this Conference was the Cause, that, as if all Controversies had been already decided, a Convention was appointed to be held in *July*. In the mean time the Queen Dowager died in the Castle of *Edinburgh*, *June* 10, worn out with Sickness and Grief. Her Death variously affected the Minds of Men; for some of them who fought against her, did yet bewail her Death, for she was endow'd with a singular Wit, and had also a Mind very propense to Equity; she had quieted the fiercest Highlanders, and
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the furthest Inhabitants of the Isles, by her Wisdom and Valour; some believ'd, that she would never have had any War with the *Scots*, if she had been left free to her own Disposition; for she so accommodated herself to their Manners, that she seem'd able to accomplish all Things without Force: But the Misery was, tho' the Name of Governess resided in her, neither did she want Virtues worthy of so great a Dignity, yet she did, as it were, rule precariously, because in all Matters of Moment, she was to receive Answers, like so many Oracles, from *France*, For the *Guises*, who were then the powerfullest in the *French* Court, had design'd the Kingdom of *Scotland*, as a Peculiar to their Family; and accordingly, they advis'd their Sister to be more peculiar in asserting the Papal Religion, than either her own Disposition, or those Times, could well bear. This she gave some evident Hints of; for she had been heard to say, that if Matters were left to her own Arbitrement, she did not despair but to compose them upon equal Conditions. Some others were of opinion, that she alledg'd those Things rather popularly, than really as her Mind was, and that not only with an Intent to avert the Fault or Envy of Male-administration from herself; but also that, under a Pretext of asking Advice, she might spin out the Time in Delay, whilst she sent for foreign Aid; and so, by yielding, she might take off the Violence of the *Scots*, and in time suffer their angry Mood to abate; being of Opinion, that the *Scotch* Troops, who were Voluntiers, after one or two disbandings, could not again be easily got together, because they were made up of Men, who were not under Pay, nor under any certain Command. And the Inconstancy of the Queen in keeping her Promises, was no obscure Evidence of this her Dissimulation; for she did not expect the End of a Truce, which by Conditions she was oblig'd to do; but if any specious Advantage were offer'd, she would adventure to renew the War arbitrarily of her own Head. Others there were, who cast the Blame of all Things, which were avariciously or cruelly acted, or which were attempted by Fraud or false Report, upon those who were her Counsellors: For, when she undertook the Regency, at the very first, some *French* Counsellors were join'd to her Assistance, as *Osel*, Embassador of the King of *France*, a Man hasty and passionate, otherwise a good Man, and well-skill'd in the Arts both of Peace and War; he was one that directed his Counsel rather by the Rule of Equity, than the Will and Pleasure of the *Guises*. One Monsieur *de Ruby* was join'd to him, a Lawyer of *Paris*, who was to dispute Matters of Law, if any such should occur: He, in his publick Administration, confirm'd all Things, as much as he could, to the Manners and Laws of *France* (as if *that* alone were the right

right Way to govern a Commonwealth, by which means he rais'd a Suspicion of Innovation, and tho' others might share the Guilt of the same Crime with him, yet he alone, in a manner, bore the Blame and Envy of it. But these *two* committed no Offense which was remediless and incurable.

TOWARDS the End of the War, there were three *French* Generals, having distinct Bounds allotted them, who manag'd military Affairs in *Scotland*, viz. the Count *Martignes* of the House of *Luxemburg*, who was afterwards made Duke of *Estampes*; *L'Abros*, of a noble Family, well experienc'd in Arms; and a third was the Bishop of *Amiens*, accompanied with some Doctors of the *Sorbonne*, as if the Matter were to be determin'd by the Tongue, not the Sword. All the Counsels of these three tended to open Tyranny. *Martignes* gave Advice to destroy all the Country near *Leish* by Fire and Sword, that so the Desolation of the Country, and the Want of Necessities, might compel the *Scots* to raise the Siege. But if that Counsel had taken effect, many peaceable Persons, poor, and for the most part, Papists too, would have been destroy'd, and the Besieged would have had no Benefit neither; for the Sea being open, Provisions might easily have been brought by Ships, from all the maritime Places of *Scotland* and *England*, into the Leaguer of the Besiegers; and the Devastation of the Land and Soil would have distressed the Papists as much as the Embracers of the Reformed Religion.

L'ABROS was of Opinion, That all the Nobility of *Scotland* were to be cut off, without Distinction; and that a Thousand *French* Cuirassiers were to be garrison'd on their Lands, who were to keep under the common sort, as Vassals: This his Design was discover'd by some Letters of his, intercepted as they were going for *France*; and 'tis scarce credible how the Hatred against the *French*, begun upon other Causes, was hereby encreas'd.

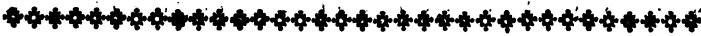
As for the Bishop of *Amiens*, he would have had all *those* to be seiz'd on, and put to Death, without pleading in their own Defence, whom he thought not so favourable to the Pope's Cause, as he would have them; nay, and all *those* too, who were not so forward to assist the *French* Party, as he expected; and he mightily blam'd the *French* Soldiers, for suffering those who were disaffected to their King, to walk openly up and down with Impunity; one he particularly aim'd at, viz. Mr. *William Maitland*, a noble and learned young Man, whom, because the *Sorbonists* could not refute by their Reasons, the Bishop design'd to take off by the Sword, and even upbraided the *French* Soldiers for permitting him to live, and advis'd them to kill him; which he having Notice of, took his Opportunity to withdraw himself from the *French*, and so escap'd into the *Scots* Camp.

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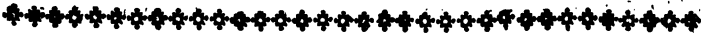


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B O O K XVII.



A FEW Days after the Death of the Regent, a Truce was made for a short Time, to give an Audience to the Embassadors, who were come to treat of Peace out of both Nations, *France* and *England*. Upon that the Nobles assembled: These could not effect any thing; the greatest Obstacle to an Agreement, was, That the *French*, who the Winter before had obtain'd great Booties out of the neighbouring Parts, refus'd to depart, unless they carry'd their Baggage and Plunder along with them. This was deny'd them: Whereupon Irruptions were made more fierce than ever, tho' not so prosperous to the *French*. At length, when both Sides were weary of the War, and the Inclinations to Peace could no longer be dissembled, the Embassadors on

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both sides met again in a Conference. The things which most inclin'd all to Peace, were these; The *French* had no Hopes of any Relief, and their Provisions grew daily more and more scarce, and were not likely to hold out long, so that their Condition was almost desperate. And for the *English*, they were weary'd out with the long Siege, and wanted Necessaries as well as the *French*, so that they were as desirous to put an end to the War. And the *Scots* too, receiving no Pay, could hardly be kept from running away: Hence they easily hearkened to a Capitulation; and at length, by the joint Consent of all Parties, on the 8th Day of *July*, in the Year of our Lord 1559, Peace was proclaim'd on these Conditions; That the *French* should sail away in 20 Days, with their Bag and Baggage; and seeing they had not Ships enough to transport them all over for the present, they were to hire some from the *English*, leaving Hostages till they were safely return'd: That *Leith* should be render'd up to the *Scots*, and the Walls of it demolish'd: That the Fortifications lately made by the *French* at *Dunbar* should be raz'd: That these Articles being perform'd the *English* should immediately withdraw their Forces: That *Mary* Queen of *Scots*, by the Consent of her Husband *Francis*, should grant an Oblivion of all that the *Scottish* Nobility had done or attempted, from the 10th Day of *March* 1559, till the 1st of *August* 1560. And that a Law should be made to that purpose, to be confirm'd in the next Parliament there, which was appointed to be in *August*; and *Francis* and *Mary* were to give their Consent to the holding of that Assembly: That 60 of the *French* should keep the Island of *Keith*, and the Castle of *Dunbar*; that so the Queen might not seem to be thrown out of the Possession of the whole Kingdom at once. After this Departure of the foreign Soldiers, there was a great Tranquillity and Cessation from Arms, till the Queen's Return. The Assembly of the Estates was kept at *Edinburgh*, where the greatest Debate was about promoting the Reform'd Religion. The Statutes made were sent into *France*, for the Queen to give her Consent to, and subscribe. This was done, rather to sound her Mind, than out of Hopes to obtain any thing from her. Embassadors were likewise dispatch'd for *England*, to give them Thanks for their Assistance so seasonably afforded.

Not long after, *James Sandeland*, Knight of *Rhodes*, went to the *French* Court, a Man as yet free from the Discords of the Faction: His Business was to excuse Things past, and to pacify the Grudges remaining since the former Wars, and so to try all Ways and Means of establishing Peace and Concord. But his Arrival happen'd to be in very troublesome Times; for the whole Conduct of the *French* Affairs was then in the Hands of the *Guises*; who, when they perceiv'd that neither Threats nor Flatteries

teries would prevail, endeavour'd to oppress the contrary Faction by Force of Arms ; and, when they could lay no other plausible Crime against their Opponents, they accus'd them of High-Treason, for betraying the Kingdom. Upon that the King of *Navarre* was condemn'd to perpetual Imprisonment ; and his Brother, the Prince of *Conde*, sentenc'd to Death ; *Annas*, Duke of *Montmorancy*, and the two Sons of his Sister, *Jasper* and *Francis Colignes*, and their Relation the **Vidam of Charters*, were destin'd to the Slaughter ; and, besides those, above 10000 more were put into the black List of Criminals. Moreover, all Means were us'd to terrify the People. The City of *Orleans* was full of Foot-Soldiers, Guards of Horse were posted all up and down the Country ; all the Highways were beset by them ; Sentence was pass'd, by a few Men in the Court, upon the Lives, Fortunes and good Names of the most honest Men ; all the Steeples of Churches and Towers round about the Walls had their Windows shut up, and their Gates and Doors fortify'd, being design'd for Prisons ; Criminal Judges were called together out of the whole Kingdom. The Manner of inflicting Punishment was thus design'd, That, as soon as the Frost broke, and the River *Loir* was navigable, the King should go to *Chinon* in *Poitou*, at the Mouth of the River *Vien* ; and then the *Guises*, with a few of their Partizans, at the Command of the Court-Cabal (of which *they* were the chief) should perform the Execution. Meanwhile *Sandeland* came to Court, not so much humbly to desire Pardon for what was past, as to excuse his Countrymen, laying all the Blame of the Tumults upon the *French*. The *Guises* receiv'd him in a very uncourtly Manner, blaming him, that he, being a Man dedicated to the Holy War, had undertaken to manage the Commands of the Rebels, in favour of that execrable Heresy, which the Consent of all Nations had highly condemn'd in the Council of *Trent* ; nay, many of them admired, not so much at the Folly, as the Madness of the *Scots* ; that they, being but a few, and disagreeing among themselves ; and besides, destitute of Money, and all warlike Preparations, should dare to provoke so potent a King, who was now at quiet, and free from any foreign Enemy. Between these fretful Indignations and Threats, the King fell suddenly sick. The Ambassador was dismiss'd without any Answer ; but the Message of the King's Death reach'd him at *Paris*, on the 31st of *December* ; whence he made haste home, hoping for better Things to ensue :

THE News of the King's Death being divulg'd, did not so much erect the Minds of the *Scots*, who had been in great Suspence, by reason of their imminent Dangers, as it fill'd all *France*

* A *Vidam*, in *France*, is a Baron holding of a Bishop.

with Faction, and the Poison of domestick Discords. *James*, the Queen's Brother, *Scotland* being now freed from the Domination of the *French*, by the Death of *Francis*, made what haste he could to the Queen; who, when her Husband was dead, went to *Lorraine* to her Uncle, either as a Recess to her Grief, or else out of a female Pride and Emulation, that she might not be near her Mother-in-Law; who, by reason of the Slothfulness of *Anthony Bourbon*, King of *Navarre*, had, by degrees, brought the whole Administration of Affairs into her own Hands. There *James*, the Queen's Brother, having settled Things in *Scotland* for a Season, found her; and, after much Discourse, the Queen told him, *She had a mind to return to Scotland*; and fix'd a Day on which they might expect her, her Uncles being also of the same Opinion: For, before *James's* coming, there had been great Consultation about the Matter, some alledging the Difficulty of the Voyage, especially the Queen of *England* being nothing favourable; besides, she was to go to a barbarous People, and naturally seditious, who were hardly kept in quiet by the Government of Men. Moreover, she had fresh Examples before her Eyes, of her Father and Mother, whom when they could not or durst not openly oppress, they us'd all Artifices, till they drove them to despair; so that she would be daily and hourly in Danger, either of her Honour, or of her Life, amongst them. On the other side, they who were skill'd in the Affairs of *Scotland*, urg'd that the Seditions arising there, were occasion'd oftner by Default of the Princes than of the People, for that they endeavour'd to reduce that Kingdom to an arbitrary and boundless Rule, which, Time out of mind, had been circumscrib'd and manag'd within due Bounds of Law; and *that* was such a Curb, as a Nation which was more warlike than rich, could never be brought to endure. But all those Kings, who never attempted to infringe the Liberties of the People, were not only free from private Enemies and popular Tumults, but reigned happy in the Love of their Subjects at home, famous abroad, and unconquered by their Enemies: But the best, and almost only Way at present to quiet things, was to attempt no Alteration in the State of Religion, as then established. These were the Debates, as publick Report said, on both Sides. But her Uncles had other more prevailing Causes in their View; for they, in the Troubles of *France*, cherishing rather great than honest Hopes, thought, if the Queen was absent, she would be more in their Power, than if she staid in *France*; and that neighbouring Princes, in hopes to carry her for a Wife, would court their Friendships, and use them as Mediators. In the mean time, one or other of their Faction would preside over the Management of Affairs in *Scotland*. Besides, the Queen's Resolution sway'd much in the Case,

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who was determined to return into her own Country; for her Husband was dead, and her Mother-in-Law (who manag'd Matters of State) shewing some Disgusts towards her, she saw she should grow cheap at that Court; and, tho' she had been but a little used to Government, yet being in the Spring and Flower of her Age, and of a lofty Spirit, she could not endure to cringe under another: She had rather have any Fortune with a Kingdom, than the richest without one; neither could she hope, that her Condition would be very honourable, the Power of the *Guises* being weaken'd by the adverse Party, at the first Brush. Besides, the Persuasions and Promises of her Brother *James* went a great way in turning the Ballance; for he assured her, she would find all quiet at home, especially seeing he was a Man, to whose Faith she might safely commit herself, being her natural Brother, and who for his Youth had perform'd many noble and brave Exploits, and so had got great Credit and Renown amongst all Men. Whilst the Queen was intent on these Matters, *Noal*, a Senator of *Bourdeaux*, who was sent out of *France*, came into *Scotland*, a little after the End of the publick Convection, and was put off till the next Assembly, which, in order to the settling publick Matters, was summon'd in order to be held at *Edinburgh*, May the 21st; yet the Nobles, who met there at the time in great abundance, did not sit, because they were as yet uncertain of the Queen's Will and Pleasure. In the mean time, *James Stuart* return'd from *France*, and brought a Commission from the Queen, giving them Liberty to sit, and to enact Laws for the Good of the Publick: Then the *French* Ambassador had Audience; the Heads of his Embassy were, *That the ancient League with the French should be renew'd, and the new one with the English broken: That Priests should be restored to their Estates and Dignities, which had been sequester'd from them.* To which Answer was given; As to the *French* League, that they were not conscious to themselves, that they had broken it in the least; but that it had been many ways infring'd by the *French* themselves, and especially of late, in their opposing the publick Liberty, and endeavouring to bring a miserable Yoke of Bondage upon a People that were their Allies, and had given no Occasion on their part. As for the League with *England*, they could not dissolve it, without a Brand of the greatest Ingratitude imaginable, in recompensing so great a Courtesy with the highest Injury, which it certainly would be to join against those, who had been the Deliverers of their Country. As for the Restitution of Priests, they told him, That those he call'd Priests, were of no use or significancy in the Church, than they knew of. In that Parliament a Statute was made to demolish all the Convents of

the Monks, and proper Persons were presently dispatched abroad into all parts of the Land, to put it in Execution.

MATTERS being prepar'd in *France* for the Queen's Journey, her intimate Friends, who govern'd her Counsels, advis'd her, for the present, wholly to pass over Matters about Religion, tho' some gave her rash Counsel, to arm on that Account, and kill all that oppos'd her. The chief of which were *Dury*, the Abbot of *Dumfermling*, and *John Sinclair*, lately design'd Bishop of *Brechin*; and she herself was by Nature, as also by the Persuasion of her Relations, so inclinable to their Counsel, that sometimes Threatnings dropt from her, which were catched up at Court, and spread amongst the Vulgar: And she would frequently boast, among her Familiars, that she would follow the Example of her Kinswoman, *Mary*, Queen of *England*. Wherefore the main of her Counsels tended to this, to feed the Men of her own Faction with Hopes at present, and to suppress the opposite Party by degrees; and, when she was well settled in her Power, then to declare her Mind. And this did not seem hard to do, seeing the Council of *Trent* was lately begun (on pretence of restoring the decay'd Manners of the Church, but indeed) to extirpate the Professors of the Reformed Religion, as, by the Decrees of that Cabal, was afterwards declared. Besides, her Uncles mightily animated the Queen, by shewing her the Power of the Papal Faction, at the Head of which *Francis*, the eldest Brother of the *Guises*, was to preside by the Decree of the Council. In the mean time, *Charles* the Cardinal, amidst so many publick Cares, not unmindful of himself, advis'd the Queen, not to carry her Household-stuff and Attire, which were of great Value, as it were, into another World, but to leave them with him, till he might be assured of the Event of her Journey. She knew the Man and his Craft well enough, and therefore answered him, *That, seeing she ventured herself, she might as well trust her Goods as her Person*. When all was resolv'd upon, they sent into *England*, to try how the Queen stood affected to the Voyage. *D'Osely*, the Envoy, was well entertained there, and sent back presently into *France*, to tell the Queen of *Scots*, *That, if she pleased to pass thro' England, she should have all the Respect which she could desire from a Kinswoman and an Ally, and that she would take it as a great Favour besides; but, if she shunn'd the proffer'd Interview, she would look upon it as an Affront*: For the *English* Queen had prepar'd a great Fleet, the Pretence of which was, to scour the Sea of Pirates; but some thought that it was to intercept the Queen of *Scots*, if she ventur'd to pass against her Will. They took one Ship, in which was the *Earl of Eglington*, and brought her to *London*, but dismiss'd her again in a little time. But, whatever the Design

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was, in providing a Fleet, if any Danger was intended, Providence prevented it ; for, when the *French Gallies* came upon the Main, a Mist follow'd them for several Days, till they came in- to *Scotland*, the 21st Day of *August*.

THE News of the Queen's Arrival being divulg'd abroad, the Nobility, from all Parts of the Kingdom, came hastily in, as to a publick Shew, partly to congratulate her Return ; and some came, to put her in mind of the Services they did her in her Absence ; that so they might get into her Favour beforehand, and prevent the Cavils of their Enemies : Others came, to give a Guess of her future Regiment, by her first Entrance into the Kingdom. Upon these different Grounds, all equally desir'd to see their Queen, who came to them so unexpectedly, after such various Events, and such changeable Fortunes : They consider'd that she was born amidst the cruel Tempests of War, and lost her Father in about six Days after her Birth ; that she was well educated by the great Care of her Mother, the very best of Women ; but between domestick Seditions and foreign Wars, she was left as a Prey to the strongest Side ; and, even almost before she had a Sense of Misery, was expos'd to all the Perils of a desperate Fortune : That she left her Country, being as it were sent into Banishment ; where, between the Fury of Arms, and the Violence of the Waves, she was, with great difficulty, preserv'd. 'Tis true, her Fortune somewhat smil'd upon her, and advanc'd her to an illustrious Marriage ; but her Joy was not lasting, it was but transitory ; for her Mother and Husband dying, she was brought into the mournful State of Widowhood ; the *new* Kingdom she received, and her *old* one too, standing on very ticklish Terms. Furthermore, besides the Variety of her Dangers, the Excellency of her Mien, the Delicacy of her Beauty, the Vigour of her blooming Years, and the Elegancy of her Wit, all joined in her Recommendation. These Accomplishments her courtly Education had either much encreas'd, or at least made them more acceptable, by a false Disguise of Virtue, not sincere, but only shadowed over, as it were, with the Similitude of something very worthy ; and so her too eager Desire to please and ingratiate herself, made the real Goodness of her Nature less acceptable, and nipp'd the Seeds of Virtue, by the Blandishments of Pleasure, that they might not come to bring forth any ripe Fruit in their Season. As these things were grateful to the Vulgar, so Persons of better Penetration saw thro' them ; yet they hoped, that her soft and tender Age would easily be mended, and grow better and better by Experience. Amidst these Gratulations, there was a light Offence happen'd, but it struck deep into the Minds of either Faction. The Nobility had agreed with the Queen, that no Alteration

should be made contrary to the establish'd Religion, and only she and her Family were to have Mass, and that too was to be in private. But while the Furniture for it was carrying thro' the Court into the Chapel, one of the Multitude catch'd the Torches out of his Hands that carried them, and broke them; and unless some Men of a more moderate Spirit had come in and prevented it, all the rest of the *Apparatus* had been spoil'd. That Action was differently interpreted amongst the Vulgar; some blam'd it, as a Fact too audacious; some said, it was to try Men's Patience, how far it would bear; others affirm'd, and spoke it publicly, that the Priests ought to undergo the Punishment appointed in the Scriptures against Idolatry: But this Commotion was nipp'd in the very Bud by *James* the Queen's Brother, to the great, but hidden Indignation of *George Gordon*, who was willing to lay hold on all Occasions of Disturbance: And here, thinking an Opportunity lay open to curry Favour, he went to the Queen's Uncles, then present, and promised them to reduce all the Country beyond *Dunkelden* to the old Religion. But they suspected the Matter, as having heard enough of the Disposition of the Man, and fearing lest he should raise a new Storm to no purpose, communicated the Matter to *James*, the Queen's Brother. The rest of the Year was spent in Balls and Feasts, and in sending away the *French*, who out of Civility had attended the Queen, and were then honourably dismiss'd, only one of her Uncles, the Marquis of *Elbeuff*, staid behind. During this Posture of Affairs, *William Maitland Jun.* was sent Ambassador into *England*, to compliment that Queen, as the Custom is, and to acquaint her how highly she stood affected towards her, and how much she desired to maintain Peace and Concord with her: He also carry'd to her Letters from the Nobility, in which was mention'd a friendly Commemoration of former Courtesies and Obligations; but one thing they earnestly desir'd of her, and that was, That both publicly and privately, she would shew herself friendly and courteous towards their Queen; and that, being excited by good Offices, she would not only persevere in her ancient Friendship, but add daily (if possible) stronger Obligations. As for their part, it should be their earnest Study and Desire, to omit no Occasion of perpetuating the Peace betwixt the two neighbouring Kingdoms. That there was but one sure Way to induce an Oblivion of all past Differences, and to stop the Spring of them for ever, if the Queen of *England* would declare, by an Act of Parliament, confirm'd by the Royal Assent, That the Queen of *Scots* was Heiress to the Kingdom of *England*, next after herself and her Children, if ever she had any. After the Ambassador had asserted the Equity of such a Statute, and how beneficial it would be to all *Britain*, by many Arguments, he added

added in the Close, *That she, being her nearest Relation, ought to be more intent and diligent than others, in having such an Act made; and that the Queen expected that Testimony of Good-will and Respect from her.* To which the Queen of England answer'd in these Words: *I expected another kind of Embassy from your Queen; I wonder how she comes to forget that, before her Departure out of France, after much urging, she at last promis'd, that the League made at Leith, should be confirm'd, she having promis'd me faithfully it should be so, as soon as ever she return'd into her own Country. I have been put off with Words long enough; now 'tis time (if she has any respect to her Honour) that her Deeds should answer her Words.* To which the Ambassador answer'd, *That he was sent on this Embassy but a very few Days after the Queen's Arrival, before she had enter'd upon the Administration of any publick Affairs; That she had been hitherto taken up in treating the Nobility, many of whom she had never seen before, who came from many Parts to pay their dutiful Addresses to her; but she was chiefly employed about settling the State of Religion; which how difficult and troublesome a thing it is (said he) you yourself are not ignorant: Hence (he proceeded) your Majesty may easily understand, that the Queen of Scots had no vacant Time at all before my Departure; neither had she as yet call'd fit Men to her Council, to consult about various Affairs; especially since the Nobility, that liv'd in the furthest Parts towards the North, had not been yet to attend her, before my coming; and without their Advice, Matters of such publick Moment could not, and indeed ought not, to be transacted.* Upon which the English Queen was something mov'd, and said, *What need had your Queen to make any Consultation about doing that, which she hath oblig'd herself to under her Hand and Seal?* He reply'd, *I can give no other Answer at present, for I receiv'd nothing in Command about it, neither did our Queen expect, that an account of it would now be requir'd of me; and you may easily consider with yourself, under what just Causes of Delay she lies at present.* After some Words had pass'd betwixt them upon these Matters, the Queen return'd to the main Point: *I observe (said she) what you most insist upon, in behalf of your Queen, and in seconding the Request of the Nobles, you put me in mind, that your Queen is descended from the Blood of the Kings of England, and that I am bound to love her by a natural Obligation, as being my near Relation, which I neither can nor will deny; I have also made it evident to the whole World, that in all my Actions, I never attempted any thing against the Weal and Tranquillity, either of herself, or of her Kingdom: Those who are acquainted with my inward Thoughts and Inclinations, are conscious that tho' I had just Cause of Offence given, by her using my Arms, and claiming a Title to the Kingdom, yet I could never be persuaded,*
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but that those Seeds of Hatred sprang up from the Advice of others, not from herself. However the Case stands, I hope she will not take away my Crown whilst I am alive, nor hinder my Children (if I have any) to succeed me in the Kingdom. But if any Casualty should happen to me before, she shall never find that I have done any thing, which may in the least prejudice the Right she pretends to have to the Kingdom of England: What that Right is, I never thought myself oblig'd to make a strict Disquisition into, and I am of the same Mind still; I leave it to those who are skilful in the Law to determine. As for your Queen, she may expect this confidently of me, that if her Cause be just, I shall not prejudice it in the least; I call God to witness, that, next to my self, I know none that I would prefer before her; or, if the Matter come to a Dispute, that can exclude her: You know (said she) who are the Competitors: By what Assistance, or in Hopes of what Force, can such poor Creatures attempt such a mighty thing? After some further Discourse, the Conclusion was short; That it was a Matter of great Weight and Moment, and that this was the first time she had entertain'd any serious Thoughts about it, and therefore she had need of longer time to consider of it. A few Days after she sent for the Ambassador again, and told him, That she extremely wonder'd, why the Nobles should demand such a thing of her, upon the first Arrival of the Queen, especially knowing that the Causes of former Offences were not yet taken away: But what pray, do they require? That I, having been so much wrong'd, should, before any Satisfaction receiv'd, gratify her in so great a Matter? This Demand is not far from a Threat: If they proceed on in this Way, let them know that I have Force at home, and Friends abroad, as well as they, who will defend my just Right. To which he answer'd, That he had shewn clearly, at first, how that the Nobility had insisted on this hopeful Medium of Concord, partly out of Duty to their Queen, in a Prospect to maintain her Wealth, and increase her Dignity; and partly out of a Desire to procure and establish publick Peace and Amity. And, that they deal more plainly with you, than with any other Prince, in this Cause, proceeds from your known and experienc'd Good-will towards them, and also upon the account of their own Safety; for they knew they must venture Life and Fortune, if any body should oppose the Rights of the Queen, or any War should arise betwixt the Nations, on those Grounds. And therefore their Desires did not seem unwarrantable or unjust, as having a Tendency towards rooting out the Seeds of all Discords, and the settling a firm and solid Peace. She rejoin'd, If I had acted any thing which might diminish your Queen's Right, then your Demand might have been just, that what was amiss might be amended: But this Demand is without an Example, that I should place my Winding-Sheet before my Eyes, while

while I am alive; neither was the like ever ask'd of any Prince. However, I take not the good Intention of your Nobility amiss, and the rather, because it is an Evidence to me, that they have a Desire to promote the Interest and Honour of their Queen; and I do put as great Value on their Prudence, in providing for their own Security, and in being tender of shedding Christian Blood, which could not be avoided, if any Faction should arise to challenge the Kingdom: But what such Party can there be, or where should they have the Force? But, to let these Considerations pass, suppose me inclinable to assent to their Demands, do you think I would do it, rather at the Request of the Nobles, than of the Queen herself?

BUT there are many other things which avert me from such a Transaction. First, I am not ignorant how dangerous a thing it is to venture on the Dispute. The Dispute concerning the Right of the Kingdom, is a thing that I have always mightily avoided; for the Controversy hath been already so much canvass'd in the Mouths of many, concerning a just and lawful Marriage, and what Children were Bastards, and what Legitimate, according as everyone is addicted to this or that Party, that, by reason of these Disputes, I have hitherto been more backward in marrying. Once, when I took the Crown publicly upon me, I marry'd myself to the Kingdom, and I wear the Ring I then put on my Finger, as a Badge of those Nuptials: However, thus my Resolution stands, I will be Queen of England, as long as I live; and when I am dead, let that Person succeed in my Place, who hath most Right to it; and if that chance to be your Queen, I will put no Obstacle in her Way; but if another hath a better Title, 'twere unjust to require of me to make a publick Edict to such a Person's Prejudice. If there be any Law against your Queen, 'tis unknown to me, and I have no great Delight to fist into it; but if there should be any such Law, I was sworn at my Coronation, that I would not change my Subject's Laws. As for your second Allegation, That the Declaration of my Successor will knit a stricter Bond of Amity betwixt us, I am afraid rather, it will be a Seed-Plot of Hatred and Discontent. What, do you think I am willing to have my Shroud always before my Eyes? Kings have this Peculiarity, that they are apt to be jealous of their own Children, who are born lawful Heirs to succeed them. Thus Charles the VIIth of France was somewhat disgusted at Lewis XIth; and Lewis the XIth at Charles the VIIIth; and of late, Francis ill-resented Henry: And how is it likely I should stand affected towards my Relation, if she be once declar'd my Heir? Just as Charles the VIIth was towards Lewis the XIth. Besides that which weighs most with me, I know the Inconstancy of this People; I know how they loath the present State of Things; I know how intent their Eyes are upon a Successor. 'Tis natural for all Men, as the Proverb is, To worship rather
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the rising, than the setting Sun: *I have learn'd That from my own Times, to omit other Examples; When my Sister Mary sat at the Helm of Government, how eager were the Desires of some Men to see me plac'd upon the Throne? How solicitous were they in advancing me to it? I am not ignorant what Dangers they would have undergone to bring their Design to an Issue, if my Will had concurr'd with their Desires. Now perhaps, the same Men are otherwise minded; just like Children, when they dream of Apples in their Sleep, they are very joyful; but, waking in the Morning, and finding themselves disappointed in their Hopes, their Mirth is turn'd into Sorrow. Thus I am dealt with by those, who, whilst yet I was a private Woman, wish'd me so well: If I look'd upon any of them a little more pleasantly than ordinary, they thought presently with themselves, that, as soon as ever I came to the Throne they should be rewarded rather at the Rate of their own Desires, than of the Service they perform'd for me; but now, seeing the Event hath not answer'd their Expectation, some of them gape after a new Change of Things, in hopes of a better Fortune; for the Wealth of a Prince, tho' never so great, cannot satisfy the insatiate Appetites of all Men. But if the Good-will of my Subjects flag towards me; or if their Minds are chang'd, because I am not profuse enough in my Largesses, or for some other trivial Cause; what will be the Event, when the Malevolent shall have a Successor nam'd, to whom they may make their Grievances known, and, in their Anger and Pet, entirely betake themselves to it upon every fit of Anger, or Turn of a peevish Humour? What Danger shall I then be in, when so powerful a neighbouring Prince is my Successor? The more Strength I add to her in securing her Succession, the more I detract from my own Security: This Danger cannot be avoided by any Precautions, or by any Bonds of Law; nay, those Princes who have the Hopes of a Kingdom offer'd them, will hardly contain themselves within the Bounds either of Law, or Equity. For my part, if my Successor should be once publicly declared to the World, I should think my Affairs to be far from being settled and secure. This is the Sum of what was transacted at that Conference.*

A few Days after, the Ambassador ask'd the Queen, Whether she would return any Answer to the Letter of the Scottish Nobility? *I have nothing (said she) at present to answer, only I commend their Sedulity and Love to their Prince; but the Matter is of such great Weight, that I cannot so soon give a plain and express Answer to it; however when your Queen shall have done her Duty in confirming the League she oblig'd herself to ratify, then 'twill be seasonable to try my Affections towards her: In the mean time I cannot gratify her in her Request, without abridging my own Dignity. The Ambassador reply'd, He had no Command about*

about that Affair, nor ever had any Discourse with his Mistress concerning it ; neither did he then propound the Queen's Judgment concerning the Right of Succession, but his own ; and had brought Reasons to enforce it : But as for the Confirmation of the League by her Husband, it was forced from the Queen of Scots, without the Consent of those, whom the ratifying or disannulling of it did highly concern ; neither was it a thing of such Consequence, as therefore to exclude her and her Posterity from the Inheritance of England. I do not enquire (said he) by Whom, When, How, by What Authority, and for what Reason, that League was made, seeing I had no Command to speak of any such Matter : But this I dare affirm, That, tho' it were confirm'd by her, in Compliance with her Husband's Desire ; yet, so great a Stress depending on it, our Queen, in time, will find out Reasons why it should, and ought to be dissolved. I speak not this (said he) in the Name of the Queen ; but my Intent is to shew, that our Nobility haave cause for what they do ; that so, all Controversies being pluck'd up by the Roots, a sure and lasting Peace may be establish'd betwixt us.

AFTER much Discourse, Pro and Con, about the League, the Queen was brought to this, That Embassadors should be chosen on both Sides to review it, and to regulate it, according to this Form : That the Queen of Scots should abstain from using the Arms of England, and from the Titles of England and Ireland, as long as the Queen of England or any of her Children were alive. On the other side, the Queen of England was to do nothing, neither by herself, nor her Posterity, which might prejudice the Queen of Scots, or impair her Right of Succession. These were the Affairs transacted in this Embassy ; which, while they were treated of abroad, in order to settle Peace, Sedition had almost broke out at home. There was Mass allow'd to the Queen and her Family (as I said before) concerning which, when the Edict was publish'd, there was one of the Nobility that oppos'd it, viz. the Earl of Arran : The Queen was highly offended at it, tho' she dissembled her Anger. The next Offence she took was against the *Edinburghers* : It is a common Custom with them, to chuse their Magistrates on the 29th of September. At that time, *Archibald Douglas*, the Sheriff, according to Custom, proclaim'd, That no Adulterer, Fornicator, Drunkard, Mass-monger, or obstinate Papist, after the first of October, should stay in the Town, great Penalties being denounc'd against those who should be found disobedient. When the Queen was inform'd of this, she committed the Magistrates to Prison, without hearing them, and commanded the Citizens to chuse new Magistrates, enjoining them to set the Gates open to all her good Subjects, not without the secret Indignation and Laughter of some, that flagitious Persons

sons should be accounted such good Subjects, and her most faithful Ministers and Servants. The Queen finding that the Citizens took this Matter more patiently than she expected, attempted greater Matters by degrees. Her Ma^js was before but privately celebrated, without any great Solemnity ; but on the 1st of *November*, she added all the Pomp of Popish Offices to it. The Reform'd Ministers of the Gospel took this heinously ill, and complain'd much of it in their Pulpits, putting the Nobility in mind of their Duty. Upon this a Dispute arose betwixt a few in a private House, Whether it was lawful to restrain Idolatry, which was likely to spread and ruin all? or, Whether they might, by Force, reduce a chief Magistrate to the Bounds of the Law, who sets no Limits to his own arbitrary Will? The Reform'd Ministers persisted constantly in their Opinion, which had been approv'd in former Times, That a Magistrate might be compell'd by Force to do his Duty. The Nobles were more unsteddy in their Resolutions, either to curry favour with the Queen, or out of Hopes of Honour and Reward ; yet, they being superior in Number and Greatness, the Decree went on their Side.

In the mean time, the Court was immers'd in Vice, and gave a Loose to all Luxury ; neither was it awaken'd by the News of the Moss-Troops inhabiting the *English* Borders, who, as if by Permission, took the Freedom of plundering openly, and kill'd all that oppos'd them. *James*, the Queen's Brother, was sent with a delegated Power to suppress them ; not so much with an Intent to honour him, as many People imagin'd, as with a Design to expose him to Danger. For, as his Power was distasteful to the Queen, so his innocent Carriage was more offensive, as reproving her for her Faults, and stopping her in her Career to Tyranny. But God, beyond all Men's Hopes, prosper'd his just Endeavours ; he hang'd twenty eight of the fiercest Robbers, the rest he suppress'd, either by the mere Terror of his Name, or else by making them give Hostages for their good Behaviour. The Queen seem'd to herself to have got some Liberty by his Absence, for she was not well-pleas'd with the present State of Things ; partly by reason of the Controversies in Religion ; and partly because Matters were manag'd more strictly than a young Woman could well bear, who had been educated in the most corrupted of all Courts, where lawful Dominion was interpreted to be unbecoming and below the Dignity of Princes, as if their Liberty consisted in the Slavery of others ; so that sometimes she was heard to speak mighty discontented Words ; nay, the Foundation of Tyranny seem'd to be laid : For whereas all former Kings intrusted their Safety only to the Nobility, she determin'd to have a Body-Guard, but could

could find no Pretence to bring it about, neither could she give any reasonable Colour for her Desire, but only vain courtly Magnificence, and the Usage of foreign Princes. The Deportment of her Brother, the more unblameable it was, troubled her the more, in regard it cut off any Opportunity to feign Crimes, or faken any Suspicions upon him; as also because she knew his Regularity made her loose Life appear intolerable; besides, she saw the People were so affected, that they would take her keeping of Life-Guards as a manifest Omen of Tyranny: Whereupon her restless Mind, determining by any means whatsoever to effect what she had once resolv'd upon, devis'd this Stratagem; she had a Brother named *John*, an ambitious Man, and not so strict in Life as *James* was; he was easily persuaded to be obsequious to the Queen, and so grew dearer to her, as a fitter Instrument for her disorderly Doings. She communicates her Design to him, in the Absence of *James*, about taking a Guard. The Plot was laid thus: There was a Noise of a Tumult to be spread abroad in the Night, as if *James Hamilton*, Earl of *Arran*, would have surpriz'd the Queen, who had but a few Men to guard her, and so have carried her to his Castle, fourteen Miles off. This Story, they thought, would take with the Vulgar, both because the Queen had a perfect Aversion to him, and he was extreemly in Love with her, both which were Things publickly known. This Tumult was made as the Plot was laid, and Horsemen scouted about the neighbouring Fields a good part of the Night, and in the Morning a Guard was set at the Court-Gate, some fretting, others smiling at the Matter: The Authors of this Project, tho' they knew themselves that they were not believ'd, yet were mightily pleas'd, as secure of Mens Opinions, and knowing that none there present durst oppose them. Upon this Beginning, the Court ran headlong into Wantonness and Luxury; notwithstanding as yet Justice was equally administred, and Offences punished; for the chief Management of Affairs was in *James*, the Queen's Brother, who for his Equity and Valour was dear to all. He used as his chief Counsellor, *William Maitland*, a young Man of a penetrating Judgment, having already given ample Proofs of it, and rais'd the Expectation of Men that he would give still larger Demonstrations of it in Time to come. Their joint virtuous Counsels kept Things quiet at home and abroad, and all Things went as well as good Men could wish: As for the Faction, they could rather fret inwardly, than complain justly.

AMIDST these Things, a Debate arose in the Court, which held them in Play for three whole Months. They who had been Kings or Regents in the preceding Times, had exhausted the publick Treasure, which was never great in *Scotland*; the Queen

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was expensive to an immoderate Degree; the Estates of the Nobility and Commonalty, in the late Tumults, were mightily wasted; so that now nothing remain'd to maintain Court Expences, but the Ecclesiastical Revenues. Upon this, the chief of the Clergy were sent for to Court, and some of the prime Nobility were added to that Number, that could either prevail with them by Persuasion, or compel them by Force. After a long Dispute, the Ecclesiasticks being overcome rather with the Sense of their own Weakness, than the Weight of any Reason, the Conclusion was, That a third Part should be taken off from Ecclesiastical Revenues, wherewith the Queen should maintain Orthodox Ministers, and reserve the rest for her own Use. This Conclusion was pleasing to none: The rich Ecclesiasticks grudg'd that any of their old Revenues should be par'd away, and the Reform'd Ministers expected no good from the Queen; yet indeed, tho' a great Shew was made, she got no mighty Matter by it; for many of the old Possessors had their Thirds forgiven; many, both Men and Women, had the Wages for their Household Service, and Expence, paid out of it for many Years; many got Pensions and Supports for their old Age. That Winter the Queen created her Brother *James*, Earl of *Marr*, with the universal Consent of all good Men. All praised her for giving Honour to Virtue, and no body could discommend her that she allow'd some Grains to Propinquity in Blood; and many thought, she had done well for the Publick, in advancing a Person to Honour, who was of an illustrious Stock, and had so highly deserved of his Country, that so he might preside over publick Affairs with the greater Authority; nay, some thought that this Favour of the Queen's was intended to reconcile him to her, who, she knew, was offended at the Carriage of the Court in his Absence. Besides, he had a Wife provided for him, *Agnes Keith*, Daughter of the Earl of *Merch*; at which Marriage there was such magnificent Feasting, or rather such immoderate Luxury, that the Minds of his Friends were very much offended at it, and his Enemies took occasion of exclaiming and venting their Envy; and the more, because he had been so temperate all the former Part of his Life. Not long after, *Murray* was bestow'd upon him, instead of *Marr*, which was found to be the ancient Right of *John Erskin*. *Gordon*, being depriv'd first of *Marr*, then of *Murray*, over which Country he had long presid'd as Governour, look'd upon himself to be robb'd, as it were, of his Patrimony, and therefore levelld all his Designs at the Overthrow of his Corrivall: And he had many other Motives besides; being far the richest Man in all *Scotland*, by reason of the Rewards his Ancestors had receiv'd for their Services to the Crown, and having also himself augmented the

the Power of his Family by indirect Practices. First, he overthrew *John Forbes* (as I said before) by false Witnesses: Next, when *James Stuart*, Brother of *James* the fifth, died without Children, he obtain'd of them who sat at the Helm, the Stewardship of *Murray*; by which means he carried himself as Heir, and arrived at such a Pitch of Greatness, that all his Neighbours laid down their Emulation, and rested quietly under his Authority, I had almost said, were become tamely his Vassals.

BUT whilst others submitted to him, either fearing Danger, or having Patience to bear the Yoke, he was much troubled with the Disregard one Man shew'd him, or, as he call'd it, with his Pride; and that was *James Mackintosh*, Chief of a great Family amongst the old *Scots*: He was born and brought up amongst the brutal Highlanders, who liv'd upon Prey; but yet, whether it was by a secret Instinct of Nature, or else by having good Instructors, he arrived at that Degree of Politeness, Modesty, and Decency of Behaviour, that he might be said to vie with those, who had the greatest Care us'd to give them a virtuous Education. *Gordon* suspected this young Man's Power, for he knew he could not use one of so good a Disposition, as an Instrument for his wicked Purposes; and therefore he seiz'd him on a sudden, and threw him into Prison; but, not able to find any Crime in him worthy of Death, 'tis reported, he suborn'd some of his Friends to persuade him to submit himself and his Cause to him; for *That*, they told him, was the only Way to be deliver'd honourably out of Prison, and also to have the Friendship of so powerful a Man as *Gordon*. Thus the simple and plain-hearted Man was decoy'd into his own Destruction; yet *Gordon*, being willing to avoid the Envy which his being the Author of his Death might bring upon him, prevail'd with his Wife to bear the Blame of it: She, being a Woman of a stern, manly Resolution, readily undertook the Matter; and, in the Absence of her Husband, the poor, innocent, betray'd, young Man had his Head struck off. His Neighbours were either so astonish'd at this Man's Punishment, or else were so hush'd with Bribery, that the whole Country beyond the *Caledonians*, was under his Jurisdiction alone; so that, being a Man ambitious of Power and Glory, he took it very ill, that *James*, Earl of *Murray*, was set up as his Rival; and being impatient of the present State of Things, he took all Occasions to promote Disturbances, and daily calumniated his Proceedings in publick; nay, he gave a Book, written with his own Hand, to the Queen, in which he accus'd him of affecting Tyranny; but he back'd it with very slender Arguments.

ON the other side of the Country, and at the same time, *James Hepburn*, Earl of *Bothwell*, being much in Debt, and

very debauch'd, was excited to enter into an Attempt against the said Earl of *Murray*; for, having spent his Youth wantonly amongst Whores and Bawds, he was reduc'd to that pass, as either to raise a Civil War, or else to prevent extreme Poverty by some bold and daring Action. When he had consider'd all Ways to compass his Design of disturbing the publick Peace, he thought it his best Course to set *Murray* and the *Hamiltons* together by the Ears. He seem'd to be sure in his Hopes of destroying one of the Parties by that Means, and no matter which. First then, he goes to *Murray*, and endeavours to persuade him to root out the *Hamiltons*, a Family distasteful and obnoxious to the Queen, the whole Kingdom, and especially to himself; and he offer'd him his Assistance in doing it, alledging, that the thing would not be unacceptable to the Queen; for that, besides the common Ground of Hatred that Princes bear against their Relations, as desirous of their Ruin, the Queen had some particular and just Cause of Offence into the Bargain; either by reason of his Affection to the Evangelical Doctrine and Discipline, of which *Arran* was the only Assertor, and for which he had incurr'd the Hatred of the *Guises* in *France*; or else, by reason of the hard Words he had lately given to one of the Queen's Uncles, the Marquis of *Elbeuf*, then in *Scotland*. But *Murray*, being an honest, conscientious Man, scorn'd to be guilty of so base an Action. Whereupon *Hepburn* went to the *Hamiltons*, and offer'd his Service to them to destroy *Murray*, whose Power they could not well endure: He told them, That he was the only Man who was an Obstacle to their Hopes, and an Enemy to their Interests; that if he was but taken away, the Queen must needs be in their Power, whether she would or no; and that the Method of compassing it was easy. The Queen was then at *Falkland*, a Castle seated in a Town of the same Name: There is a small Wood in the Neighbourhood, where Deer, of the Nature of Stags (called, by mistake, Fallow-Deer, in the Country) were kept and fed. The Queen might be easily surpriz'd, as she went thither, every Day, or to any neighbouring Place, with a small Retinue; at which time it was very easy to destroy *Murray*, being unarm'd, and suspecting no such thing, and to get the Queen's Person into their Hands. He quickly persuaded the rest; and a Time was appointed to perform the Enterprize; only the Earl of *Arran* detested the Wickedness, and sent Letters privately to *Murray*, acquainting him with the Series of the whole Plot. *Murray* writes back to him, by the same Messenger; but *Arran* being casually absent, the Letters were given to his Father. Upon that, a Consultation being held, *Arran* was shut up a close Prisoner by his Father, from whence making his Escape by Night, he went towards *Falkland*: As his

Escape

Escape was made known, Horsemen were sent after him, all over the Country, to bring him back again ; but he hid himself in a Wood, and frustrated their Expectation for that Night ; and in the Morning came to *Falkland*, where he discovered the whole Management of that treasonable Design. Not long after, *Bothwel* and *Gawin-Hamilton*, who had undertaken with a Party of Men to commit the Fact, follow'd him, and, by the Queen's Command, had a Guard set upon them as Prisoners, in the Castle of *Falkland*. When the whole Design was thus laid open, and the Spies brought word, that the Leaders were met at the Time and Place mentioned by *Arran*, and that many Horsemen were seen there ; *Arran*, being ask'd to explain the Order of the Plot, was a little disturb'd in his Mind ; for he mightily doted on the Queen, and was also a great Friend of *Murray's*, and was desirous to gratify them : On the other side, his Father was no bad Man, only was easily drawn into great and difficult Projects, and he had a mind to exempt him from the Conspiracy. That Night, when he was alone, his Mind was so divided between Piety and Love, that he was almost besides himself ; his Countenance and Speech gave evident Signs of great Perturbation of Spirit ; besides, there were other Causes which might affect the young Man's Mind. For whereas he had been brought up magnificently, according to the Greatness of his Family ; his Father, being a covetous Man, by the Persuasion of some Counsellors, who nourish'd that Vice in him, reduced him only to one Servant, who, before, had many Attendants. They who had undertaken to kill *Murray*, were sent to several Prisons ; *Bothwel* to *Edinburgh* Castle, *Gawin* to *Sterlin*, till their Cause was try'd ; *Arran* was sent to *St. Andrew's* (where the Queen was going) to be kept in the Archbishop's Castle. In that place, during his lucid Intervals, he wrote such wise and prudent Letters to the Queen, concerning himself and others, that many were suspicious he had counterfeited himself mad, only to free his Father from the Treason : As for the rest, he constantly and sharply accus'd them ; inasmuch that when he was brought to the Council, and so private a Conspiracy could not be proved by other Testimonies, he proffer'd to fight with *Bothwel* himself. About the same time, *James Hamilton*, *Arran's* Father, first wrote, and after that came to *St. Andrew's* to the Queen, earnestly desiring her to take Sureties for his Son, *Bothwel*, and *Gawin Hamilton*, and leave them to him ; but he could not be heard. At the same time also, the Queen took *Dunbarton* Castle, the strongest in all *Scotland*, which *Hamilton* had held ever since he was Regent. *George Gordon*, being an Enemy to *Murray*, was now grown to a far greater Hate of *Hamilton*, his

Son's Father-in-Law, who was accus'd of so manifest a Crime, and almost convicted of it : he thought now, he had a good Opportunity to rid his Enemy out of the Way, especially when two such noble Families were joined to his Side. And first, he caus'd a Tumult to be rais'd in the Town, then but thin of Company, by his own Friends, hoping that *Murray* would come out from the Court, to appease it by his Authority ; and then, being unarm'd, he might be easily slain in the Crowd. This Project did not succeed as he would have it ; and therefore he sent some of his Followers arm'd into the Court to do the Fact : They entered in the Evening, and were to kill *Murray*, as he was returning to his Lodging from the Queen, who was wont to keep him late at Night : That time seem'd fittest, both to commit the Fact, and to escape after it was committed. When the Matter was discovered to *Murray*, he would not have believ'd it, unless he had seen it with his Eyes ; and therefore he got some few of his most faithful Friends (to prevent all Suspicion) and took one or two of the *Gordons* in their Armour, as he grop'd with his Hand in the Passage. The Matter being brought to the Queen, *Gordon* was sent for, who pretended that some of his Retinue, that were just going home, had arm'd themselves ; but, upon some Occasion or other, were detain'd : This Excuse was rather receiv'd, than approved of ; and so they departed for that time. That Summer, by the Mediation of Embassadors on both Sides, it was propos'd, That the Queen of *Scotland* and *England* should have an Interview at *York*, there to debate many Controversies ; but when they were almost ready for their Journey, the Matter was put off till another time. The Cause of deferring the Conference was vulgarly reported to be, that the Duke *D'Aumale*, one of the Brothers of the *Guises*, had intercepted and open'd the Letters of the *English* Embassador, then at the *French* Court ; and that by his means, principally, the *English* Ship, which carried another Embassador, was taken and plunder'd. For these Wrongs and Injuries, Matters being likely to come to a War with *France*, the Queen went from *St. Andrew's* to *Edinburgh*, and sent *Arran* thither too, clapping him up Prisoner in the Castle. In the mean time, *James*, her Brother, went to *Hawick*, a great Market-Town in those Parts, and there he surpriz'd fifty of the chief Banditti, which were met together, not dreaming of his coming ; which struck such a Terror into the rest, throughout all that Tract, that the whole Country was quieter for some time after. But as that Action procured him the Love and Reverence of good Men, so did it daily more and more excite the Minds of the Envious to his Destruction ; for, three very potent Families had plotted his Ruin, and the Accession of the *Guises* to that Plot made a fourth ;

fourth; for they being willing to restore the old Popish Religion, and knowing they could never effect it, as long as *Murray* was alive, employ'd their utmost Endeavours to remove him out of the way. Many concurrent Circumstances contributed to make the Attempt seem feasible; especially because the *French*, who had accompanied the Queen to *Scotland*, being return'd home, had related what great Interest and Power *Gordon* had; how unquiet his Mind was, and what Promises of Assistance he had made, to introduce the Mass: All these things they aggravated in their Discourse, to the height. Then the Matter was debated by the Papists in the *French* Court, and this way of effecting it resolv'd upon: They write to the Queen to cherish the mad Spirit of *Gordon*, by large Promises, That she should rather pretend than promise, to marry *John* his Son; that so being hoodwink'd with that Hope, they might lead him whither they pleas'd: And also they gave her the Names of those in a List, whom they had a mind should be destroyed. Besides, Letters from the Pope and Cardinal were sent to her, to the same Effect: For, whereas her Revenue was not sufficient to maintain that immoderate Luxury, to which she had used herself, she craved some pecuniary Aid of the Pope, under a Pretence of managing a War against those who had revolted from the Church of *Rome*. The Pope wrote something obscurely, but the Cardinal plainly, That she should not want Money for that War; yet so, that those must be first kill'd, whose Names were given her in a Scroll.

THE Queen shew'd these Letters to *Murray*, and to the rest design'd for the Slaughter; either because she thought, they would have some Notice of it another way; or else, to make them believe she was sincere towards them, as not hiding from them any of her secret Counsels. Thereupon, all other things being fitted for the Attempt, the Queen pretended a great Desire to visit the Parts of *Scotland* which lie Northwards; and *Gordon* promoted her Desire, by his forward Invitation. At last, when she came to *Aberdeen*, August 13, *Gordon's* Wife, a Woman of a manly Spirit and Cunning, used all her Art to sift out the Queen's Mind, both to know her secret Thoughts, and also to incline them to her own Party: She knew well enough, that the Designs of Princes are alterable by small Moments, many times; neither was she ignorant, how the Queen stood affected a little before, towards both of them, *Murray* and *Gordon* too; for she, hating them both, had sometimes deliberated privately with herself, which of them she should destroy first: She could not bear with the Innocency of *Murray*, as being a Curb to her Licentiousness; and as for *Gordon*, she had experienced his Perfidiousness against her Father first, and next her Mother; and

besides, she feared his Power: But the Letters of her Uncles and the Pope urg'd her rather to destroy *Murray*. *Gordon* was not ignorant of the Matter; and therefore, to cast the Balance, he promised by his Wife to restore the *Roman* Religion. The Queen was glad of that; yet there was one Impediment, and that no great one, which kept her from assenting to him; and that was, that she did not think it to stand with her Honour, to be reconciled to *John*, his Son (who a few Days before had been committed to Prison for a Tumult raised at *Edinburgh*, but had made his Escape) unless he returned to *Sterlin*, to be there a Prisoner of State, at least for a few Days. The Queen insisted upon this, not so much for that Cause which was pretended, as that she might have her Way clear, when *Murray* was kill'd, and might not be compell'd to marry, when her Lover was absent. *Gordon* was willing to satisfy the Queen, yet made some Scruple to give up his Son as a Pledge, into the Hands of a Man, who was the most adverse of all others, to his Designs (and that was *John*, Earl of *Marr*, *Murray's* Uncle, Governor of *Sterlin* Castle) especially being uncertain how the Queen would take the Murder, when it was committed. Whilst these cunning Wits endeavour'd to impose one upon another, and were mutually suspicious, the Queen affirming, that the Delay was not on her part, that the Matter was not dispatch'd; and yet she us'd no Expedition neither; *John Gordon*, to shew himself officious, and to watch all Events, had got together about a thousand of his Friends and Tenants well arm'd, and had quarter'd them up and down in the Neighbourhood near the Town. But *Murray*, though he had not much help at hand, and saw that all these things were prepared for his Ruin, for he had had Advices of it by his Friends, both from the *French* and *English* Courts; neither plac'd he much Confidence in the Queen; yet (in the Day-time) he perform'd his usual Services in the Court; and at Night had only one or two of his Servants to watch in his Chamber; and, being often inform'd of the Plots of his Enemies against him, yet, by the Help of his Friends, he disappointed all their Purposes, without any Noise.

ABOUT the same time, *Bothwel* was let down by a Rope out of a Window, and so escaped from the Castle of *Edinburgh*. Matters were put to a stand at *Aberdeen*, by reason of the Disimulation on both sides. And the Queen, intending to make a further Progress, was invited by *John Lesly*, a Nobleman, and Client of *Gordon's*, to his House, about twelve Miles off: That being a lonesome Place, seem'd fit to the *Gordons* to commit the Murder: But *Lesly*, who knew their secret Design, intreated them not to put that Brand of Infamy on him-

himself and his Family, that he of all Men should betray the Queen's Brother, a Man not otherwise bad, against whom he had no private Grudge. The next Night they spent quietly enough at *Rothymay*, a Town of the *Abernethies*, because the Day after they determined to lodge at *Strabog*, a Castle of the *Gordons*; so that they deferr'd the Murder till that time, because there All would be in their Power. In their Journey, *Gordon* had a long Discourse with the Queen; and at last he came to this, plainly to desire the Queen to pardon his Son *John*; that, being a young Man, and ignorant of the Laws, he had made his Escape out of Prison, into which he was cast for no heinous Offence, only for a Commotion, which was not raised by him neither. But the Queen urged, that her Authority would be vilified, unless his Son would return, at least for some Days, into another Prison, tho' a larger one; that so his former Fault being, as it were, expiated, he might be discharged in a handsomer way. Tho' it was but a slight Command, yet *Gordon*, who was unwilling to lose the Opportunity of committing the designed Fact, obstinately refused to comply with it, either because he might cast the Blame of the Murder upon his Son, if the Queen did not approve it when it was done; or because, if the thing should be done in the Absence of his Son, tho' she was not unwilling, yet he should be kept as an Hostage. The Queen was so much offended at this Stubbornness of *Gordon*, that when she was almost in Sight of his House, she turn'd aside another way. So that the whole Plot, so wisely contriv'd, as they thought, was now quite thrown off the Hinges, till they came to *Inverness*: For there, besides *Gordon's* being Lord President for the Administration of Justice, he also commanded the Queen's Castle, which was seated on an high Hill, and commanded the Town; and besides, the whole Country thereabouts were his Vassals. The Queen determin'd to lodge in the Castle, but was not suffer'd by the Guards. Being thus excluded, she began to fear, in regard she was to lodge in an unfortified Town; and, in the mean time, *Huntley's* Son had about a thousand choice Horse now in Arms, besides a promiscuous Multitude from the Parts adjacent. But the Queen, taking Counsel from her present Circumstances, set a Watch at all the Avenues of the Town: She commanded the Ships which had brought her Provisions, to ride ready in the River, that, if her Guards were beaten off, she might have Retreat to them. In the midst of the Night, some Scouts were sent out by *Huntley*; and the first Watch let them pass on purpose, till they came to a narrow Passage; there they were all surrounded and taken; and among the Highlanders the *Mackintoshes* Tribe, as soon as they understood they were to fight against

the Queen, forsook *Huntley*, and came to her the Day after, into the Town. A great Multitude of the Highlanders, when they heard of the Danger of their Prince, partly by Persuasion, and partly of their own accord, came in, and especially the *Frazers* and *Mourroes*, valiant Families in those Countries. The Queen, now being secure against any Force, began to besiege the Castle: The besieged were not enough in Number, neither was the Place well fortified, or prepared to bear a Siege, so that it was surrender'd to her: The chief Persons that defended it were put to Death; the rest were sent to their own Homes. The Nobility came in from all Parts; upon the coming of some, others were permitted to go home: So, on the fourth Day after, with a Guard strong enough, she return'd to *Aberdeen*. There, being freed from Fear, she was mightily inflam'd with Hatred against *Gordon*; and being eager for Revenge, she again receiv'd her Brother, outwardly, into her Favour, pretending that her Dependence was wholly on him: Nay, she endeavoured to persuade others, that her Safety and her own Life was bound up in his. Hereupon *Gordon*, perceiving that the whole Face of the Court was alter'd; that the Earl of *Murray*, lately design'd for the Slaughter, was now in great Favour; and that himself was fallen from the top of his aspiring Hopes, and made the Object of a mortal Hatred: And thinking he was gone farther than would admit of a Retreat or Pardon, betook himself to desperate Counsels: He thought no Remedy better for his present Danger, than by all means to get the Queen into his Power: And tho' he knew he should grievously offend her at present by the Attempt, yet he did not despair but a Woman's Heart might be made flexible in time, by Observance, Flattery, and the Marriage of his Son, of which her Uncles were supposed to be the Contrivers.

THIS Design he communicated to his Friends, and resolved, by some Means or other, to remove *Murray* out of the way; for if that was but once done, there was none besides, to whom the Queen would commit the Government; or who was able to manage it. His Spies gave him Hopes, that the Thing was feasible; and, amongst others, *George Gordon*, Earl of *Sutherland*, who was a daily Attendant at Court, and, pretending good Will to the Queen, fished out all her Counsels, and, by Messengers proper for the purpose, acquainted *Huntley* with them: Nay, he did not only observe the Opportunity of Time and Place, but also promised his Assistance to effect it. Besides, the Town lay open on every side, and expos'd to any private Attempt; the Inhabitants either won by Bribery, or joined by Alliances, or, terrified by Danger, would attempt nothing to the contrary. The Highlanders were dismiss'd; with the Earl of *Murray* there
were

were but a few, and they too came from remote Parts, whom he did not much fear to disoblige: And, seeing all the neighbouring Countries were in his Power, the Matter might be transacted without Bloodshed, and only one Man's Death might put the Queen into his Hands; the other Wounds might be easily cured. These things drove him on to attempt the Matter: And when the way to accomplish it was ready fix'd, some Letters of the Earl of *Sutherland* and *John Lesly* were intercepted, which discover'd the whole Intrigue. *Sutherland*, upon the Discovery, fled for it; but *Lesly* acknowledg'd his Fault, and obtain'd Pardon, and ever after, as long as he liv'd, perform'd true and faithful Service, first to the Queen, then to the King. *Huntley*, who with a great Body of Men, waited the Event of his Design, in a Place almost inaccessible, by reason of the Marshes that lay round there, by the Advice of his Friends determin'd to retreat to the Mountains; but many of the neighbouring Nobility then with the Queen, being his Friends, he trusted to their Promises, and therefore alter'd his Resolution, and determin'd to abide the Success of a Battle in that advantageous Place. *Murray* had scarce an hundred Horse in which he could confide; but there follow'd him of the Nobles then present, *James Douglas*, Earl of *Morton*, and *Patrick Lindsey*; with these he march'd forth against the Enemy; the rest were Countrymen of the Neighbourhood, gathered together, about 800, whom *Huntley* for the most part had corrupted before, and were more likely to draw on *Murray's* Men to their Ruin, than to give them any Aid; yet they made mighty boast, and were mighty big in their Expressions, promising, that they themselves without any other Help, would subdue the Enemy; and that others should have nothing to do but to look on, and stand as Spectators of their Actions. Some Horsemen were sent before to guard all Passages about the Marsh, that *Huntley* might not escape: The rest march'd softly after; and tho' the Night before, many of the *Gordonians* had slip'd away, yet he had still with him above 300 Men, maintaining themselves in their Posts. When *Murray* came thither, he stood with his Party in Rank and Order, on a small Hill, where he overlook'd all the Marsh; the rest, as they were advancing towards the Enemy, gave evident Tokens of Treachery, putting Boughs of Heath in their Caps (for that Plant grows in abundance in those Parts) that they might be known by the Enemy. When they came near, the *Huntleians*, secure of the Success, hasten to them, and seeing the adverse Army disorder'd by the Traitors, and put to flight, that they might more nimbly pursue them, they threw away their Lances, and with their drawn Swords, to terrify those Ranks that stood, they cried out *Treason, Treason*, and pour'd in with great Violence upon the Enemy.

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The Traitors, thinking that they should also put to flight the standing Party, made haste towards it : But *Murray*, perceiving no Hope in flight, and that nothing remain'd but to die nobly, cried out to his Party, to hold out their Lances, and not to let those that were running away, come in amongst them. They, being thus unexpectedly excluded from both Wings, pass'd by in great Disorder. But the *Huntleams*, who now thought the Matter ended, and the Victory sure, when they saw a Party, though but small, standing in a terrible manner, with their Pikes forward, they, who were making towards them in Confusion, and quite out of Order, and could not come in to Handy-blows, by reason of the length of their Spears, being struck with a sudden Terror, fled as swiftly as they had pursued before. The Revolvers, perceiving this Change of Fortune, press'd upon them in their Flight, and, as if willing to make amends for their former Fault, they were the Men that made all the Slaughter of the Day. There were 120 of the *Huntleams* slain, and 100 taken Prisoners ; not so much as a Man of the other Army was lost. Among the Prisoners were *Huntley* himself, and his two Sons, *John* and *Adam* : The Father being an old Man, fat and corpulent, died in the Hands of those who took him ; the rest were brought to *Aberdeen* late at Night. *Murray* had appointed a Minister of the Gospel to wait for his Return ; where in the first place he gave Thanks to God Almighty, who, out of his Mercy alone, beyond all Men's Expectation, without any Strength or Wisdom of his own, had deliver'd him and his Men out of so imminent a Danger : Afterwards he went to the Court, where, tho' many congratulated him, yet the Queen gave no sign of Joy at all, either in her Speech, or her Countenance.

A few Days after, *John Gordon* was put to Death, who was generally pitied and lamented : For he was a Manly Youth, very beautiful, and entering on the prime of his Age ; not so much design'd for the Royal Bed, as deceived by the Pretence of it, and that which moved no less Indignation than Pity was, that he was beheaded by an unskilful Headsman. The Queen beheld his Death with many Tears, but as she was prone to conceal and counterfeit Affections, so various Descants were made upon her Grief and Passion ; and the rather because most People knew that she hated her Brother no less than *Huntley*. *Adam* was pardoned as being a Youth : *George* the eldest Son, in this desperate Case, fled from his House to his Father-in-law *James Hamilton*, there to shelter himself, or else to obtain his Pardon through his Mediation. As for *Gordon's* Followers, just as the Degrees of their Offences were, more or less, some were Fin'd, others Banish'd the Land ; others were sent in remote Parts of the Kingdom, that they might raise no more

more Commotions at Home: Those who had the good Fortune to have powerful Intercessors, were pardoned their Offences, and taken into former Grace and Favour: Matters being thus settled, or at least appeased for the present, the rest of the Winter was spent in Peace.

THE 27th Day of *November*, *Bothwel*, who had escap'd out of Prison, was by a Proclamation commanded to render himself again, and he not obeying was declared a publick Enemy. When the Queen was returned from *Aberdeen* to *St. Johnstons*, *James Hamilton* came to her, to beg Pardon for *George Gordon*, his Son-in-law: And though he had a Gracious Answer, yet he was forced to give up his Son-in-law, who was sent Prisoner to *Dunbar*; and the next Year after, which was 1563, on the 26th of *January*, was brought to *Edinburgh*, there condemned for Treason, and sent back to *Dunbar*.

'Twas about this time that there came out a Proclamation, That no Flesh should be eaten in Lent, on the Penalty of a Fine. The Pretence was (not any thing of Religion but) civil Advantage only: The Archbishop of *St. Andrew's*, because he did not forbear to hear and say Mass, after the Edict made at the coming in of the Queen, was committed Prisoner to the Castle of *Edinburgh*: Others, guilty of the same Fault, were punished but slightly, yet were threatned to be more severely treated, if they offended in the like sort again.

AND now came the Day for the Session of Parliament, which was summon'd to be held the 20th Day of *May*, where the Queen, with the Crown on her Head, and in her Royal Robes, went in great Pomp to the Parliament-House, a new Sight to many; but that Men had been accusom'd to bear the Government of Women in their Mother's and Grand-mother's Days. In that Assembly some Statutes were made in Favour of the Reformed, and some Coiners were punish'd. The Queen spent the rest of the Summer, in *Atbol*, where she took the Diversion of Hunting.

AT the end of *Autumn*, *Matthew Stuart*, Earl of *Lenox*, by the Queen's Leave, returned to *Scotland*, having been unworthily deserted by the King of *France*, the 22d Year after his Departure, as I said before: And the next Year, which was 1564, in the Month of *January*, at a Convention of the Estates, held almost on purpose for that very thing, his Banishment was remitted, and his Goods restored, the Queen seconding that Remission with many favourable Words, and repeating the many great Services the Earl had done her in her very Infancy; she having been delivered out of her Enemies Hands, and advanc'd to her Throne by his means. Afterwards, *Henry* his Son, came out of *England* into *Scotland*, on the 12th of *February*, having there

there obtained a Convoy for three Months. The Queen of *Scots* receiv'd this young Man very graciously, being of high Descent, very beautiful, the Son of her Aunt; she took Delight daily in his Company, and the common Saying was, that she would marry him; neither was the Nobility against it, because they saw many Advantages might redound to *Britain* by that Marriage, if it could be made with the Queen of *England's* Consent; both of them were allied to her in an equal Degree of Consanguinity; and she was so far from being against it, that she was willing rather to seem the Author of it, and so to lay some Obligation upon her in making the Match; besides, *Elizabeth* thought it for her own Advantage, to humble the Power of her Relation, by this condescending Marriage, that it might not swell beyond what was safe and fit for Neighbours. But when all was concluded on, there fell out an unlucky Business, which a little retarded all, and turn'd every thing as it were upside down: To make it plain, I must deduce the Original Story a little higher.

THERE was one *David Rizio*, born at *Turin* in *Savoy*, his Father being honest, but poor, got a mean Livelihood for himself and Family, by teaching young People the first Grounds of Musick; and having no other Patrimony to leave his Children, he made them all, of both Sexes, skilful Musicians. *David* was one of them, who, being in the prime of his Youth, and having a Voice, placed some Hopes in his Art of bettering his Fortune: He went to *Nice* to the Duke of *Savoy's* Court, which Place that Duke had newly obtained; but, meeting with no Entertainment there, answerable to his Hopes, contriving every way to relieve himself in his Penury, it was his Chance to light upon *Morettius*, who, by the Duke's Command, was then preparing for a Voyage to *Scotland*, and he accompanied him into *Scotland*; but *Morettius* being a Man of no great Estate, and looking upon his Service as unnecessary and useless, he resolv'd to stay in *Scotland*, and try his Fortune there, especially because he had heard, that the Queen took a great delight in Musick, and was not ignorant of the Grounds of it herself. Well, to make way to her Presence, he first dealt with her Musicians, of which many were *French*, to admit him into their Society, which they did; and, having play'd his Part once or twice, was lik'd very well; whereupon he was made one of their Set and Company; and he so complied with the Queen's Humour, that, partly flattering her, and partly by undermining others, he grew high in her Favour and got him the extream Hatred and Envy of his Fellow Musicians: Neither was he content with this favourable turn of Fortune; but he despised his Equals too, and by sly Insinuations and Accusations, worm'd them

them out of their Places ; then he rose higher, and began to treat about Matters of State, and by degrees was made Secretary ; and by that means had opportunity of private Converse with the Queen, apart from others.

THE sudden Advancement of this Man from a low and almost beggarly Estate, to so much Power, Wealth and Dignity, afforded Matter of Discourse to the People : His Fortune was above his Virtue ; and his Arrogance, Contempt of his Equals, and Contention with his Superiours, were above his Fortune. This Vanity and Madness of the Man was much encreas'd and nourish'd by the Flattery of the Nobility ; who sought his Friendship, courted him, admired his Judgment, walked before his Lodgings, and observ'd his Levy : But *Murray* alone, who had no Dissimulation in his Heart, was so far from fawning on him, that he gave him many a froward Look, which troubled the Queen, as much as *David* himself ; but he, on the other side, to uphold himself in his Station, against the Hatred of the Nobility, applied himself with great Adulation to the young Gentleman who was to be the Queen's Husband ; so that he came to be so familiar with him, as to be admitted to his Chamber and Bed-side, and to a secret Conference with him ; where, taking the Advantage of his unwary Credulity and Forwardness to compass his Desires, he persuaded him, that he was the chief Occasion of the Queen's placing her Eye upon him : Besides, he threw in Seeds of Discord betwixt him and *Murray* every Day, as knowing, that if he was but remov'd, he should pass the Residue of his Life without any Affront or Disturbance.

THERE was now much Talk abroad, not only of the Queen's Marriage with *Henry*, and his secret Recourse to her ; but also of the too great Familiarity betwixt her and *David Rizio* : *Murray*, who by his plain, downright Advice to his Sister, got nothing but her Ill-will, resolv'd to leave the Court, that so he might not be thought the Author of what was acted there. And the Queen was willing enough, that so severe a Supervisor of her Actions should withdraw, especially in a Season, whilst she was strengthening the contrary Faction : For she recall'd those who were banish'd, *Bothwel* from *France* ; *George Gordon* Earl of *Sutherland*, from *Flanders* : She deliver'd the other *Goerge Gordon*, Son to the Earl of *Huntley*, out of Prison, and restor'd him to his former Place and Dignity. When *Bothwel* was return'd from *France*, *Murray* accuses him of the treacherous Practices he had lately committed against him : Some of those Noblemen and Gentlemen, who were his Familiars in *France*, were Witnesses against him. The Matter was clear and heinous, to a Degree of Enormity. A Day was appointed for the Tryal ; but the Queen first dealt earnestly with her Brother, to desist from
the

the Prosecution ; which he refus'd, judging his Credit to be much at stake, which way soever the Balance inclin'd. What did the Queen do next, but write Letters to many of the Nobility, not to appear at the Time appointed : And, as *Alexander*, Earl of *Glencarn*, *Murray's* intimate Friend, was passing by *Sterlin*, she sent for him out of the Way to her ; yet all good Men were so well agreed in the Case, that *Bothwel* being prejudg'd and condemn'd beforehand in his own Conscience, and mov'd with the general Detestation of the wicked Attempt, durst not abide the Tryal. This Favour of the People to *Murray*, so enraged the Queen's Mind against him, that she hasten'd his, long before design'd, End ; and the Manner she took to accomplish it, was this ; *Murray* was to be sent for to *Perth*, where the Queen was with a few Attendants : There *Darnly* was to discourse him ; and in the Conference they all knew he would speak his Mind freely ; and then a Quarrel would arise ; upon which *David Rizio* was to give him the first Blow, then the rest were to wound him to Death. *Murray* was made acquainted with this Conspiracy by his Friends at Court, yet come what would on't, he resolv'd to go : But, as he was on his Journey, being again advis'd by *Patrick Ruven*, he turn'd aside to his Mother's House, near *Loch Leven*, and, being troubled with a Lask, excused himself, and staid there. Some of his Friends came thither to visit him ; upon which a Report was presently spread, that he staid there to intercept the Queen and *Darnly* in their Return to *Edinburgh* ; whereupon Horsemen were sent out, but they discover'd no Men in Arms, or sign of any Force, yet the Queen made such haste, and was so fearful in this Journey, as if some great Danger had been near.

THE Marriage was now at hand, and a great part of the Nobility called together at *Sterlin*, that the Queen might countenance her Will and Pleasure with some Pretence of publick Consent. Most of those they sent for were such as they knew would easily give their Assent ; or else that durst not oppose. Many of those so congregated, assented to the Motion, provided always that no Alteration should be made in the then established Religion ; but the most part complied without any Exception, to gratify the Queen ; only *Andrew Stuart* of *Ochilzry* openly profess'd, that he would never give his Consent to the Admission of a Popish King. As for *Murray*, he was not averse to the Marriage (for he was the first Adviser, that the young Man should be called out of *England*) but he foresaw what Tumults it would occasion, provided it should be celebrated without the Consent of the Queen of *England* : Besides, he promised to procure her Consent, that so all Things might go on favourably, Privision being made about Religion ; but, perceiving

ceiving that there would be no Freedom of Debate in that Convention, he chose rather to be absent, than to declare his Opinion, which might prove destructive to himself, and no way advantageous to the Commonwealth.

MOREOVER, there was a Question started and discoursed amongst the Vulgar, Whether the Queen, upon her Husband's Death, might not marry any other Man, whom she pleased? Some were of Opinion, That a Queen might have the same Freedom, as People even of the Commonalty have: Others on the contrary affirmed, That the Case was different in reference to Heirs of Kingdoms, where, at one and the same time, an Husband were to be taken to a Wife, and a King to be given to the People; and that it was far more equitable, that all the People should provide an Husband for *one* young Queen, than that *one* young Queen should chuse a King for *all* the People.

In the Month of *July* came an Embassador from *England*, who declar'd, that his Mistress could not help wondering, that since they were both equally ally'd to her, they should precipitate so great an Affair without acquainting her with it; and therefore she earnestly desired, that they would stay a little while, and weigh the thing a little more seriously, to the great Advantage, probably, of both Kingdoms. This Embassy had no Effect: Upon that Sir *Nicholas Throgmorton* was sent by the Queen of *England*, to tell *Lenox* and his Son, that they had a Convoy from her, to return at a set Day; and that Day was now past, and therefore she commanded them to return; and if they did not, they were to be banish'd and their Goods confiscated. They were not at all terrify'd with these Threats; but persisted in their purpose. In the mean time, the Queen being sensible, that it would seem a very incongruous Match, if she who was lately the Wife of a great King, and besides, the Heiress of an illustrious Kingdom, should marry a private young Man, who had no Title of Honour conferr'd upon him, she made an Edict, proclaiming *Darnly Duke of Rothsea*, and Earl of *Ross*. Moreover, the Predictions of wizardly Women, in both Kingdoms, contributed very much to hasten the Marriage: These, it seems, prophesy'd, that if it was consummated before the End of *July*, it would prove of much future Advantage to them both; if not, of much Reproach and Ignominy. Besides, Rumours were spread abroad of the Death of the Queen of *England*, and the Day mention'd, before which she should die. Which Prediction seem'd not so much to divine Things, as to declare a Conspiracy of her Subjects against her. This also added much to the Queen's Haste; she knew her Uncles would be averse to the Marriage; and if it should be longer delay'd, she

the fear'd they would find out some new Obstacle, and break off the Match, which was upon the Point of being concluded.

FOR when the secret Degree and Resolution was made, to carry on the *Holy War* thro' all *Christendom*, and *Guise* was appointed General of the League to extirpate the Reform'd Religion, it made him have high and ambitious Hopes, and therefore he determin'd by his Sister's Daughter, so to trouble *Britain* with domestick Tumults, that they should not be able to aid their Friends beyond Sea. And *David*, who could then do most with the Queen, urg'd, That the Marriage would be highly advantageous to all *Christendom*, because *Henry Darnly* and his Father were stiff Maintainers of the Popish Religion, and very gracious in both Kingdoms, ally'd to great Families, and had large Clans under their Command. This being long debated, was at last carried; for he knew that if the Marriage was made by the Consent of the Queen of *England*, and the Nobility of *Scotland*, he should incur two great Disadvantages: One, that he should be no ways in favour, as before; and the other, that the Reformed Religion would be secur'd. But if the Queen adher'd to the Council of *Trent*, then he promised Honours, Ecclesiastical Dignities, Heaps of Money, and unrival'd Power, to himself: So that, turning every Stone, he at last procur'd that the Marriage should be hasten'd; tho' the *Scots* were not much for it, and the *English* were very much against it.

Note, That the Name of Henry as join'd with Mary, in the Title, tho' before their Marriage, is accounted for at the Close of the Catalogue of the Scottish Kings, prefix'd before the Body of this History.

MARY and HENRY STUART.

Henry Stuart was marry'd to *Mary Stuart*, July 29th; and *O-Tes* being made, Proclamation of it was publicly read, with the Applause of the Multitude, *God save Henry and Mary, King and Queen of Scotland*; and the Day after, they were proclaim'd in like manner by an Herald at *Edinburgh*. This Affair gave mighty Offence to the Nobility, and to the Commons too; nay, some fretted and openly storm'd, That 'twas a thing of the worst Example that ever was: For to what purpose was it to call a Council about constituting a King, and never to ask their Advice, nor to comply with their Authority; but to set up an Herald instead of a Senate, and a Proclamation for a Statute of Parliament or Order of Council? So that it was not (said they) a Consultation, but an Essay rather, how the *Scots* would bear the Yoke of Tyranny. The Absence of so many Nobles encreas'd the Suspicion: The chief Nobility were away, as, *James*, Duke of *Castle-berault*, *Gilespy* Earl of *Argyle*, *James* Earl of *Murray*,
Alexander

*Alexander Earl of Glencarn, Andrew Earl of Rothes, and many others of rich and noble Families. Heralds were sent to them to come in; which they not doing, were banish'd, and went most of them into Argyle, and their Enemies were recall'd to Court. The King and Queen having got as many Forces together, as they thought were sufficient to subdue the Rebels, came with 4000 Men to Glasgow. The Rebels kept at Paisley, where various Consultations were held, according to the Disposition of the Parties. The King and Queen sent an Herald at Arms to have the Castle of Hamilton surrender'd to them; which not being done, they prepar'd themselves for the Fight. The contrary Faction was at Variance one with another, and divided into several Opinions. The Hamiltons, who had the greatest Power in those Parts, were of Opinion, that no firm Peace could be made till the King and Queen were both taken out of the way; as long as they were safe, nothing could be expected but new Wars, continual Plots, and a counterfeit Peace, worse than an open War: 'Private Men (said they) may forget Injuries offered them, being weary of prosecuting them; yea, sometimes they are recompens'd with great Advantages; but the Wrath of Princes is not to be quench'd, but by Death alone. But Murray and Glencarn, who understood that their Discourse was not founded on the good of the Publick, but their private Advantage (for upon the Queen's Death, they were the next Heirs to the Crown) did equally abhor the Prince's Death, and Hamilton's Government, which they had lately experienc'd to be avaritious and cruel: So that they were for milder Counsels; and, in regard 'twas a civil Dissension, in which, as yet, there had been no Blood shed; the Disputes having been hitherto manag'd by Votes, not Arms, they thought fit, if possible, to end it by an honest Agreement. They thought many in the King's Army would hearken to such a Proposal, as being desirous of Peace; and would not be wanting to plead for those, that, in Defence of their Liberties, were forc'd to take up Arms. As for the King and Queen, they being yet young, might not perhaps be so provident; however they had not yet so far transgress'd as to endanger the Common-wealth; as for private Vices, which affected their own Names and Reputations only, it was fitter they were cured by other Remedies than Death; For they remember'd it was an old Caution transmitted to them from their Ancestors, for their Observation, *That hidden Vices ought to be overlook'd in the Lives and Manners of Princes; That those that would bear a double Construction, ought to be taken in the best Sense; and their open ones so far born with, as they did not endanger the Ruin of the Publick.* This Opinion pleased the most, and the rest of the Hamiltons acquiesc'd in it, and resolv'd*

to be quiet; only *James*, Chief of their Family, with sixteen Horse, remained with the Nobility, who being lessened by the Recess of the *Hamiltons*, were not able to give Battle to the Enemy, nor yet to break thro', each to his own Clan; and therefore they complied with the Necessity of the Times, and came that Night to *Hamilton*, and the next Day to *Edinburgh*, to consult how to manage the War: But, in regard the Castle, which commanded the Town, continually play'd upon them, and their Friends could not come in so soon from remote Parts, as was requisite; and moreover, the King and Queen were reported to be near them with their Forces: They, by the great Persuasions and Promises of *John Maxwell* of *Herreis*, directed their Course towards *Dumfreiz*. The King and Queen returned back to *Glasgow*, and left the Earl of *Lenox*, their Lieutenant, in the Country towards the South-West: They themselves went afterwards to *Sterlin*, and thence into the Middle of *Fife*. They made the greatest part of the Nobility take an Oath, That, if any Commotion arose from *England*, they would faithfully oppose it; the rest were punish'd, some by Fine, some by Banishment. The Goods of those, who fled into *England*, where-ever they could find them, were seiz'd upon, and they appointed Commissioners of *Oyer* and *Terminer*, to be held in all Counties, to enquire into the Remains of the Rebellion.

ON the 9th of *October*, they drew out their Army from *Edinburgh*, and march'd towards *Dumfreiz*. *Maxwel*, who till that time had pretended to be deeply in with the Party which was against the King, thinking it now a fit Opportunity to make his own Market, went out to meet them, as if he would have interceded for a general Pardon. He dealt with them to have part of his Father-in-law's Estate, which he had a great Mind to: They look'd upon him as an active subtil Man, fit for Counsel and Business, and granted his Request: Then he return'd to the Rebels, and told them, he could do them no good; and therefore they must all shift for themselves; *England* was near at hand, if they would retire thither, after he had settled his Affairs at home he would follow them, and live and die with the Party. In the interim he got a thousand Pounds of *Murray*, upon the account of Money, which he alledg'd he had expended in listing some Horse: for being commanded to raise some few Troops of Horse, he caused all his Domesticks to appear, as if they had been Soldiers formally listed. The Rebels were put in an universal Consternation at the Appearance of the King and Queen, and at *Maxwel's* Revolt from them; so that the King and Queen did what they pleas'd: They drove away most of the Leaders of the Faction, and the rest were intent on the Event of their Danger; so that about the End of *October*, they

they return'd to *Edinburgh*, and all things were quiet in *Scotland* till the beginning of the next ensuing Spring.

A Convention of all the Estates of the Kingdom was summon'd to be held in *March*; that so the Goods of those who were banish'd might be confiscated; their Names struck out of the Roll of the Nobility, and their Coats of Arms, and Trophies of Honour torn in Pieces; neither of which the Kings of *Scotland* can lawfully do, without an Act of Parliament. In the interim, *David*, perceiving the Court to be quite empty of Nobility, and thinking it an Opportunity to shew and declare the excessive Reach of his Power, put the Queen upon severe Councils, daily pressing her to cut off some of the chief of the Faction; if a few of them (said he) were executed, the rest would be quiet: And, as he thought, the Queen's Guard, being *Scotts-men*, would not easily consent to the cruel Murder of the Nobility, he was very intent to have them thrown out of their Places, and to introduce Foreigners in their Room (a Project that is wont to be the beginning of all Tyranny;) first, mention was made of sending for some *Germans* over for that Service; because that Nation was remarkably Loyal to its Princes: But, when *David* had consider'd seriously with himself, he thought it conduced to his Interest to have *Italians*; first, Because, being his Countrymen, he presumed they would be more at his Devotion; next, That being Men of no Religion, they would be fitter to make Disturbances; so that, he thought they might easily be induc'd to venture upon any Design, right or wrong; for, being wicked and indigent Persons, born and bred up under Tyrants us'd to War, and far from their own Home, they would not care what became of *Britain*, and therefore seem'd the most proper Instruments to attempt Innovations. Then Soldiers of Fortune were privately sent for out of *Flanders* and other Countries of the Continent; but they were to come by piece-meal, as 'twere one by one, and at several times too, that the Design might not be detected: *It would be more dangerous* (said he) *to offend any one of those Russians, than the Queen herself.*

BUT, as *David's* Power and Authority with the Queen daily increas'd, so the King grew daily cheaper with her; for, as she had been rashly precipitate in making the Marriage; so she as soon repented, and gave manifest Tokens of an alter'd Mind. For, as presently after the Marriage was celebrated, she had publickly proclaim'd him King by an Herald, without the Consent of the States, and afterwards, in all her Mandates, till that time, the King and Queen's Name were express'd, she began to change the Order, keeping both Names in, but setting her own first. At length, the Queen, to deprive her Husband of all opportunity of doing Kindnesses for any, found fault with him; that,

whilst he was busy in Hawking and Hunting, many State Matters were unseasonably carried on, or else were wholly omitted ; and therefore it would be better that she might subscribe her Name for them both ; and, by this means, he might enjoy his Pleasure, and yet no publick Business be retarded. He was willing to gratify her in every thing, and yielded to be dismiss'd upon such frivolous Grounds, that so, being remote from the Council and Privy of publick Affairs, the Obligation of all Boons might redound to the Queen herself: For she thought thus with herself ; that if her Husband's Favour could do no good Offices for any, and his Anger were formidable to none, he would by degrees fall into universal Contempt of all ; and to encrease the Indignity, *David* was substituted with an Iron Seal, to impress the King's Name on Proclamations. He, thus fraudulently cheated out of publick Business, lest he might likewise prove an Interrupter of their private Pleasures, in a very sharp Winter was sent away to *Pebly*, with a small Retinue, far beneath the Dignity of some private Persons, for a Prey, rather than Recreation. At the same time there fell such a Quantity of Snow, that, the Place not being very plentiful, and besides, being infested with Thieves ; he that was always bred up at Court, and used to a liberal Diet, was in great Hazard of wanting Necessaries, unless the Bishop of the *Orcades* had casually come thither ; for he, knowing the Scarcity of the Place, brought him some Wine, and other Provisions for his Use.

THE Queen was not content to raise *David* out of his Obscurity, and to shew him to the People, but she devis'd another Way how to cloath him with domestick Honour : For whereas the Queen had, for some Months before, permitted more Company than was usual to sit with her at Table ; that so in the Croud *David's* Place might be less envy'd : By this Face of Popularity she thought that such an unusual Sight would be, in some measure, render'd more familiar, by the multitude of Guests, and daily Usage, and so Men's high Stomachs by degrees be inur'd to bear any thing. At last it came to this, That none but he, and one or two more, sat at Table with her ; and, that the littleness of the Room might take off something from the Envy of the thing, sometimes she would eat in a small Parlour, sometimes at *David's* own Lodgings. But the Way she thus took to abate, did but encrease the Reflections ; for it nourished Suspicions, and gave occasion to odd Discourses : Men's Thoughts were now inclin'd to the worst ; and what serv'd to inflame them was, that he exceeded even the King himself in Household-stuff, in Apparel, and in the Number of brave and stately Horses ; and the Matter look'd the worse for this, because all this Ornament did not credit his Face, but his Face rather spoil'd all this Ornament. BUT

BUT the Queen, not being able to amend the Faults of Nature, endeavour'd, by heaping Wealth and Honour upon him, to raise him up to the degree of the Nobles, that she might cover the Meanness of his Birth, and the Defects of his Body, with the Lustre of Dignity and Promotion; and that having qualified him to sit and vote in Parliament, she might be the better able to give such a Turn as she pleased to the Debates of that Assembly. But he was to be advanced by degrees; lest he might seem to be but a poor mercenary Senator. And first she attempted to get him a Piece of Land near *Edinburgh*, which the *Scots* call *Malvil*: The Owner of this Land, his Father-in-law, and others that were best able to persuade him, were sent for, and the Queen deals with the present Owner to part with his Possessions; and she desir'd his Father-in-law and Friends to persuade him to it: But this Matter not succeeding, the Queen took the Repulse as an Affront to her; and, what was worse, *David* took it very heinously also. These Things being noised abroad, the Commonalty bewailed the sad State of Affairs, and expected that things would grow worse, if Men eminent for their Nobility and Reputation, should be turn'd out of their ancient Patrimonies, to gratify the Lust of a beggarly Varlet; nay, many of the more ancient among them call'd to mind, and told others of that Time, when *Cockeran* wickedly slew the King's Brother, and from a *Stone-cutter* was made Earl of *Marr*; which rais'd up such a Fire of Civil War, that could not be extinguish'd but by the Death of the King, and almost the Destruction of the Kingdom. These things were spoken openly, but in private Men went further in their Mutterings (as it useth to be in Matters not very creditable :) Yet the King would never be persuaded to believe it, unless he saw it with his own Eyes; so that one time hearing that *David* was gone into the Queen's Bed-chamber, he came to a little Door, the Key of which he always carried about him, and found it bolted in the inside, which it never used to be; he knock'd, no body answered; upon that, conceiving great Wrath and Indignation in his Heart, he could hardly sleep a Wink that Night. From that time forward, he consulted with some of his Domesticks (for he durst trust but a few, many of them having been corrupted by the Queen, and put upon him rather as Spies of his Actions, than Attendants on his person) how to rid *David* out of the way; they approved his Design, but could not find a proper way to effect it. That Consultation had been managed for some Days, when others of his Servants, who were not admitted to it, suspected the Design, and there being evident Tokens of it, they acquainted the Queen with it, and told her, they would shew

her the Cabal, and they were as good as their Words. They observ'd and watch'd their Opportunity, when others were shut out, and the King had only his Confidants with him: The Queen, as if she were passing through his Chamber to her own, surprizing him with his Partisans: Then she inveighed against him most bitterly, and highly threaten'd his Domesticks, telling them, all their Plots were in vain; she knew all their Minds and Actions, and would take Care of them in due time.

MATTERS being brought to this pass, the King acquaints his Father with this unhappy Condition: Both concluded, that the only Remedy for the present Malady was, to reconcile those of the Nobility who were present, and to recall those that were absent: But great haste was required in the thing, because the Day was near at hand, wherein the Queen was resolved to condemn the Nobles that were absent, she having called a Convention of the Estates for that purpose, against the Wills of the *French* and *English* Ambassadors, who interceded in the Case: For they knew, that the accused had committed no such heinous Offence; and besides, they foresaw the Danger that would ensue.

ABOUT the same time the Queen of *England* sent her a very large and obliging Letter, full of prudent Advice, in reference to the present Estate of *Scotland*, endeavouring in a gentle and loving way, to incline her Kinswoman from a wrathful to a reconcileable Temper. The Nobility knew that such Letters were come, and they guess'd what the Contents were; and thereupon the Queen counterfeited a more civil Respect to them than ordinary, and began to read them in the Presence of many of them: As she went on, *David* stood up, and bad her Read no more, *she had read enough, she should stop*. That Carriage of his seemed to them rather arrogant than new; for they knew how imperiously he had carried it towards her before; nay, and sometimes he would reprove her more sharply than her own Husband ever durst do.

AT that time, the Cause of the Exiles was warmly disputed in the Parliament-House; some to gratify the Queen, would have the Sentence due to Traitors pass'd upon them; others contended, that they had done nothing that deserved so severe a Treatment. In the mean time, *David* went about to all of them, one by one, to feel their Pulses, what each one was inclined to do with the Exiles, if he was chosen Speaker by the rest of the Convention: He told them plainly, the Queen was resolved to have them condemn'd, and 'twas in vain for any of them to contend against it; and besides, he would be sure to incur the Queen's Displeasure by it. His Design in this was, partly to confound the weaker Spirits be-

twixt

twixt Hope and Fear, and partly to exclude the more resolv'd out of the number of the Judges select, or Lords of the Articles; or at least that the major part might be of such a Kidney as would please the Queen. This audacious Improbability, of so mean a Fellow, was feared by some, and hated by all. Upon that, the King, by his Father's Advice, sent for *James Douglas*, and *Patrick Lindsay*, his Kinsmen, one by the Father, the other by the Mother's Side: They advise with *Patrick Raven*, an able Man both for Advice and Execution; but he was so weakened with a long and tedious Sickness, that for some Months he could not rise out of his Bed; however, they were willing to trust him, amongst some few others, in a Matter of such mighty moment, both by reason of his great Prudence, and also because his Children were Cousin-germans to the King. The King was told by them, what a great Error he had committed before, in suffering his Kinsmen and Friends to be driven from Court, in favour of such a base Miscreant as *Rizzio*; nay, he himself did, in effect, thrust them out from the Court with his own Hand, and so had advanced such a contemptible Mushroom, that now he himself was despised by him: They had likewise a great deal of other Discourse concerning the State of the Publick: The King was quickly brought to acknowledge his Fault, and to promise to act nothing for the future, without the Consent of the Nobility.

BUT those wise and experienced Counsellors thought it not safe to trust the verbal Promises of an uxorious young Man, as believing that he might in time be enticed by his Wife to deny this Capitulation, to their certain Ruin; and therefore they drew up the Heads of their Contract in Writing; which he was very willing, nay forward, to subscribe. The Heads were, *For the establishing Religion, as it was provided for at the Queen's Return to Scotland: To restore the Persons lately banish'd, because their Country could not well be without their Service: To destroy David; for as long as he was alive, the King could not maintain his Dignity, nor the Nobility live in Safety.* They all set their Hands to this Schedule, wherein the King, professing himself to be the Author of the Homicide, they resolv'd presently to attempt the Fact, both to prevent the Condemnation of the absent Nobles, and also, lest Delay might discover their Design. And therefore, when the Queen was at Supper, in a narrow private Room, the Earl of *Argyle's* Wife and *David* sitting with her, as they were wont, and but few Attendants, for the Room would not hold many; *James Douglas*, Earl of *Morton*, with a great Number of his Friends, were walking in an outward Chamber,

their faithful Friends and Vassals were commanded to stay below in the Yard, to quiet the Tumult, if any should be. The King comes out of his own Chamber, which was below the Queen's, and goes up to her by a narrow Pair of Stairs, which were open to none but himself; *Patrick Ruven* follow'd him arm'd, with but four or five Companions at most: They enter'd into the Parlour where they were at Supper; and the Queen, being something mov'd at that unusual Appearance of arm'd Men, and also perceiving *Ruven* haggard and lean by reason of his late Distress, and yet in his Armour, asked him, *What was the Matter?* For the Spectators thought, that his Fever had disturb'd his Head, and put him besides himself. He commanded *David* to rise, and come forth; for the Place he sat in was not fit for him. The Queen presently rose, and sought to defend him by the Interposal of her Body; but the King took her in his Arms, and bade her take Courage, they would do her no hurt, only the Death of that Villain was resolv'd on. They hal'd *David* out into the next, then into the outer Chamber: There those that waited with *Douglas*, dispatch'd him at last, after having given him many Wounds; which was against the Mind of all those who conspired his Death, for they resolv'd to hang him up publickly, as knowing it would be a grateful Spectacle to all the People.

THERE went a constant Report, that one *John Damios*, a French Priest, who was a reputed Conjuror, told *David* once or twice, *That now he had feather'd his Nest, he should be gone, and withdraw himself from the Envy of the Nobles, who would be too hard for him:* And that *David* answer'd, *The Scots were greater Threatners than Fighters.* He was also told, a little before his Death, *That he should take heed of a Bastard.* To which he reply'd, *That, as long as he liv'd, no Bastard should have so much Power in Scotland, as that he need fear it:* For he thought his Danger was predicted from *Murray*; but the Prophecy was either fulfill'd, or eluded, by *George Douglas's* giving him his first Blow, who was a natural Son of the Earl of *Angus*: After he had once begun, then every one struck in order as he stood, not excepting the Prince, either prompted by his own just Resentment, or to come in for a Share of the publick Vengeance. Hereupon a Tumult arose all over the House, and the Earls of *Huntley*, *Athol*, and *Bothwel*, who were at Supper in another part of the Palace, were rushing out; but they were kept within their Chamber, by those who guarded the Courts below, and had no harm done them. *Ruven* went out of the Parlour into the Queen's Bed-chamber; where not being able to stand, he sat down, and call'd for something to drink: Whereupon the Queen fell upon him with such Words as her present Grief and

Fury

Fury suggested to her, calling him a perfidious Traytor, and ask'd him, *How he durst be so bold, as to speak to her, sitting, whereas she herself stood?* He excus'd it, as not done out of Pride, but Weakness of Body; but advised her, *That in managing the Affairs of the Kingdom, she would rather consult the Nobility, who had a Concern in the publick Welfare, than Vagrants, who could give no Pledge for their Loyalty, and who had nothing to lose, either in Estate or Credit; neither was the Fact, then committed, without a Precedent: That Scotland was a Kingdom bounded by Laws, and was never wont to be govern'd by the Will and Pleasure of one Man, but by the Rule of the Law, and the Consent of the Nobility; and, if any former King had done otherwise, he had smarted severely for it: Neither were the Scots at present so far degenerated from their Ancestors, as to bear not only the Government, but even the Servitude, of a Stranger, who was scarce worthy to be their Slave.* The Queen was more enraged at this Speech, than before: Whereupon they departed, having plac'd Guards in all convenient Places, to hinder the Rising of any Tumult.

IN the mean time, the News was carried all over the Town; and was received as every one's Disposition was, right or wrong; they took Arms, and went to the Palace: There the King shew'd himself to them out of a Window, and told the Multitude, *That he and the Queen were safe, and there was no Cause for their tumultuous Assembly: What was done, was by his Command; and what that was, they should know in time; and therefore, at present, every one should go to his own House.* Upon which Command they withdrew, except some few, that staid to keep Guard. The next Day in the Morning, the Nobles that were return'd from England, surrender'd themselves to take their Trial in the Town-Hall, being ready to plead their Cause, for that was the Day appointed; but, no body appearing against them, they openly protested, That it was not their Fault, for they were ready to submit to a legal Trial; and so every one return'd to his own Lodging. The Queen sent for her Brother, and after a long Conference with him, she gave him Hopes, that ever after she would be advised by the Nobles. Then the Guards were lessened; though many thought, this her Clemency presag'd no good to the Publick; for she gather'd together the Soldiers of her old Guard, and went through a back Gate by Night, with George Seton, who attended her with 200 Horse, first to his Castle, then to Dunbar: She carried also the King along with her; who was forc'd to obey, for fear of his Life. There she gather'd a Force together, and pretending a Reconcilement to those who were lately come from Banishment, she turn'd her Fury upon the Murderers of David; but they, yielding to the

Times,

Times, shifted for themselves ; and so, as if all were safe and quiet, she relaps'd into her old Humours. First of all, she caus'd *David's* Body, which was buried before the Door of a neighbouring Church, to be remov'd in the Night, and to be deposited in the Sepulchre of the late King and his Children : Which being one of her unaccountable Actions, gave occasion to ugly Reports : For what greater Confession of Adultery with him could she well make, than, as far as she was able, to make the Funeral of such an obscure Fellow, who was neither liberally brought up, nor had deserv'd well of the Publick, equal with those of her Father and Brothers ? And, to increase the Indignity of the thing, she put the Misdreant almost into the Arms of *Magdalene Valois*, the late Queen. As for her Husband, she threaten'd him, and gave him many Side-blows in her Discourses, and did her Endeavour to take away all Power from him, and to render him as contemptible as she could.

At this time the Process was very severe against *David's* Murderers ; many of the accus'd were banish'd, some to one Place, some to another ; many were fin'd ; some (but the most innocent, and therefore secure from any Apprehension) put to Death ; for the prime of the Faction were fled, some to *England*, others to the *Higblands* : Those who were but the least suspected to have had a hand in it, had their Offices and Employments taken from them, and bestow'd upon their Enemies : And a Proclamation was made by an Herald (which excited Laughter amidst all this Sorrow) *That no Man should say, The King was a Partaker in, or so much as privy to, David's Slaughter.* This Commotion being a little settled, after the 13th of *April*, the Earl of *Argyle* and *Murray* were received into Favour ; and she herself growing very big, and drawing near her Time, retir'd into *Edinburgh* Castle ; and on the 19th Day of *June*, a little after Nine o'Clock at Night, was brought to Bed of a Son, afterwards called *James* the sixth.

T H E



THE
HISTORY
OF
SCOTLAND.

BOOK XVIII.



HE Queen, after her Delivery, receiv'd all other Visitants with Kindness enough, suitable to the Occasion of a publick Joy ; but when her Husband came, she and her Attendants comported themselves so, in Speech and Countenance, as if they were afraid of nothing more, than that he should not understand, that his Presence was disdained, and his Company unacceptable to them all : But, on the contrary, *Boswell* alone was the Man, he manag'd all Affairs : The Queen was so inclin'd to him, that she would have it understood, no Suit would be obtain'd from her, but by his Mediation : And, as if she was afraid her Favours to him were but mean, and not sufficiently known, on a certain Day she took one or two with her, and went down to the Haven called *New-Haven* ; and, her Attendants not knowing whither she was going, she went on board a small Vessel, prepar'd there for her : *William* and *Edmund Blacater*, *Edward Robertson*, and *Thomas Dickson*, all *Boswell's*

wel's Creatures, and Pirates of known Rapacity, had fitted the Ship before. With this Guard of Robbers, to the great Admiration of all good Men, she ventured to Sea, taking none of her honest Servants along with her. She landed at *Alloway*, a Castle of the Earl of *Marr's*; where she so demean'd herself for some time, as if she had forgot not only the Dignity of a Queen, but even the Modesty of a Matron.

THE King, when he heard of the Queen's sudden Departure, follow'd her as fast as he could, by Land: His Design and Hopes were, to be with her, and to enjoy mutual Society, as Man and Wife: But he, as an importunate Disturber of her Pleasures, was ordered to go back from whence he came, and had hardly Time allow'd him for his Servants to refresh themselves. A few Days after, the Queen return'd to *Edinburgh*; and because, it seems, she would avoid the Croud of People, she went not to her own Palace, but to the House of a private Man in the Neighbourhood: From thence she went to another, where the annual Convention, call'd the *Exchequer-Court*, was then held, not so much for the largeness of the House, or the Pleasure of the Gardens, as, that one *David Chalmers*, a Creature of *Bothwel's*, had an House near it, whose back Door was contiguous to the Queen's Garden, by which *Bothwel* might pass in and out to her, as often as he pleased. In the mean time, the King finding no place for Favour with his Wife, is sent away with Injuries and Reproaches; and having often tried her Spirit, yet by no Offices of Observance could he obtain to be admitted to conjugal Familiarity, as before; whereupon he retired in Discontent to *Sterlin*: A while after, the Queen appointed to go to *Fedburgh*, to hold a Convention. About the Beginning of *October*, *Bothwel* prepared an Expedition into *Liddisdale*; and, carrying himself there, neither according to the Place which he held, nor the Dignity of his Family, nor the Expectation of any Man, a pitiful Highwayman, whom he had taken, and almost dispatch'd with a Leaden Bullet unawares, wounded him, and so he was carried to *Hermitage* Castle, in great Danger of his Life. When the News was brought to the Queen at *Borthwick*, tho' the Winter was very sharp, she flew in haste, first to *Mulross*, then to *Fedburgh*; there, tho' she received certain Intelligence that *Bothwel* was alive, yet being impatient of Delay, and not able to forbear, tho' in such a bad Time of the Year, notwithstanding the Difficulty of the Way, and the Danger of Robbers, she put herself on her Journey, with such Attendants, as hardly any honest Man, tho' he was but of a mean Condition, would trust his Life and Fortune to. From thence she return'd again to *Fedburgh*, and there she was mighty diligent in making great Preparations for *Bothwel's* being brought

brought thither ; and truly, when he came there, their Conversation together was little for the Credit of either of them : At last the Queen herself, either having fatigued Nature too far by her continual Toil and Watching Day and Night ; or else being particularly destined to it by the secret Providence of God, fell into such a dangerous Illness, that no body almost expected or could hope for her Life. When the King heard of it, he went that very moment to *Jedburgh* with all possible Expedition, both to give her a Visit, and to testify his Observance by all the good Offices he could ; and also to incline her to a better Course of Life, hoping she might repent of what she had done ; as People are wont to do, when they are in a great deal of Danger. But she, on the contrary, would not shew the least Sign of Reconciliation ; no, she charged no body should rise up and salute him as he came in, and forbad their giving him so much as one single Night's Entertainment : But she, suspecting the Disposition of *Murray*, as being courteous and civil, desired his Wife to make haste home and fain herself sick, and go immediately to Bed, that so, on the Pretence of Sickness, the King might be excluded even from thence ; thus she made it her Business to force him to be gone, for want of Lodging : Which he had done, had not one of the Family of the *Humes*, even for very Shame, pretended a sudden Cause for his Departure, and so left his Lodging free for the King.

THE next Day in the Morning, he return'd again to *Sterlin* : His Return was the more reflected upon, because, at the very same time, *Bothwell* was carried out of the Place where he lodg'd, to the Queen's Lodgings, in the Face of all the People ; and tho' neither of them were well recover'd, she from her Disease, he from his Wound ; yet they travell'd, first to *Kells*, then to *Coldinham*, next to *Cragmiller* (a Castle two Miles from *Edinburgh*) quite indifferent and careless as to the Reports that were spread of them by the way. The Queen, in all her Discourse, profess'd that she could never live, unless she was divorc'd from the King ; and that if she could not gain that Point, she would lay violent Hands on herself. She would ever and anon speak of a Divorce, and would say, it might be easily effected, if the Pope's Bull was but recalled, by which Pardon had been granted them for marrying contrary to the papal Laws ; but seeing this Matter was not like to go as she expected (for these things were acted in the Presence of many of the Nobility) she left off all her other Methods, and contriv'd nothing else in her Mind, but how to dispatch him out of the World at once.

A little before Winter, when the Embassadors from *France* and *England* came to be Witnesses at the Baptism of the Prince, the Queen strove, as far as Money or Industry could, to make

Bothwell

Bothwel appear the most magnificent amongst all her Subjects and Guests at the Entertainment; whereas her lawful Husband was not allow'd Necessaries at the Christening; nay, was forbid to come in sight of the Embassadors; and even his Servants, that were appointed to be his daily Attendants, were taken from him, and the Nobility forbid to take any Notice of him. But this her implacable Carriage towards him, which the Nobility noted both now and heretofore, mov'd them to have the greater Compassion for him, when they saw a young and harmless Person us'd after so reproachful a manner; and yet not only bear it patiently, but even endeavour to appease her Rage by the most servile Offices he could perform; in order, if possible, to win some Degree of her Favour. As for his Dress, she put the Fault upon the Embroiderers, Goldsmiths and other Tradesmen, tho' 'twas a false and shameful Pretence, for every body knew she herself was the Occasion of it; tho' for fear *Bothwel* should not have Ornaments enow, she wrought many of them with her own Hands. Besides, foreign Embassadors were advis'd, not to enter into Discourse with the King, tho' they were in the same Castle together the most part of the Day.

THE young King being thus uncourtously treated, expos'd to the Contempt of all, and seeing his Rival honour'd before his Face, resolv'd to go to his Father to *Glasgow*; who, as some thought, had sent for him. The Queen shew'd her usual Hatred at his Departure, she took away all the Silver Plate, which he had us'd ever since he was married, and put Pewter in their stead; besides, she gave him Poison before he went away, that the Evil might be more secret, if he died, when absent from Court. But the Poison work'd sooner, than those who gave it suppos'd it would; for, before he was gone a Mile from *Sterlin*, he had such a grievous Pain all over his Body, that 'twas very apparent his Disease was not casual, but the Act of Fraud and Treachery. However, as soon as he came to *Glasgow*, the Mischief manifestly discover'd itself; blue Pustules arose all over his Body, and put him in such Pain and Anguish, that there was little Hope of his Life. *James Abernethy*, a learned, a faithful, and an experienc'd Physician, being consulted about his Disease, answer'd presently, That he had taken Poison. He sent for the Queen's domestick Physician, but the Queen would not suffer him to go, for fear he should have Skill enough to cure him; and besides, she was not willing that many should know of his being poison'd. When the Ceremonies of Christening were over, and the Company, by degrees, got home; the Queen was private with *Bothwel*, having scarce any more Company, at *Drummond* and *Til-libardin*, Noblemen's Houses, where she spent a few Days about the beginning of *January*, and so return'd to *Sterlin*, and pretended

tended daily to go to *Glasgow*; but, expecting to hear every Day of the King's Death, to prevent the worst, she resolv'd to have her Son in her own Power; and that her Design might occasion no Suspicion, she began to find fault, that the House, in which he was kept, was inconvenient; that, in a moist and cold Place, he might be subject to Rheums: But the true Cause of his Removal was far otherwise; for 'twas very plain, that the Place he was carried to, was far more obnoxious upon the aforesaid Accounts, for that it was situate in a low marshy Soil, having a Mountain betwixt it and the Sun-rising. Upon that the Child, tho' scarce seven Months old, was brought, in a sharp Winter, to *Edinburgh*. When she heard there that the King was recover'd, as having overcome the Poison, by the Vigour of his Youth, and the Strength of his natural Constitution, she renew'd her Plot to destroy him, acquainting also some of the Nobility with her Design. In the mean time News was brought her, that the King design'd to fly to *France* or *Spain*, and that he had spoke about it with the Master of an *English* Ship, which was then in the *Firth* of *Glyde*. Upon this, some thought that a fair Occasion was offer'd her to send for him, and, if he refus'd to come, to dispatch him out of the way; nay, some offer'd to be Agents in the thing; all of them advis'd, that the bloody Deed should be privately committed, and that it should be hasten'd before he was perfectly recover'd. The Queen, having already got her Son, that she might also have her Husband in her Power, tho' not as yet agreed in the Design how he should be dispatch'd, resolv'd to go to *Glasgow*, having, as she thought, sufficiently clear'd herself from his former Suspicions by many kind Letters she had lately sent him: But her Words and her Actions did not at all agree, for she took almost none with her, in her Retinue, but the *Hamiltons*, and others that were, in a manner, hereditary Enemies of the King. In the mean time she intrusts *Bothwell* with doing what most contributed to the Design at *Edinburgh*; for that was the Place which seem'd most convenient to them, both to commit, and likewise to conceal, so great a Wickedness; for, there being a great Assembly of the Nobles, the Suspicion might be put off from one to the other, and so divided between a great many. When the Queen had try'd all the Ways she could to dissemble her Hatred, at last, by many artful, upbraiding Complaints and Lamentations, pass'd betwixt them, she could yet scarce make him believe, that she was reconcil'd to him. The King, scarce yet recover'd from his Disease, was brought in a Litter to *Edinburgh*, to the Place design'd for his Murder, which *Bothwell*, in the Queen's Absence, had undertook to provide, and that was, an House uninhabited for some Years before, near the Walls of the City, in a lonesome, solitary Place, between

tween the Ruins of two Churches, where no Noise or Outcry could be heard : There he was huddled in with a few Attendants only ; for the most of them (being such as the Queen had put upon him, rather as Spies than Servants) were gone out of the Way, as foreknowing the Danger at hand ; and those that remain'd, could not get the Keys of the Door from the Harbingers, that provided the Lodgings.

THE thing the Queen was most intent upon was, to avert all Suspicion from herself ; and she proceeded so far in the Art of Dissimulation, that the King was fully persuaded there was a firm Reconciliation betwixt them : So that he wrote Letters to his Father, who staid behind, sick at *Glasgow*, in which he gave him great Hopes, and almost an Assurance, That the Queen was now sincerely his ; and, commemorating her many good Offices towards him, he now promised to himself, that all things would change for the better. As he was writing these Letters, the Queen came in on a sudden, and reading them, she gave him many Embraces and Kisses, telling him, *That Sight mightily pleas'd her ; that now she saw there was no Cloud of Suspicion hovering over his Mind.*

THINGS being thus well secur'd on that side, her next Care was to contrive, as much as possible, how to cast the Guilt upon another ; and therefore she sent for her Brother *Murray*, who had lately obtain'd Leave, and was going to *St. Andrew's*, to visit his Wife, who lay there (as he heard) dangerously sick : For, besides the Danger of her big Belly, she had Pustles, that rose all over her Body, with a violent Fever. She pretended, the whole Cause of her detaining him to be for no other End, but that she might honourably dismiss the Duke of *Savoy's* Ambassador, who came too late to the Prince's Christening ; and, tho' this seem'd a mean Pretence to take him off from so just and necessary a Duty ; yet he obey'd. In the interim, the Queen made her Visits to the King every Day constantly, and reconcil'd him to *Bothwell* ; whom she by all means desired to keep entirely unsuspected. She made him large Promises of her Affection for the Time to come ; which over-officious Carriage, tho' suspected by all, yet no Man was so bold as to advise the King of his Danger, because he had a Habit of telling the Queen whatever he heard, to insinuate the more into her Favour ; only *Robert*, the Queen's Brother, mov'd either with the execrable Horror of the Deed, or with Pity to the young Man, had the Confidence to acquaint him of his Wife's Plot against him, but on this Condition, That he would keep it to himself, and provide for his Safety after the best manner he could. The King notwithstanding reveal'd it to the Queen, according to his Custom ; upon which *Robert* was call'd for, and he stoutly deny'd it, so that they gave one another

another the Lye, and were laying their Hands on their Swords. The Queen was glad to see, that her Designs were likely to have so good a Conclusion, and that so near at hand, without her Trouble, and therefore she calls for her other Brother, *James*, as if he was to decide the Controversy; but her real Intent was, that he might likewise be cut off on the same Occasion; there was no body present but *Bothwel*, who was so far from keeping them from fighting, that he would rather have kill'd him that had the worst of the Combat himself, as plainly appear'd, when he said, there was no reason *James* should be sent for in such haste, to keep those from duelling, who, whatsoever they pretended, had no such mighty Stomach to it. This Bustle being quieted; the Queen and *Bothwel* were wholly intent, how to perpetrate the Murder; and how to do it with all imaginable Privacy. The Queen, that she might feign both Love to her Husband, and a Forgiveness of past Offences, causes her Bed to be brought from the Palace, into a Chamber below the King's, where she lay, after she had set up late with him in Discourse, for some Nights.

In the mean time, she devises all manner of Ways to cast the *Odium* of the Fact, when committed, upon her Brother *James*, and the Earl of *Morton*; for she thought, if those two, whose real Worth and Authority was much feared and hated by her, were taken out of the Way, all Things else would fall in of themselves: She was likewise incited to this by Letters from the Pope, and from *Charles*, Cardinal of *Lorrain*. For the Summer before, having by her Uncle desired a Sum of Money from the Pope, for levying an Army to disturb the State of Religion in *Britain*; the Pope more cunningly, but the Cardinal plainly, had advis'd her to destroy those, who were the greatest Hindrances to the Restitution of Popery, and they took care to specify those two Earls by Name; if they were once taken off, they promised whole Heaps of Money for the War. The Queen thought some distant Tidings of this Matter were come to the Ears of the Nobility; and therefore, to clear herself from any Suspicion, or the least Inclination to such a thing, she shew'd them the Letters. But these Designs so subtilly laid, as they seem'd to be, were somewhat disturb'd by frequent Messengers from *Murray's* Wife, how that she had miscarried, and that there were small Hopes of her Life. This Message was brought him on the *Lord's Day*, as he was going to a Sermon; whereupon he return'd back to the Queen, and desired leave of her to be gone; she very much urg'd him to stay one Day longer, to hear more certain News, alledging, that if he made ever so much haste, his coming would do her no good; but

if her Disease abated, that then the next Morning would be time enough; but he was fully bent on his Journey, and accordingly went. The Queen had deferr'd the Murder till that Night, and to seem perfectly easy in her mind, she would needs celebrate the Marriage of *Sebastian*, one of the Musicians, in the very Palace, and then the Evening was past in Mirth and Jollity, then she went with a numerous Attendance to see her Husband; she spent some Hours with him, and was merrier than usual, often kissing him, and giving him a Ring, as a Token of her Affection. After the Queen was gone, the King, with the few Servants that were about him, recollecting the Proceedings of the past Day, amongst some comfortable Speeches given him by the Queen, he was troubled at the Remembrance of a few Words; for she, whether not being able to contain her Joy, arising from the Hope that the Murder would be now presently acted, or whether it fell from her by Chance, slipp'd out a Word, *That David Rizio was killed the last Year, just about that Time*: Tho' none of them lik'd this unseasonable Mention of his Death, yet because the Night was pretty far spent, and the next Morning was design'd for Sports and Pastimes, they went speedily to Bed. In the mean time, Gun-powder was placed in the Room below, to blow up the House; other things were cautiously and craftily enough transacted; but one thing there was, which though small in itself, gave sufficient proof of the wicked Conspiracy. For the Bed, in which the Queen us'd sometimes to lie, was taken from thence, and a worse put in its Place, as if tho' they were prodigal enough of their Characters, they would however be saving of their Money. In the mean time, one *Paris*, a Frenchman, a Partisan in the Conspiracy, entered into the King's Bed-chamber, and there stood silent, yet so, that the Queen might see him, and that was the Sign agreed on betwixt them, that all things were in a Readiness. As soon as she saw *Paris*, as if *Sebastian's* Marriage came into her Mind, she began to blame herself that she had been so negligent, as not to dance that Night at the Wedding (as 'twas agreed) and to put the Bride to Bed as the manner is; upon which, she presently started up, and went home. Being returned to the Palace, she had a pretty deal of Discourse with *Bothwel*; who being at length dismiss'd, went to his Chamber, chang'd his Cloaths, put on a Soldier's Coat, and with a few in his Company, pass'd thro' the Guards into the Town: Two other Parties of the Conspirators came several different Ways to the appointed Place, and a few of them entered into the King's Bed-chamber, of which they had the Keys (as I said before) and whilst he was fast asleep, they took him by the Throat, and strangled him,

him, and so they did one of his Servants who lay near him : When they were murdered, they carried their Bodies thro' a little Gate, which they had made on purpose, in the Walls of the City, into a Garden near at hand ; then they set fire to the Gun-powder, which blew up the House from the very Foundation, and made such a Noise, that it shook some of the neighbouring Houses ; nay, those that were found asleep in the farthest Parts of the City, were awakened, and frightened at the Loudness of the Report. When the Deed was done, *Bothwel* was led out by the Ruins of the City-Walls, and so return'd to the Palace thro' the Guard, quite a different Way from that which he came. This was the common Rumour about the King's Death ; which held some Days. The Queen had sat up that Night to wait for the Event, and hearing of the Tumult, called together those of the Nobility, who were at Court, and amongst the rest, *Bothwel* ; and, by their Advice, sent out to know what was the matter, as if she had been ignorant of all that was done ; some going to inspect the Body, found the King had only a Linen Shirt on the upper part of his Body, the rest of it lay naked ; his other Cloaths, and his Slippers lay just by him : The common People came in great Crouds to see him, and many Conjectures there were, yet they all agreed (which was very afflicting to *Bothwel*) that he could never be thrown out of the House, by the Force of the Gun-powder, for there was no part broken, bruised, or black and blew, about his Body, which must necessarily have happen'd in a Ruin by Gun-powder ; besides, his Cloaths that lay near him, were not so much as sing'd with the Flame, or covered with any Ashes ; so that they could not have been thrown thither by any Casualty, but must have been plac'd there by some body's Hand on purpose. *Bothwel* return'd home, and as if he had been struck with Admiration, brought the News to the Queen, upon which she went to Bed, and lay secure, soundly asleep, a great part of the next Day.

In the mean time, Reports were spread abroad by the *Parricides*, and carried into the Borders of *England* before Day, that the King was murder'd by the Design of *Murray* and *Morton* ; yet every body thought privately within himself, that the Queen must needs be the Author of the bloody Deed. Neither was the Bishop of *St. Andrew's* free from Suspicion, there were shrewd Conjectures against him, as the high and cruel Enmities betwixt the Families ; neither was the Bishop ever well reconciled to the Queen, before she design'd that Wickedness in her Mind ; and of late, when he accompanied her to *Glasgow*, he was made privy to all her Counsels.

fels. It increas'd Mens Suspitions of him, that he was just then retired to the House of his Brother, the Earl of *Arran*, which was near the House where the King was slain ; whereas before, he always us'd to live in some eminent Part of the City, where he might conveniently receive Visits, and ingratiate himself with the People by feasting them ; and besides, those who dwelt in the higher part of the City, saw Watch-lights in the House all the Night, and when the Powder-Clap was heard, then the Lights were put out, and his Vassals, many of whom watch'd in their Arms, were forbidden to go out of Doors : But the true Story of the Matter of Fact, which came to light after some Months, gave Occasion to People to look upon those Things as certain Indications, which before were but Suspitions only.

WHEN the Murder was committed, Messengers were presently sent into *England*, who were to report, that the King of *Scots* was cruelly murder'd by his Subjects, by the Contrivance especially of *Murray* and *Morton*. The News was immediately brought to Court, which so inflamed all the *English*, and made them have such a perfect Abhorrence of the whole Nation, that for some Days no *Scotsman* durst walk abroad, or could, without running the Hazard of his Life ; and tho' many Letters pass'd to and fro, discovering the secret Contrivances of the Plot, yet they could hardly be appeased. The King's Body, having been left a while as a Spectacle to be gaz'd upon, and a great Concourse of People continually flocking thither to see it, the Queen order'd, that it should be laid on a Bier, and brought by Porters into the Palace. There she herself view'd the Body, the fairest of that Age, and yet her Countenance discover'd not the Secrets of her Mind, neither one way or other. The Nobles that were there present, decreed, that a stately and honourable Funeral should be made for him : But the Queen ordered it so, that he was carried by private Bearers in the Night-time, and buried in no manner of State ; and that which increas'd the Indignity the more, was, that his Grave was made near *David Rizio* ; as if she designed to sacrifice the Life of her Husband to the Manes of that vile Wretch.

Two Prodigies happened at that time, which are worth the while to relate : One of them a little preceded the Murder, and it was thus. One *John London*, a Gentleman of *Fife*, having been long sick of a Fever, the Day before the King was kill'd, about Noon, rais'd himself a little in his Bed, and, as if he had been astonished, cry'd out to those that stood by him, with a loud Voice, *To go help the King,*
for

for the Parricides were just then murdering him; and a while after, he called out with a mournful Tone, *Now it is too late to help him; he is already murder'd*; and he himself liv'd not long after he had utter'd those Words. The other was just at the Time as the Murder happen'd. Three of the familiar Friends of the Earl of *Athol's*, the King's Cousin, Men of Reputation for Valour and Estate, had their Lodgings not far from the King's; when they were asleep about Midnight, there was a certain Man seem'd to come to *Dugal Stuart*, who lay next the Wall, and to draw his Hand gently over his Beard and Cheek, so to awake him, saying, *Arise, they are offering Violence to you*. He presently awaked, and considering the Apparition within himself, another of them cries out presently in the same Bed, *Who kicks me?* *Dugal* answer'd, *Perhaps 'tis a Cat, which used to walk about in the Night*; upon which, the third, who was not yet awake, rose presently out of his Bed, and stood up on the Floor, demanding, *Who it was that had given him a Box on the Ear?* As soon as he had spoken, a Person seem'd to go out of the House by the Door, and that not without some Noise. Whilst they were descanting on what they had heard and seen, the Noise of the blowing up of the King's House, put them into a very terrible Consternation. When the Murder was committed, People were variously affected with it, according as they loved or hated the King: All good Men unanimously detested it. He that took it most to Heart, was *John Stuart*, Earl of *Athol*, for many Reasons, but particularly because he was the chief Maker of the Match between the Queen and him. The Night after the Murder, arm'd Guards watched the Palace, as is usual in such sudden Consternations, and they hearing the outside Wall of the Earl of *Athol's* Lodging make a Noise or Crack, as if some were softly digging at the Foundation, they rais'd the Family, which went no more to Bed that Night. The Day after, the Earl took Lodgings in the Town, and a little after that, went home, for fear of his Life. The Earl of *Murray*, at his Return to Court from *St. Andrew's*, was not without Danger neither, for armed Men walked about his House at Night; but he not being well, and his Servants being accusom'd to watch with him all Night, the Villains could not attempt any thing against him privately, and openly they durst not. At length *Bothwel* (who would willingly have been without the Trouble of it) resolv'd to perform the wicked Deed with his own Hands. And therefore about Midnight, he ask'd his Domesticks, how *Murray* did? They told him, he was sadly afflicted with the Gout: What, said

said he, if we should go and see him; and presently he rose up, and was making the best of his Way to his House. As he was going, he was inform'd by *Murray's* Domesticks, that *Murray* was gone to his Brother *Robert's*, to be at more Freedom and Ease, and out of the Noise of the Court; upon which he said no more, but grieved inwardly, that he had lost so fair an Opportunity, and so return'd home. Mean while the Queen put on very demure Looks, and feigning great Sorrow, thought that Way to reconcile the People to her; but that succeeded as ill with her, as the rest of the Conspiracy. For whereas it was the Custom, Time out of Mind, for Queens, after their Husband's Death, to abstain several Days, not only from the Sight of Men, but even from seeing the Light, she indeed acted a kind of fictitious Sorrow, but her real Joy so exceeded it, that tho' the Doors were shut, yet the Windows were open, and throwing off her Widow's Weeds, in four Days, she could well enough bear the Sight of the Sun and Air: And before twelve Days, were over, being hardened against all the People could say, she went to *Seton*, about seven Miles from the Town, and never let *Bothwel* be one Moment from her Side; there her Carriage was such, that tho' she chang'd her Habit a little, yet she did not seem at all to mourn within. The Place was full of the Nobility, and she went constantly every Day abroad to the usual Sports, tho' some of them were not so proper for the Female Sex: But the coming of Mr. *de Crocke*, a *Frenchman* (who had often before been Embassador in *Scotland*) did in some little degree disturb their Measures; for he telling them how infamous the Matter sounded amongst Foreigners, they returned to *Edinburgh*: But *Seton* had so many Conveniencies, that tho' the farther Hazard of her Credit lay at Stake upon it, yet she must needs return thither again. There the main Head of the Consultation was, how *Bothwel* might be acquitted of the King's Murder. There was a Design before, to try and acquit him; for presently upon the King's Death, *Bothwel*, and some of his Complices, came to the Marquis of *Argyle*, who was the hereditary capital Judge in criminal Causes. First, they pretended they were wholly ignorant of what was done, and wondered at it, as a new, unheard-of, and incredible Thing; then they proceeded to Examination; they summon'd some poor Women out of the Neighbourhood; but they were dash'd betwixt Hope and Fear, uncertain whether they should speak out, or be utterly silent; but, tho' they were very cautious in their Words, yet uttering more than was expected, they were discharged, as having spoke nothing upon any certain Grounds;

Grounds; and as for their Testimony, it was an easy Matter enough to despise it: Upon that, some of the King's Servants were sent for, who had escaped the Fire: They, when they were ask'd, How the Assassins could make their Entrance? Reply'd, That the Keys were not in their Power: And when it was closely put to them again, in whose Hands they were? They answer'd, In the Queen's: Upon that, the farther Examination was deferr'd, as the Examiners pretended; but indeed, was quite suppress'd; for they were afraid, if they went any farther, the Court-Secrets would have been all publicly known.

AND yet, to put a Gloss on the Matter, a Proclamation was publish'd, and a Reward offer'd to those who should discover the Authors of the King's Murder. But who dar'd be so bold as to impeach *Bothwel*, since he was to be the Accused, the Judge, the Examiner, and the Executor of the Punishment? Yet this Fear, which stop'd the Mouths of several single Persons, could not bridle the Multitude. For Libels were published, Pictures made, and Hawkers went by Night about the Streets, crying Papers, by which the Parricides might easily understand, that the whole Matter was discovered, both who design'd the Wickedness, and who assisted in the Execution of it: And the more Prohibitions were laid on the Commonalty, the more did their Grief make them speak. Tho' the Conspirators seem'd to despise these things, yet they were so inwardly, and so sensibly touch'd at them, that they could not dissemble their Sorrow: And therefore omitting the Examination about the King's Death, they fell upon another Method that was still more severe; and that was, against the Authors of Libels, or (as they worded it) the Calumniators of *Bothwel*; and this was so severely prosecuted, that no Pains nor Costs were spared: All the Painters and Writing-Masters were called together, to see if by the Pictures and Libels they could discover the Authors; they farther added a Clause, suitable enough to the Edict, which made it capital, not only to sell the Libels, but even to read them, when they were sold. But they who endeavour'd to bridle the Discourse of the People, by threatening capital Punishment to them, were not satisfy'd with the King's Death, but retained their Hatred against him, tho' in his Grave. The Queen gave her Husband's Goods, his Arms, Horses, Cloaths, and other Householdstuff, either to his Father's Enemies, or to the Murderers themselves, as if they had been forfeited to her *Exchequer*. As these Matters were acted in the broad Face of Day, so many did as publicly inveigh against them: One of the Taylors who was making some of

the King's Cloaths fit for *Bothwel* to wear, was so bold as to say, Now he saw the old Country-Custom verify'd: *That the Executioner had the Cloaths of those Persons that suffer'd by his Hand.*

THEY were under another mighty Difficulty, how they should get the Castle of *Edinburgh* into the Queen's Hands; *John* Earl of *Marr* was Governor of it, upon Condition that he should deliver it up to no body but by the special Order of the Estates; and tho' such a Convention was to be the Month after, yet the Queen was so earnest, that every little Delay seem'd to her very tedious. And therefore she dealt underhand with the Earl's Friends and Relations (for he himself lay then very sick at *Sterlin*) to surrender the Castle to her; pretending this as the chief Cause, why the Commons of *Edinburgh* were so tumultuous (there being then a Commotion amongst them) that she could not keep them within the Bounds of their Duty, unless she had that Fort in her Hands; and that thereupon, as an Earnest of her great Affection to *John*, she would put her only Son, the Heir of the Kingdom, into his Hands, to be educated by him; which Office of Guardianship his Ancestors had discharg'd to their great Commendation in the Care of so many other Princes, of late Times, but particularly in the Education of her Mother and Grandfather. Tho' the Earl understood and saw clearly thro' the Tendency of these her Promises and Flatteries, yet he complied with her Request. The Queen, finding him more easy than she hop'd, makes it her next Endeavour to be possess'd of the Castle, with the first convenient Opportunity; and yet to keep her Son too: When he would not hearken to that, she sets upon him by another Wile, and makes Proposals that he would come to *Linlithgoe*, (in the Mid-way between *Edinburgh* and *Sterlin*) there, on an appointed Day, to receive the Prince, and to surrender the Castle. But this Project being suspected of Fraud, it was at last agreed, that he should be deliver'd to *Erskin* at *Sterlin*, and that he, in the interim, should give the Chief of his Family in Hostage, for the Surrender of the Castle.

THESE things gave some Trouble to the Parricides, but they were most of all perplex'd with the daily Complaints of the Earl of *Lenox*: He would not venture to come to Court, by reason of *Bothwel's* exorbitant Power; but he earnestly solicited the Queen by Letters, that she would confine *Bothwel*, who without doubt was the Author of the King's Murder, till a Day should be appointed for bringing him to his Tryal. She, though eluding his Demand by many Stratagems, yet find-
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ing that the Examination of so enormous a Crime could not be avoided, design'd to have it carried on in this manner.

THE Assembly of the Estates to be held on the 13th of *April* grew very near at hand; she was desirous before that time came to have the Matter tried, that so *Bothwel* being absolved by the Votes of the Judges, might be further clear'd by the Suffrages of the whole Parliament. This Haste was the Cause that nothing was carried on regularly or according to Custom, in that judiciary Process. For the Accusers (as is usual) ought to have been cited, with their Relations, as Wife, Father, Mother, Son, either to appear Personally, or by Proxy, within forty Days, for that is the time limited by the Law. Here the Father was only summon'd to appear on the thirteenth of *April*, without summoning any of his Friends, excepting his own Family, which at that time was in a low Condition, and reduc'd to a small Number. Whereas, in the mean time, *Bothwel* flew up and down the Town, with whole Troops at his Heels; the Earl of *Lenox* thought it best for him not to come into a City full of his Enemies, where he had no Friends nor Vassals to secure him; and besides, if there was no Danger of his Life, yet there could be no Freedom of Debate. *Bothwel* appears at the Day appointed, and comes into the Town-Hall, being both Plaintiff and Defendant. The Judges of the Nobility were cited, most of them his Friends, none daring on the other side to except against any one of them; only *Robert Cunningham*, one of *Lenox's* Family, put a small stop to the Proceedings; he craving Liberty to speak, declared, that the Process was not according to Law nor Custom, where the accus'd Person was so powerful, that he could not be brought to Punishment, and the Accuser was absent for fear of his Life; and therefore, whatsoever should be determin'd there, as being against Law and Equity, was null and void. Notwithstanding all that, they proceeded. Besides, *Gilbert* Earl of *Cassils*, being chosen one of the Judges, rather for Form's sake, than that he thought he should do any good, desired to be excused, and offered likewise to pay the Forfeiture, usually laid upon those who decline sitting; but in that very instant of time a Messenger brought him a Ring from the Queen, with a Command that he should sit as one of the Judges, or else she threatened to commit him to Prison. When that did not prevail, she sent a second Messenger, who told him, he should be punish'd as a Traytor if he refus'd. Being terrified into it by such Means as these, they were forced to sit, and truly the Issue of the Sessions was this; they declared they saw no reason to find *Bothwel* guilty; yet if any Man at any time after could lawfully accuse him, they gave a Caution that
this

this Judgment should be no hindrance to him. Some thought they proceeded with great Wisdom in bringing it to such an Issue. For the Indictment was grounded on such Words, that the severest Judges could never have found *Bothwel* guilty, for it was laid against a Murder committed on the ninth of *February*, whereas the King was murdered on the tenth.

THUS *Bothwel* was acquitted of the Fact, but not of the Infamy of it. Suspicions increased upon him, and his Punishment seemed only to be deferred; but any Pretence whatsoever, though a shameless one, seem'd good enough to the Queen, who was in great haste to marry him. But to absolve himself of the Imputation with a better Air, there was a Challenge posted on the most eminent part of the Court, declaring, that though *Bothwel* was lawfully acquitted of the King's Murder, yet to make his Innocency appear the brighter, he was ready to decide the Matter in a Duel against any Gentleman or Person of Honour, that should dare to lay it to his Charge. On the Morning following there was one who did as manfully post up an Answer to his Challenge, provided the Place of Combat was appointed where he might declare his Name without Danger. Though these Things succeeded reasonably well, yet the Queen in that Parliament was more rugged than formerly; for whereas before, she pretended Civility in her Carriage, she now plainly discovered an Inclination to Tyranny; for she now flatly denied what she had promised at *Sterlin*, in Matters of Religion; and that was, that the Laws established under Popish Tyranny should be abrogated in the first Parliament, and the Reformed Religion should be strengthened by new Laws. And when, besides her Promise, two Edicts sign'd with her own Hand were produced; being catch'd here, she eluded them, and commanded the Commissioners of the *Kirk* to attend her another time; but after that, she never gave them any Opportunity to appear before her again; and she alledged that those Acts of the Estates which were published before her coming into *Scotland*, by the Consent of *Francis* her Husband, fell under the Act of Oblivion: That Speech of hers seemed to all no less than a manifest Profession of Tyranny. For whereas the *Scots* had no Laws besides Acts of Parliament, they entertained such private Thoughts in their Breasts, *what kind of Life they were like to live under a Prince whose Will was a Law, and whose Word and Promise were never to be believed.* This was done about the end of the Convention. At the same time the Queen was very earnest to hasten their Marriage, and yet she desired to procure the publick Consent by any Means, that she might seem

to act nothing but by the Suffrage of the Nobility, and *Bothwel* too to credit the Marriage with the Pretence of publick Authority, devised this Stratagem: He invited all the Noblemen of the highest Rank, who were then in Town (as there were many) to Supper, and when they were in the height of their Mirth, he desired them to shew that good Affection to him for the future, which they had always formerly done. At present he only desired, that as he was a Suitor to the Queen, they would subscribe to a Schedule, which he had made about that matter, and that would be a means to procure him Favour with the Queen, and Honour with the People. They all stood amazed at so sudden and unexpected a Proposal, and could not dissemble their Sorrow, and yet they durst not refuse or deny him; upon that, a few who knew the Queen's Mind, began first, and the rest not foreseeing that there was so great a number of Flatterers present, suspected one another, and so at last, every one of them subscribed. The Day after, when they came to recollect what they had done, some of them as ingenuously profess'd, they would never have given their Consent, unless they had thought the thing had been acceptable to the Queen; for that, as it carried no great Shew of Honesty, and was very prejudicial to the Publick too; so there was Danger if any Discord should arise (as it happen'd between her and her former Husband) between her and *Bothwel* in the same manner, and he should be rejected, it might be laid to their Doors; that they had betrayed the Queen into a dishonourable Marriage; and therefore before they went too far, they resolved to try her Mind, and to procure a Writing under her Hand, to the following Purpose, viz. That she approved of what they had done in reference to her Marriage. This Writing was obtained with great Ease, and, by the Consent of all, was given to the Earl of *Argyle* to keep. The next Day all the Bishops in Town were called to Court, that they might subscribe in like manner. This Trouble being over, there succeeded another, which was, how the Queen should get her Son into her Power; for *Bothwel* did not think it safe for him to have a young Child brought up, which in time might revenge his Father's Murder; neither was he willing, that any other should come between his Children and the Crown. Whereupon the Queen, who could now deny him nothing, undertook the Task herself, to bring the Child to *Edinburgh*; she had also another Pretence to visit *Sterlin*, of which I shall speak by and by. When she came thither, the Earl of *Marr* suspected what was a brewing, and therefore shewed her the Prince, but would not let him be in her Power; The Queen seeing her Fraud detected, and not able

able to cope with him by Force, pretended another Cause for her Journey, and prepared to return; as she was upon her Journey, either the too great Fatigue of that, or else the Fury she was in, that her Designs, which the Authors thought so craftily laid, proved unsuccessful, made her fall suddenly ill, and she was forced to retire into a poor House about four Miles from *Sterlin*, where her Pain abating a little, she proceeded on her Journey, and came that Night to *Linlithgow*; from thence she wrote to *Bothwel* by *Paris*, what she would have him to do about her Surprize; for before she departed from *Edinburgh*, she had agreed with him, that at the Bridge of *Almon*, he should surprize her in her Return, and carry her where he would, as it were against her Will. The common People put this Interpretation on the Matter; that she could not altogether conceal her Familiarity with *Bothwel*, and yet could not be well without it; neither could she openly enjoy it as she desired, without the Loss of her Reputation: It was too tedious to expect his Divorce from his former Wife; and she was willing to consult her Honour, which she pretended to have a mighty regard to, and yet she would provide for Pleasures too. This made her very impatient, and therefore the Device was thought to be very pretty, that *Bothwel* should guard against the Queen's Infamy, with his own great Crime; and yet stand in no fear of any Punishment for it. But there was a deeper Reach in the Project, which afterwards came to Light. For whereas the People did everywhere point at, and curse the King's Murderers: They, to provide for their own Security by the Persuasion, as 'tis thought, of *John Lesly*, Bishop of *Ross*, devised this Attempt upon the Queen. 'Tis the Custom in *Scotland*, when the King grants a Pardon for Offences, that he who sues it out, expresseth his great Offence by Name, and the rest of his Crimes are added in general Words; accordingly the King's Murderers determined to ask Pardon for this Surprize of the Queen by Name, and then to put down in their Pardons, by way of Addition, *All other wicked Facts*: In which Clause they persuaded themselves, that the King's Murder would be included, because it was not safe for them to name themselves the Authors of it in the Pardon; nor was it creditable for the Queen to grant it under that Name; neither could it well be added in the Grant of Pardon, as an Appendix to a Crime that was less in its own Nature. Another Offence less invidious, but liable to the same Punishment, was to be devised, under the Shadow of which, the King's Murder might be disguised and pardoned, and no other did occur to them, but this pretended Force put upon the Queen, by which her Pleasure might be satisfied, and

Bothwel's

Bothwell's Security be provided for at the same time: And therefore he, accompanied with 600 Horse, waited her coming at *Almon* Bridge, as they had agreed, and took her, not against her Will, to *Dunbar*: There they had free Converse one with another, and a Divorce was commenced betwixt *Bothwell* and his former Wife, and that in two Courts: First, she was cited before Judges publicly appointed to decide such kind of Controversies; and next before the Officials of Bishops Courts, though they were forbid by a publick Statute, to exercise any part of Magistracy, or to meddle with any publick Business; *Madam Gordon*, *Bothwell's* Wife, was compell'd to commence a suit of Divorce in a double Court: Before the Queen's Judges she accuses him of Adultery, which was the only just Cause of a Divorce amongst them; and before the Papal Judges, who though forbidden by the Law, yet were impowered by the Archbishop of St. *Andrew's* to determine the Controversy, she alledged against him, that before their Marriage, he had had too much unlawful or incestuous Familiarity with her Kinswoman: The Witneses and Judges made no delay in the Case. The Suit was commenced, prosecuted, adjudg'd, and ended in ten Days.

On these Emergencies, a great many of the honest Nobles met at *Sterlin* and sent to the Queen; desiring to know of her, whether she was kept where she was, with or against her Will? If the latter, they would levy an Army for her Deliverance. She received the Message, not without smiling, and answered them, that it was true, she was brought thither against her Will, but was so kindly treated since, that she had little Cause to complain of the former Injury. Thus was the Messenger eluded; but tho' they made haste to take off the Reflection of the Force by a lawful Marriage, there were still two Obstacles in the way; one was, that if she married whilst a Prisoner, the Marriage might not be accounted good, and so easily dissolved. The other, how to have the usual Ceremonies observed, that the Bans should be publish'd on three Lord's Days, in the publick Congregations, 'Of a Marriage intended between *James Hepburn*, and *Mary Stuart*; so that 'if any one knew a lawful Impediment, why they might 'not be joined together in Matrimony, they should declare 'it, that so it might be judged of by the Church.' To end these Matters, *Bothwell* gathers his Friends and Dependents together, resolving to bring back the Queen to *Edinburgh*, that so under a vain shew of her Liberty, he might determine of their Marriage at his Pleasure. His Attendants were all arm'd, and as they were on their Journey, a Fear seiz'd on many of them, lest one time or other it might turn to their Prejudice,

to hold the Queen still a Prisoner; and if there were no other Ground for it, yet this was enough, that they accompany'd her in an arm'd Posture, when things were otherwise in Peace and Quietness: Upon this Scruple, they threw away all their Spears, and so in a seeming more peaceable Posture, they brought her to the Castle of *Edinburgh*, which was then in *Bothwell's* Power.

THE next Day they accompanied her into the City, and into the Courts of Justice, where she affirmed before the Judges, that she was wholly free, and under no Restraint at all. But as to publishing the Marriage in the Church, the Reader whose Office it was, did absolutely refuse it: Upon this, the elder Deacons and Ecclesiasticks assembled, as not daring to resist, and commanded the Reader to publish the Bans according to Custom; he so far was obedient as to tell them, that he himself knew a lawful Impediment, and was ready to declare it to the Queen or to *Bothwell*, when they pleas'd to command him: Accordingly he was sent for to the Castle, and the Queen remitted him to *Bothwell*, who neither by Fear nor Favour could make him alter his Purpose, nor yet durst he commit the Matter to a Debate; yet he went on to hasten the Marriage. There was none found besides the Bishop of *Orkney*, to celebrate the Nuptials; he alone, preferred Court-Favour before Truth, the rest being utterly against it, and producing Reasons why it could be no lawful Marriage with one that had two Wives yet living, and upon confessing his own Adultery, had been divorced from a third; yet though all good Men loath'd it, the Commonalty curs'd it, Relations by Letters dissuaded it, whilst he was prosecuting it, and abhorr'd it when it was done; there were some publick Ceremonies performed after a mock kind of manner, and married they were. Those of the Nobility there present (being very few, and those *Bothwell's* Friends and Creatures too, the rest being gone to their Homes) were invited to Supper; and so was *Crooke* the French Embassador; but he, though he was of the *Guises* Faction, and besides resided near the Place, yet peremptorily refused to come; he thought it suited not with the Dignity of that Person whom he represented, to countenance that Marriage by his Presence, which he heard the common People had detested and cursed; and besides, the Queen's Relations did by no means approve it, neither whilst it was a doing, nor yet when it was done. And the King of *France* and Queen of *England* did by their Embassadors declare against the Turpitude of the Action. Though that was troublesome to her, yet the silent Sadness of the People did so much the more aggravate the fierce Disposition.

position of the Queen, as things that we see with our own Eyes pierce us deeper, than things that we only hear. As they both went through the City, none saluted them with their wonted Acclamations, only one said, and that but once, *God save the Queen*; upon which another Woman near her spoke aloud, once or twice, so that the Standers-by might hear her, *Let every body have their Deserts*: That Incident provoked her still much the more against the *Edinburghers*, with whom she was angry before. When she saw how disaffected People were to her, both at Home and Abroad, she took advice with her Cabal, how she might establish her Power, and quell any Insurrection for the future. First of all, she determined to send an Ambassador into *France*, to reconcile those Princes, and the *Guises* to her, who she knew were offended with her precipitate Marriage: *William* Bishop of *Dunblane* was chosen for that Service; his Instructions were given him almost in these very Words:

‘ *First*, You shall excuse me to those Princes, and to my
 ‘ Uncle, that they heard of the Consummation of my
 ‘ Marriage by vulgar Report, before ever I had acquainted
 ‘ them with my Intentions by my own proper Messengers.
 ‘ This Excuse you shall ground on the true Narration of
 ‘ the whole Life, and especially of the good Offices of
 ‘ the Duke of the *Orcades*, which he hath done me even
 ‘ to that very Day, wherein I thought good to make him
 ‘ my Husband. You shall begin the Declaration of that
 ‘ Story, as the Truth is, taking your Rise from his very
 ‘ Youth. As soon as ever he came to be of Age, after the
 ‘ Death of his Father, one of the prime Noblemen of the
 ‘ Kingdom, he wholly addicted himself to the Service of
 ‘ the Princes of this Land, being otherwise of a very noble
 ‘ Family, both by reason of its Antiquity, and also the
 ‘ high Offices it held in the Kingdom as by Hereditary
 ‘ Right. At that time he principally addicted himself to the
 ‘ Service of my Mother, who then held the Scepter, and
 ‘ was so constant an Adherent to her, that though in a very
 ‘ short time a great many of the Nobility, and many
 ‘ Towns also had revolted from her, on the account of
 ‘ Religion, yet he never faulted in his Loyalty; neither
 ‘ could he be induc’d by any Proffers, Promises or Threats,
 ‘ nor by any Loss of his particular Estate, to make a De-
 ‘ fection in the least from her Authority; nay, rather than
 ‘ neglect her Service, he suffer’d his House, the Mansion-
 ‘ House of the Family, and all his Goods, which were many
 ‘ and precious, to be plundered, and his Estate made a Prey
 ‘ to his Enemies. At last, being destitute of our Aid, and
 ‘ all

all other besides, an *English* Army was brought by domestic Enemies, into the very Bowels of the Kingdom, on purpose to inforce my Husband (then Earl of *Bothwell*) to leave his Estate and Country, and to retire to *France*; where he observed me with all Respect, till my Return to *Scotland*. Neither must his Military Exploits against the *English* be forgotten, a little before my Return, wherein he gave such Proofs of his manly Valour, and great Prudence too, that he was thought worthy, though a young Man, to command his Superiors in Age; so that he was chosen Chief General of the Army of his Countrymen; and my Lieutenant, which Office he discharg'd so well, that by many valiant Performances, he left a noble Memorial of his Fortitude both amongst his Enemies, and also his own Countrymen. After my Return, he employ'd all his Endeavours for the Enlargement of my Authority; he spared no Danger in subduing the Rebels upon the Borders of *England*; where having reduc'd things to great Tranquillity, he resolv'd to do the same in other Parts of the Kingdom. But as Envy is always the Companion of Virtue, the *Scots* still desiring Innovations, and some of them willing to lessen my Favour towards him, did so ill interpret his good Services, that they caused me to commit him to Prison; which I did, partly to gratify some, who envied the Growth of his increasing Greatness, and partly to allay the seditious Commotions, which were then ready to break out, to the Destruction of the whole Kingdom. He made his Escape out of Prison, and to give way to the Power of those who were emulous of his great Virtues, he retir'd into *France*, and resided there almost two Years; during which time, the Authors of the former Seditions, forgetting my Lenity towards them, and their Duty towards me, took up Arms, and led an Army against me. Then it was I commanded him to return, I restored him to his former Estate and Dignity, and made him Captain-General over all my Forces: And then too it was, that his Conduct restored me again so far to my Authority, that all the Rebels were quickly forc'd to turn Fugitives, and seek Shelter in *England*, till a great part of them, upon their most humble Submission, were receiv'd by me into Favour. How perfidiously I was treated by those Exiles that return'd, and by those whom I had obliged with greater Courtesies than they deserv'd, my Uncle is not ignorant, and therefore I need say little of it; yet must I not pass over in Silence, with how great Diligence he freed me from the Hands of those who held me Captive; and

and how speedily, by his singular Conduct, I escap'd out of
 Prison; and, the whole Faction of Conspirators being diffi-
 pated and crush'd, I recover'd my former Authority. I must
 acknowledge his Services to have been so grateful to me
 on this head, that I could never suffer them to slip out of my
 Memory. These things are really and truly Great in them-
 selves; yet he hath made such an Addition to them, by
 his unweary'd Diligence and anxious Care in my Behalf,
 that I could never expect greater Marks of Duty and Loy-
 alty in any Man, than I have found in him, even till after
 the Decease of the King my late Husband. Since that time,
 as his Thoughts seem'd to grow more aspiring, and to have a
 higher Aim, so his Actions were somewhat now uncom-
 mon, bold and daring; and tho' the Matter was come to that
 pass, that I was in a manner oblig'd to take all things
 in the best part, yet was I much offended with his Arro-
 gance, when he came to think it was beyond my Ability
 to requite him any otherwise, than by giving up my self to
 him as a Reward of his Services; besides, I disliked his
 secret Designs against, and, at length, his open Con-
 tempt of me, and the Force which he us'd to get me
 into his Power, for fear his Intents should be frustrated.
 In the mean time, the whole Course of his Life was so
 order'd, that it may stand as an Example, how very crafti-
 ly Men that undertake great Designs, can conceal their
 Purposes till they obtain their Ends. For I thought, that
 his Diligence and Promptitude in paying Obedience to all
 my Commands, proceeded from no other Motive, than
 a loyal Desire to please me; it never so much as enter'd
 into my Imagination, that he had any higher Wish or De-
 sign; neither did I think, that a more gracious Counte-
 nance, which I sometimes shew towards my Nobles, to
 ingage them to a greater Readiness in obeying my Com-
 mands, would have exalted his Mind so far as to flatter
 himself with the Hopes of a more extraordinary Courtesy
 from me; yet he, turning things that were even merely ac-
 cidental, to his own Advantage, carry'd on these Designs
 unknown to me; and, by his wonted Observance, main-
 tain'd the former good Opinion which I had of him: He
 moreover courted the Friendship of the Nobility, as if he
 was privily ambitious of a new Favour; and he was so sedu-
 lous in this Point, that tho' I knew nothing of it, yet, when
 the Convention of the Estates was held, he obtain'd a *Chart*
 from all the Nobility, subscrib'd with their Hands, to make
 it more authentick, wherein they declared their Assent to a

' Marriage betwixt me and him, and promised to venture their
 ' Lives and Fortunes to bring it to pass; and to be Enemies to
 ' all those that should oppose it: And the more easily to ob-
 ' tain the Assent of the Nobles, he led each of them into a
 ' full Persuasion, that all these things were manag'd by my
 ' Consent. When he had once obtain'd this Writing, he
 ' next endeavour'd by degrees to win my Consent, and
 ' fought it in the most humble Manner; but my Answer not
 ' suiting with his Desire, he began to propound such things
 ' to himself, which are wont to occur in such great Un-
 ' dertakings, as, the outward Demonstrations of my Good-
 ' Will, the Ways by which my Friends, or his Enemies,
 ' might hinder his Design; and lest any of those, who had
 ' subscrib'd, should withdraw their Assent, and many other
 ' things might intervene to obstruct his Purposes. At length,
 ' he determin'd with himself, to pursue the Favour of his
 ' present Fortune, and to stake the whole Business, his Life
 ' and all his Hopes upon the Hazard of one single Mo-
 ' ment; so that being resolv'd to execute his Design to the
 ' Purpose, after he had waited four Days, as I was on my
 ' Return home from visiting my dear Son, he watch'd a con-
 ' venient Place and Time; and, on the Way, seized me
 ' with a strong Party of Men, and carried me speedily to
 ' *Dunbar*. Every one may very easily form a Judgment how
 ' I took this, especially from him, from whom I less expect-
 ' ed such a Treatment, than from any Subject whatsoever.
 ' There I upbraided him with my Favours towards him, and
 ' how honourably I had always spoken before of his Man-
 ' ners and Behaviour, and how ungratefully he had carried
 ' it towards me: I spoke a great many other things, to free
 ' my self out of his Hands; his Usage indeed was some-
 ' what coarse, but his Words were fair and smooth, as that
 ' he would use me with all Honour and Observance, and
 ' would do his utmost not to offend me in any thing; but
 ' as to his carrying me against my Will, into one of my own
 ' Castles, he crav'd my Pardon for so bold an Attempt, al-
 ' ledging, he was forc'd, by the Power of Love, so to do,
 ' and that his Passion made him forget the Reverence and
 ' Allegiance which he owed to me as a Subject. He said
 ' farther, that he was compelled to go thither for Fear of his
 ' Life. Then he began to rehearse to me the whole Course
 ' of his Life, and lamented his Misfortune, that those whom
 ' he had never offended, were his bitter Enemies, and whose
 ' Malice had devised all unjust Ways to do him a Mischief;
 ' what envious Reflections were made upon him for the
 ' King's

King's Death, and how unable he was to bear up against the
 hidden Conspiracy of those of his Enemies, whom he
 knew not, because they pretended Good-will towards him
 both in Speech and Behaviour; neither was he able to pre-
 vent those Treacheries, which came not within the Compass
 of his own Knowledge. Their Malice against him was so
 great, that, at no Time or Place he could live a quiet Life,
 unless he was assur'd of my unchangeable Favour towards
 him; And to assure that, he knew but one Way, and that
 was, that I would vouchsafe to make him my Husband;
 he solemnly swore withal, that he did not seek it as the
 Means of Pre-eminence, or to be at the Top and Height of
 Dignity, but this *one* Thing was all he wanted, that he
 might be able to serve and obey me, as he had hitherto done,
 all the Days of his Life. He dress'd up this Discourse of
 his, in all the Pomp of Eloquence that his Cause could re-
 quire. But when he found I was not to be wrought upon,
 either by Prayers or Promises, he, at last, shewed me what
 he had transacted with the Nobility, and all the Estates,
 and what they had promised under their Hands. This be-
 ing produced before me on a sudden, and beyond my Ex-
 pectation, I leave it to the King, Queen, my Uncle, and
 the rest of my Friends, whether it might not administer a
 just Cause of Amazement to me: Upon this indeed, when
 I saw my self in another Man's Power, separate from
 those who were wont to give me Counsel; nay, when I
 saw those Persons, on whose Fidelity and Prudence I plac-
 ed my self, and all my Hopes, those Persons whose Pow-
 er must confirm my Authority, that otherwise would be
 little or none at all; I say, when I saw such Men had de-
 voted themselves to gratify his Will and Desire, and my
 self left alone as his Prey, I ponder'd many things in my
 Mind, but could not find out a Way how to extricate my
 self; neither did he give me any long time to consider of
 the Matter, but press'd his Purpose with great Eagerness:
 At last, when I saw I had no Hope to escape, and that
 there was not a Man in the Kingdom that would stir for
 my Deliverance; for I easily perceiv'd by the Roll he shew-
 ed me, and by the great Silence of the Times, that all were
 drawn to his Party: As soon as my Anger was a lit-
 tle abated, I apply'd my Mind to consider his Request:
 Then I began to set before my Eyes his Services in former
 Times, and the great Hopes I had, he would constantly
 persist in the same for the future: And again, how hardly
 my Subjects would endure a foreign Prince, who was un-
 acquainted

acquainted with their Laws, and that they would not suffer me to be a Widow long: That a People, prone to Tumults, could not be kept within the Bounds of their Duty, unless my Authority was upheld and exercised by a Man, who was able to undergo the Toil of governing the Commonwealth, and so to bridle the Insolence of the Rebellious; that my Strength was weakened with the Weight of those Things, ever since I came into *Scotland*, and almost reduced to nothing; insomuch that I could no longer bear the daily Tumults and Rebellions that arose. Furthermore, by reason of these Seditions, I was forced to create four, or more Lieutenants, in divers Parts of the Kingdom; most of which, under Colour of the Authority granted by me, caus'd my Subjects to take up Arms against me. For these Reasons, when I saw, that if I would support my Imperial State, I must incline my Heart to Marriage; and that my Subjects would not bear a foreign King: And that there was not any one of my Subjects, who, for the Splendor of his Family, for Prudence and Valour, and other Endowments of Body and Mind, could exceed, or so much as bear a Comparison with him, whom I have now married; I prevailed with my self to comply with the universal Decree of my Estates, of which I made mention before. After my Constancy was overborn by these Reasons, he partly by Force, partly by Flattery, obtained a Promise from me to marry him; which having done, I could not obtain from him (who fear'd lest my Mind should change) to put off the Celebration of the Nuptials, that I might have time to communicate the Matter to the King and Queen of *France*, and to my other Friends beyond Sea; but, as he began with the utmost Intrepidity and Boldness, so that he might arrive at the top of his Desires, he never gave over soliciting me by Arguments and earnest Entreaties, till he at last compelled me, not without Force, to put an end to the Matter begun, and that at such a Time and Way as he thought most convenient to his Purpose. And upon this Head, I cannot dissemble, but must needs say, that I was treated by him otherwise than I would, or than I had deserved of him; for he was more solicitous to satisfy them, by whose Consent, tho' extorted from them at the Beginning, he judges himself to have accomplished his Desires (he having deceived them as well as my self) than to gratify me, by considering what was fit and creditable for me to do, who had been always brought up in the Rites and Institutions of our Religion, from which, neither he,

nor

'nor any Man living, shall ever turn or alter me. Tho' I acknowledge my Error, yet I must confess, I much desire that the King, the Queen his Mother, my Uncle, or other Friends of mine, would not, in this Point, expostulate with him, or rub up old Sores. For now Matters being so compleated, that they cannot be undone, I take all things in the best part; and, as he is indeed my Husband, I resolve now to look upon him as one that hereafter I will love and reverence; and they who profess themselves my Friends, must needs carry the same Respects to him, since now we are joined in the indissoluble Bond of Matrimony. Tho', in some things, he hath carried himself something negligently, and almost rashly, yet I impute it to his immoderate Love towards me, and do therefore intreat the King, Queen, my Uncle, and other Friends, to respect him as much, as if all had been managed by their Advice, even to this very Day; and, on the other side, we promise, in his Behalf, that he will gratify them in all things, which they shall desire.'

THIS was the Remedy provided against the bad Reports of the World abroad; but they took Precautions against domestick Tumults, after they had fixed those by Gifts for the present, and Promises for the time to come, who were either Perpetrators or Partizans in the King's Murder, to make a Combination of the greater part of the Nobility, because, if that was done, they might undervalue the rest; or, if they remain'd obstinate, cut them off. Upon this, they assembled many of the Nobility, and propounded to them the Heads of the Capitulations, which they were to swear: The sum was, that they should maintain the Queen and *Boiswiel*, and support all their Proceedings, who, on their part, were to favour and countenance the Concerns and Interests of those of the Confederates there present. A great many were persuaded before, and so subscribed; the rest, tho' they thought it a very ill Thing to join in the Conspiracy, yet they saw it was as dangerous to refuse, and so they subscribed too. *Murray* was sent for, that his Authority (which his Virtue had rendered very great and extensive) might give some Countenance to the thing. As he was on his Journey, he was advis'd by his Friends, to consult his own Safety, and not to lye in *Seton* House, where the Queen and the chief Conspirators were, but rather to lodge in some Friend's House hard by. He answer'd, that was not in his Power, but come what would, he would never assent to any wicked Action, and he left all the rest to God. As to those Courtiers who

were appointed by the Queen, to debate with him about subscribing the League, he made them this Reply, ' That he could not justly nor honestly make this League with the Queen, (whom in all things else it was his Duty to obey ;) that he was reconciled to *Bothwel*, by the Queen's Mediation : ' Whatever he had then promis'd, he would observe to a tit-tle ; neither was it equitable, or good for the Commonwealth, that he should make another League or Combination with him, or any other Man living.' The Queen spoke to him more kindly than ordinary for some Days, and promis'd to tell him her Mind in all things, yet she could not speak out for Shame, and therefore try'd his Mind by her Friends ; they also perceiving his Constancy in that which was right, openly confess'd, what it was they desir'd : And when it was plain that they could do no manner of Good with him by their underhand Ways, *Bothwel* set upon him at last, and after much Discourse told him, that he did that Fact not willingly, nor for himself alone. He put on a kind of frowning Countenance at that Word ; upon which *Bothwel* having sometimes by serious Discourse, sometimes by Terms that were the very next to downright railing, carry'd the Matter as far as it would go, endeavour'd at last to throw in Seeds of Discord, and to urge him to a Quarrel. He on the contrary answer'd with the utmost Moderation, and gave no just Occasion for a Dispute, yet kept close to his Point, and did not depart in the least from his Resolution. When *Murray* had labour'd under these Straits for some Days, he ask'd leave of the Queen, that since there was no great need of him at Court, he might have Liberty to retire to *St. Andrew's* or into *Murray* ; for he was willing to go out of the way, that he might not be suspected to be the Author of the Tumults which he foresaw would arise. When he could not obtain that, nor yet remain at Court without great and apparent Danger, he at last got leave to travel, but upon Condition, that he should not make any Stay in *England*, but go through *Flanders* either into *Germany*, or to what other Place he pleas'd. To go to *Flanders*, was all one as to cast himself into evident Danger, and therefore, with much ado, he obtain'd leave to pass through *England* into *France*, and from thence, whither his own Choice should lead him. The Queen being thus freed from a free-hearted and popular Person, endeavours to remove the other Obstacles to her Tyranny ; and those were such, as would not willingly subscribe to her Wickedness, or were not like to acquiesce very easily in her Designs. But she had a particular Resentment against those,

who

who perceiving her to be no better affected towards her Son than towards her former Husband, made an Association at *Sterlin*, not out of any wicked Design, but merely in order to defend the young Prince, whom his Mother desir'd to place under the Power of his Father-in-Law. As for him, every body knew that he would make away with the Child, as soon as ever he had an Opportunity of doing it, for fear he should live to revenge his Father's Death, at least to prevent his own Children from the Crown. The chief of that Combination were the Earls of *Argyle*, *Morton*, *Marr*, *Athol*, and *Glencairn*; besides others of the same Order, but next in Degree; as *Patrick Lindsey*, and *Robert Boyd*, with their Friends and Partners, who had joined themselves to them. But *Argyle*, out of the same Levity of Temper, with which he came in to them, discovered their Designs to the Queen, within a Day or two following; and *Boyd* was by large Promises wrought over to the contrary Party. Next to these she suspected the Families of the *Humes*, the *Carrs*, and the *Scots*, who lived just upon the Borders of *England*: She sought by all means to lessen their Power, and there appeared a pretty just Occasion to second her Designs in that Point. For when *Bothwel* was preparing an Expedition into *Liddesdale*, to make amends for the Disgrace he had received there the Autumn before; and likewise to get some Reputation by his Arms, and to extinguish the Envy heaped upon him on account of the King's Death; the Queen commanded all the Chiefs of the Families in *Tiviotdale* to come in to the Castle of *Edinburgh*, that there for some short time they might be secure, as in free Custody; upon pretence, that they might not be led into an Expedition, which did not seem likely to be successfully enterprized by them against their Wills; and they also, if at Liberty, might disturb the Design out of Envy; and in their Absence, she might inure the Clans to the Government of others; and so, by degrees, wear off the Love of their old Patrons and Masters. But they imagining, that some deeper Project lay hid under that Command, went all home in the Night, except *Andrew Carr*, who was generally thought to be no Stranger to the Parricide, and except *Walter Carr* of *Sesford*, a Man, that by reason of his innocent Life, suspected nothing. *Hume*, tho' often summon'd by *Bothwel* to come to Court, as often refus'd the Summons, as knowing how he stood affected towards him; yet notwithstanding the Design for the Expedition proceeded, and the Queen staid at *Bothwick* Castle about eight Miles from *Edinburgh*. In the mean time, they who had united to defend the

Prince, being not ignorant of *Bothwell's* Intention towards them, thought it necessary to proceed to Action, not only for their own Security, but also, by demanding Justice upon the Author of the King's Murder, they might acquit the *Scottish* Name from the Infamy, under which it lay amongst foreign Nations. And therefore, supposing the common People would follow their Motions, they privately levy'd about two thousand Horse : So that the Queen knew nothing of what was acted, till *Hume* came to *Bothwick* Castle, with part of the Army, and besieg'd her and *Bothwel* together. But the other part of the Conspirators not coming in at the time appointed, and he having not Force enough to stop all Passages, and not being so active himself neither, as he might have been, because the rest had neglected their Parts ; first, *Bothwel* made his Escape, and after him the Queen in Man's Apparel, and went directly to *Dunbar*. *Arbol* was the occasion why his Associates did not come in time enough ; for he, either amaz'd at the Greatness of the Undertaking, or held back by his own sluggish Temper, kept the rest at *Sterlin*, till the Opportunity of the Service was lost ; yet that they might seem to have done something, a great part of them were sent to besiege *Edinburgh*. *James Balfure* was Governor of the Castle there, put in by *Bothwel*, as being a Partner in the Parricide, and Author of, or else privy to all his Designs ; but when he saw he had no Pay for his Service, and was not so well respected by the Tyrants as he expected (for they had endeavour'd to take away the Command from him) he drove out those of the contrary Faction, and brought the Castle under his sole Dominion ; he then promised the publick Vindicators of the Parricide, that he would do them no hurt, and was treating of Conditions how to deliver it up. There were at that time in the Town, the principal of the Queen's Faction, *John Hamilton*, the Archbishop of *St. Andrew's*, *George Gordon* Earl of *Huntley*, and *John Lesly* Bishop of *Ross* : They having Intelligence that their Enemies were received into the Town, flew to the Town-house, and there gathering together a Multitude of People, they offer'd to head them and drive out their Foes ; but very few coming in to them, they were driven back to the Castle ; they were received into it by *Balfure*, and a few Days after were sent away safe a By-way : For *Balfure* having not yet fully agreed with the other side, would not then cut off all his Hopes of Pardon from those of his Party : The Town easily came into the Combination, for it had been burden'd a little before with new Taxes from the Queen ; and in the publick Necessity they expected no

Mode-

Moderation from her Party, and were unanimously offend-
ed with her Tyranny; nay, as often as they had Liberty to
express their Sentiments, they curs'd the Court Wickedness
with the most furious Execrations.

MATTERS being thus slowly carried on by the Faction of
the Nobles at *Bothwick*, the Queen and *Bothwell* by the Neg-
lect of the Guards escaped by Night, and with a small Re-
tinue came to *Dunbar*, where they had a well fortify'd Cas-
tle to secure themselves in; hence there followed so great
a Turn of Affairs, that they who were lately in great De-
spair, did now, by the flocking in of those to them who
were either Partners in their Evils, or else liking the Um-
brage of the Royal Name, grew strong enough, as they
thought, to cope with and subdue their Adversaries. On
the other side, the Vindicators of Liberty were driven to
great Straits; for to their great Disappointment, there were
but a few came in to so renown'd an Undertaking; the
Heat of the Vulgar, as is usual, quickly abating, and a
great part of the Nobility being very averse, or at least stand-
ing aloof off, expecting the Issue of the others Danger; be-
sides, tho' they were superior in Number, yet they wanted
Artillery to take the Castles: Therefore as they perceived
their Counsels would at present come to no Issue, and that
Necessity lay against them, they thought to return without
effecting any thing; But the Queen decided their Doubts,
for she taking Courage from the Numbers she had, resolv'd
already to march with them for *Leith*, and try her Fortune
near at hand; imagining also, that her Approach would make
many more come in to her and encrease her Force; and
that her Boldness would strike Terror into her Enemies; be-
sides, the Success which she had met with before, had so e-
lated her Spirit, that she thought hardly any Man would at
this time make any stand, or dare to look her in the Face.
This Confidence of hers was very much heighten'd by her
Flatterers, and especially by *Edmund Hayes*, a Lawyer;
he told her, that all things lay open to her Valour,
that her Enemies wanted Force, and were at their Wits
end, and at the very first Noise of her Approach, would
be for making off as fast as they could: Whereas in-
deed the Matter was far otherwise, and in those present Cir-
cumstances, nothing had been better for her than Delay;
for if she had kept herself in the Castle of *Dunbar* but three
Days longer, the Assertors of Liberty being destitute of all
Preparations for a War, and finding they had attempted their
Liberty in vain, must have been forc'd to depart every one
to

to his own House. However, excited by these bad Counsels, and animated with vain and groundless Hopes, she march'd from *Dunbar*, yet she march'd slowly, because she distributed Arms among the Countrymen, whom she gathered up by the Way. At length, a little before Night, they came to *Seton*, and because they could not be quarter'd there, they divided their Number into two neighbouring Villages, both called *Preston*: From thence a dreadful Alarm was brought to *Edinburgh* before Midnight, and presently the Word was given, *To your Arms*: They rose out of their Beds, and made all the haste they could into the neighbouring Fields, and there having gathered a good Body together by Sun-rising, they put themselves in Order of Battle; thence they march'd to *Musselburgh*, to pass the River *Esk*, before the Bridge and Ford were possess'd by the Enemy (that Village is but two Miles from *Preston*) but meeting no body, and perceiving no Noise at all, they placed Guards and Sentinels, and went to their Quarters of Refreshment. In the mean time, the Scouts which were sent to watch the Motions of the Enemy, seeing a few Horsemen, drove them into the Village, but did not dare to follow them further, for fear of falling into an Ambuscade; so that they brought back no certain News of the Army, only that the Enemy was upon their March: Upon that the Assertors of Liberty, marching out of *Musselburgh*, saw the Enemy standing in Battle-array, upon the Brow of an Hill over against them, and that they kept their Ground. The Hill being so steep that they could not come at them without Prejudice, they drew a little to the right, both to have the Sun on their Backs, and likewise to gain an easier Ascent, and to fight upon a more advantageous Ground. That Design of theirs deceived the Queen, for she thought they had fled, and were marching to *Dalkeith*, a neighbouring Town of the Earl of *Morton's*; she was fully persuaded, that the Terror of her Royal Name was so great, that they durst not stand; but she quickly found, that *Authority, as it is gotten by good Arts, so may be quickly lost by bad; and that Majesty, destitute of Virtue, is soon brought to nothing.* In their March the *Dalkeithians* brought them forth all manner of Provisions in abundance. When they had refresh'd themselves, and quench'd their Thirst, which annoy'd them very much before, as soon as ever they got a convenient Place, they divided their Army into two Bodies, *Morton* commanded the first, assisted by *Alexander Hume* and his Vassals: The second was led by the Earls of *Glencairn*, *Marr*, and *Athol*. When they

they were thus ready to charge, *Crock* the *French* Embassador came to them, he prefaced to them by an Interpreter, how he had always studied the good and Tranquillity of the *Scots*, and that he was now of the same Mind, and therefore he earnestly desired, if possible, that the Controversy might be decided to the Satisfaction of both Parties, without Force or Bloodshed; and in order to bring about so desirable an End, he offered his Service, alledging, that the Queen herself likewise was not averse from Peace; and that he might incline them to believe it, he told them, she would grant a present Pardon, and a general Oblivion of what was done, and she faithfully promised, that they should all be indemnified, for taking up Arms against the Supreme Magistrate. When Mr. *Crock's* Interpreter had spoken to this effect, *Morton* answered, ' That they had not taken up Arms against the Queen, but against the Murderer of the late King, and that if she would deliver him up to Punishment, or separate herself from him, then she should understand, they and their Fellow Subjects desired nothing more, than to persevere in their Duty to her : But that otherwise, no Agreement could be made.' *Glencairn* added, ' That they came not thither to receive Pardon for taking up Arms, but to give it.' *Crock* seeing their Resolution, and knowing well, that what they spoke was true, and what they desired was just, beg'd leave to depart, and so went to *Edinburgh*. In the mean time the Queen's Army kept it self within the ancient Camp-Bounds of the *English*; it was a Place naturally higher than the rest, and besides, fortified with a Work and Ditch; from whence *Bothwel* shewed himself, mounted on a brave Steed, and proclaim'd by an Herald, that he was ready to fight a Duel with any one of the adverse Party. *James Murray*, a noble young Man, offer'd himself from the other Army; he had done the same before by a *Chartel*, but suppress'd his Name (as I said before;) *Bothwel* refus'd him, alledging, that he was not a fit Match for him, either in Dignity or Estate : Then came forth *William Murray*, *James's* Elder Brother, affirming, that laying aside Money-Matters, he was as powerful as *Bothwel*, and even his Superior in Antiquity of Family, and the Integrity of Repute : He too was refused, as being but lately made a Knight, and of the second Rank ; many of the first Rank offered themselves, especially *Patrick Lindsey*; he truly desired it as the only Reward of all the Labours which he had undergone to maintain the Honour of *Scotland*, that he might be permitted to fight with *Bothwel* : *Bothwel* accepted

cepted against him too; and not knowing how to come off with Credit, the Queen intercepted her Authority, and forbidding him to fight, put an end to the Controversy: Then marching through the Army on Horse-back, she tried how they all stood affected. *Bothwel's* Friends and Relations were forward for the Fight; but the rest told her, that there were many brave Soldiers in the adverse Army, who being well exercised in Arms, would render the Hazard of a Fight very dangerous; as for themselves, they were ready, but the Commonalty, of which they had a great many, were averse from the Cause; and therefore it was much fitter, that *Bothwel* himself should maintain his own Cause in a Duel, than that he should expose so many brave Men, and especially the Queen herself, to so great a Hazard; but if she was fully resolv'd to fight, yet it was best to defer it till the next Morning: For it was said, that the *Hamiltons* were a coming with five hundred Horse, and that they were not far off; that when they were joined by their Forces, they might then more safely advise about the main Matter; for at that time, the Earl of *Huntley*, and *John Hamilton*, Archbishop of *St. Andrew's*, had gather'd their Clans together to *Hamilton*, and the Day after were coming to the Queen. Upon this she bit her Lips with Anger, and fell a weeping, uttering many Reproaches against the Nobles, and sent a Messenger to the opposite Army, desiring that they would send *William Kircade* of *Grange* to her, that she would speak with him about Conditions of Peace, and that in the mean time the Army should not advance; neither did the Army of the Assertors of Liberty proceed, but they stood near, and in a low place, so that the Enemy's Ordnance could not annoy them. Whilst the Queen was conferring with *Kircade*, *Bothwel* was bid to shift for himself (for that was it which she aim'd at, by pretending a Conference) whose Fears made him fly with so much haste to *Dunbar*, that he commanded two Horsemen, who accompanied him, to return back again. Such a Load of Guilt lay upon his Mind, that he could not trust his own Friends. The Queen, when she thought he was out of Danger, articul'd with *Kircade*, that the rest of her Army should pass quietly home, and so she came with him to the Nobles, cloth'd only with a Tunicle, and that a mean and threadbare one too, reaching but a little below her Knees: She was receiv'd by the Van of the Army, not without Demonstration of their former Reverence; but when she desired they would dismiss her to meet the *Hamiltons*, who were said

said to be coming on, promising to return again, and commanded *Morton* to undertake that she would be as good as her Word (for she hoped by fair Promises, to do whatever she would) when she could not obtain it, she burst out into all the Bitterness of Language, and upbraided the Commanders with what she had done for them; they too heard her with Silence: But when she came to the second Body, there was an unanimous Cry from them all; *Burn the Whore, burn the Parricide*, King *Henry* was painted in one of the Banners dead, and his little Son by him, crying out for Vengeance from God upon the Murderers; that Banner two Soldiers stretch'd out betwixt two Pikes, and set before her Eyes wheresoever she went; at this Sight she swooned, and could scarce be kept upon her Horse; but recovering her self, she remitted nothing of her former Fierceness, uttering Threats and Reproaches, shedding Tears, and shewing all the other Tokens that accompany a Woman's Grief. In her March she made what Delay she could, expecting if any Aid might come from elsewhere; but one of the Company cried out, there was no reason she should expect the *Hamiltons*, for there was not an arm'd Man within many Miles of the Place: At last a little before Night she enter'd *Edinburgh*, her Face being cover'd with Dust and Tears, as if Dirt had been thrown upon it; all the People running out to see the Spectacle, she pass'd through a great part of the City in great Silence, the Multitude leaving her so narrow a Passage, that scarce one could go abreast; when she was going up to her Lodging, one Woman of the Company prayed for her; but she turning to the People, told them, besides other threatening Words, that she would burn the City, and quench the Fire with the Blood of the perfidious Citizens. When she shewed herself weeping out of the Window, and a great Concourse of People was made, amongst whom some commiserated her sudden Change of Fortune; the former Banner was held out to her, upon which she shut the Window, and withdrew. When she had staid there two Days, she was sent Prisoner by the Order of the Nobles, to a Castle situated in *Lough-Levin*; for *Edinburgh* Castle was yet held by *Balfour*, who though he favour'd the Assertors of Liberty, had not however made any Conditions for the Surrender of the Castle.

In the mean time, the Bishop of *Dunblane*, who was sent Ambassador into *France*, to excuse the Queen's Marriage, being ignorant of all that was done in *Scotland* after his Departure, came to that Court at the time, whilst these last Transactions

Transactions were on Foot, and obtain'd a Day for Audience. The very same Day in the Morning there came two Letters to the King and his Mother, one from *Crock* his Embassador, another from *Ninian Cockburn* a Scot, who had serv'd as Captain of Horse some Years in *France*; both of them discover'd the present Posture of Affairs in *Scotland*. The *Scots* Embassador being admitted to the King's Presence, made a long and accurate Speech, partly to excuse the Queen's Marriage, without the Advice of her Friends; partly to commend *Bothwel* to the Skies, beyond all Truth and Reason. The Queen of *France* interrupted the vain Man, and shew'd him the Letters she had receiv'd from *Scotland*; how that the Queen was a Captive, and *Bothwel* was fled; he was astonish'd at the sudden ill News, and fell into a profound Silence: They who were present, partly frown'd, and partly smiled at this unlook'd for Accident; and there were none of them all but thought she suffer'd deservedly.

ABOUT the same time, *Bothwel* sent one of his most trusty Servants into the Castle of *Edinburgh*, to bring him a Silver Cabinet, which once belonged to *Francis* King of *France*, as appeared by the Cyphers on the outside, in which were found Letters, almost all of them written in the Queen's own Hand. By these the King's Murder, and the things which followed, were clearly discover'd, and it was particularly mentioned in almost all of them, that he should burn them as soon as ever he had read them. But *Bothwel* knowing the Queen's Inconstancy, as having had many evident Examples of it in a few Years, had preserv'd the Letters; that so, if any Difference should happen betwixt him and her, he might use them as Testimonials for himself, and demonstrate by them, that he was not the Author, but only a Party in the King's Murder. *Balfure* deliver'd this Cabinet to *Bothwel*'s Servant, but withal, he inform'd the Chiefs of the adverse Party, what he had sent, whither, and by whom; upon which they took him, and found great and mighty Matters contain'd in the Letters, which though before shrewdly suspected, yet could never so clearly be made out; but here the whole wicked Plot was plainly expos'd to view. *Bothwel* not succeeding in any of his Affairs, and being destitute of all Help, and out of all Hopes of recovering the Kingdom, fled, first to the *Orcades*, then to the Isles of *Schetland*; and there being reduced to extrem Want, he began to play the Pirate. In the interim, many dealt with, and desired the Queen to separate her Cause

Cause from *Botwell's*; (for, if he was punish'd, she might easily be restor'd with the Good-will of all her Subjects :) But the fierce Woman, bearing as yet the Spirit of her former Fortune, and inrag'd with her present Troubles, answer'd, *That she would rather live with him in the utmost Adversity, than without him in the most Royal Condition.* Various were the Thoughts of the Nobles upon this important Head : Those who were for revenging the bloody Deed, hoped, that as soon as ever their Intentions should take Air, and be publickly known, the greater part, if not all, would yield them their Approbation, and even concur with them in so famous and so glorious a Purpose : but it fell out far otherwise, for popular Envy being abated, partly by Space of Time, and partly by the Consideration of the Uncertainty of human Affairs, was turn'd into Commiseration ; nay, some of the Nobility did then no less bewail the Queen's Calamity, than they had before execrated her Cruelty : Both which they did, rather out of an Inconstancy of Temper, than out of any propense Affection to either side : Hence it too evidently appear'd, that they did not seek the publick Tranquillity, but rather fish'd for their own private Advantage in those troubled Waters : Many, on the other hand, wish'd for Peace and Quietness, and they weigh'd within themselves, which Party was strongest, and so were inclin'd to side with the most powerful. Their Faction was thought to be the strongest, who either consented to the Murder, or else, in Obsequiousness to the Queen, subscrib'd to the impious Deed after it was committed : The chief of those came in to *Hamilton*, and being very strong, would receive neither Letters, nor Messengers from the contrary Party, in order to an Accommodation ; neither were they sparing in their Reproaches, but upbraided them with all the Calumny of Language ; and they were so much the more inrag'd, because the greatest part of the Nobles, who respected rather the Blasts of Fortune, than the Equity of the Cause, did not come in to the Vindicators ; for they that were not *against* them they concluded were *for* them. Besides, they esteem'd it a piece of vain Glory, that the Vindicators should enter before them into the Metropolis of the Kingdom, and from thence send for them, who were the greater and more powerful in Numbers. The other Party, tho' they had not imperiously commanded, but only humbly requested them ; yet, to take away the least Colour of Arrogance that might be imputed to them, they prevail'd with the Ministers of the Churches, to write jointly to them all, and severally to each

each in particular, that they should not be wanting to the publick Peace, in so dangerous and critical a Juncture; but, setting aside private Animosities, they should consult what was most expedient for the publick Good. These Letters did no more good with the contrary Faction, than those of the Nobles before; they all making the same Excuses, as if it had been purposely so agreed between them. Afterwards, the Queen's Faction met together in many Places, and finding no Means to accomplish their Designs, they all slipp'd off, and dispers'd several Ways. In the mean time, the Revengers of the publick Parricide dealt with the Queen (whom they could not separate from the Concerns of the Murderers) to resign up her Government, upon pretence of Sicknefs, or any other specious Allegation, and to commit the Care of her Son, and the Administration of publick Affairs, to which of the Nobles she pleas'd. At last, with much ado, she appointed, as Governors to the Child, *James*, Earl of *Murray*, if, upon his Return home, he did not refuse the Charge; *James*, Duke of *Castleherault*; *Matthew*, Earl of *Lenox*; *Gilspy*, Earl of *Argyle*; *John*, Earl of *Athol*; *James*, Earl of *Morton*; *Alexander*, Earl of *Glencairn*; and *John*, Earl of *Marr*. Moreover, they sent Proxies to see the King plac'd in his Royal Throne, and so to enter on the Government, either at *Sterling*, or any other Place, if they thought fit. This happen'd on the 25th of *July*, in the Year of our Lord 1567. A little before which Day, *James*, Earl of *Murray*, hearing how Matters went at home, return'd thro' *France*, and was pretty nobly entertained at Court; yet so, that *Hamilton* (whose Faction the *Guises* knew, were more intimately affected towards them) was far better received, which was occasion'd chiefly by the *Guises*, who were averse to all *Murray's* Designs. After he was dismiss'd, the Archbishop of *Glasgow*, who call'd himself the Queen of *Scots* Embassador, told the Court, that *James*, tho' absent, yet was the Chief of the Faction; and, as in former times, all things were acted by his Influence, so now he was sent for, as an Head to the Body of them. Hereupon, some were sent after him to bring him back; but he, having had proper Precautions from his Friends, had set Sail from the Haven of *Diepe*, where he was, before the King's Letters came, and arriving in *England*, was honourably entertained by Persons of all Ranks and Degrees, and so sent home. There he was receiv'd with the highest Congratulation and Joy of all the People, especially of those who were Revengers of the Murder, and they

they all earnestly desired him to undertake the Government, whilst the King, his Sister's Son, was yet a Child; for that he alone was able to manage that great Trust with the least Envy, because of his Propinquity in Blood, his known Valour in many Dangers, his great Popularity grounded on his Deserts; and what was still more, it was the Desire of the Queen herself. He, tho' he knew what they spoke was true, yet desir'd a few Days for Deliberation, before he gave in his Answer. In the mean time, he writes earnestly to the Heads of the other Faction, and chiefly to *Argyle*, as being his Relation, and one, whom he was mighty loth to offend for old Acquaintance sake; he told him in what Posture things were, and what the Infant-King's Party had desired of him, and therefore he intreated him, by their nearness of Blood, by their ancient Friendship, and by the common Safety of their Country, that he would give him Opportunity to speak with him, that so, by his Assistance, himself and their Country might be deliver'd out of the present Difficulties. He also wrote to the rest, according to every one's Place and Interest; and he desir'd of them all in general, that since Matters were in such Confusion, that there was no likelihood of coming to any solid Settlement, without a chief Magistrate: that they should all agree to meet together, as soon as might be, in a Place which they should judge most convenient, and so by common Consent settle the publick Affairs, and the Administration. But being unable to obtain a Meeting from the one Faction, or to procure any longer Delay of a Convention from the other, he was at length, with the unanimous Consent of all there present, elected REGENT.

JAMES VI. *The hundred and eighth King.*

ON the 29th of *August*, after an excellent Sermon made by *John Knox*, *James VI.* of that Name, began his Reign; *James*, Earl of *Morton*, and *Alexander Hume*, took the Oath for him, that he would observe the Laws; they also promised, in his Name, that he would observe that Doctrine, and those Rites of Religion, which were then publickly taught and practised, and oppose the contrary. Not many Days after, *Hamilton's* Partisans began to murmur, that a few Persons, and those none of the most powerful neither, had, without their Consent, and contrary to their Expectation, grasp'd all things into their own Hands: When they had tried all the Nobility one by one, they found few of their Opinion, besides those who first came in to them, for many chose rather to be Spectators than Actors of what

was done. At length they wrote to the Royalists, that *Argyle* was ready to give a Meeting, to confer with the Earl of *Murray*. These Letters being directed to the Earl of *Murray*, without any higher Title of Honour, were, by the Council's Advice, rejected, and the Messenger dismissed, in effect, without an Answer. But *Argyle*, knowing that he had offended in superscribing his Letters, and trusting to the Fidelity of the Regent, with a few of the chief of his Faction, came to *Edinburgh*; where after he was fully satisfied, that it was not out of any slight to those Noblemen who were absent, but mere absolute Necessity, which had caused them to make such haste in settling a chief Magistrate; he came in a few Days to the publick Convention of the Estates.



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SCOTLAND.



B o o k XIX.



WHEN the King was recognized, and the Power of the Regent almost settled, there was some Quiet, some Respite from Force and Arms, but the Peace stood but upon a ticklish and tottering Foundation: Men's Minds were yet in a Ferment, and their Indignation, which they could not hide, seem'd to portend some sudden Mischiefs. In this great Uncertainty of Affairs, all Mens Thoughts and Eyes were turn'd and fix'd upon what the ensuing Parliament would do: The Time of its Sitting was the 25th of *August*, where the Assembly was so numerous, that no Man, ever before, remembered such a Concourse. There the Authority

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rity of the Regent was confirm'd; but they differed in their Opinions about the Queen; for it appearing by many Testimonies and Proofs, especially by her own Letters to *Bothwel*, that the whole Plot of the bloody Deed was laid by her: Some moved with the Heinousness of the Crime, and others, who had been privy to it by her, in order to remove her Testimony out of the Way, lest they themselves should be punished as Accessories to so odious a Crime, voted, that she should suffer the utmost Extremity of the Law; but the Majority agreed, that she should be only sentenced to an Imprisonment. After the Parliament rose, the Winter was spent in settling Judicatories, and punishing Delinquents. The Embassadors of the *French* and *English* had Audience, they both desired to see the Queen; but she being a Prisoner on a publick Account, it was denied them: None but *Bothwel* was then in Arms: Upon which, some were sent with a Navy to catch him as he was committing Acts of Piracy near the *Orcades*, and the Isles of *Schetland*. The publick Stock was then at so low an Ebb, that they were forced to borrow Money of *James Douglas*, Earl of *Morton*, to rig and fit out the Navy; so that his private Purse, at that time, bore the Burden of the publick Charge. *Bothwel* was there in a manner secure, both because of the Rigour of the Weather, and the Winter-Tempests then raging in those Seas, which made them inaccessible for a Fleet; as also, because he knew the Treasury, which he himself had exhausted, could not afford Money to fit one out; so that he was very near being surprized by the sudden coming of *William Kircade of Grange*, who commanded the Fleet: Some of his Company were taken, but he himself escaped, with a few on the opposite Side of the Island amongst the Shallows and Fords, where great Ships could not follow, and so sailed to *Denmark*: When he came there, not being able to give a good Account from whence he came, nor whither he was bound, he was taken into Custody, and afterwards, being known by some Merchants, he was clap'd up close Prisoner; and after a loathsome Imprisonment for the Space of ten Years, that, and other Miseries, made him distracted; and thus he came to a most ignominious Death, suitable to his vile and wicked Course of Life.

At the beginning of the next Spring, the Regent determin'd to make a Progress over the whole Kingdom to settle Courts of Justice there, in order to repair and amend what went quite the wrong Way, as well as what was just upon the Point of being turn'd into a wrong Channel, by the

the Tumults of some preceding Years. This Proceeding of his was variously interpreted, according to Mens several Humours and Dispositions; The adverse Faction declaim'd every where against the Regent's Severity, or, as they phras'd it, Cruelty, which was indeed dreadful enough to those Persons, who, by reason of the Greatness of their Offences, could not endure to be regulated by the Law, because they had been habituated and bred up to Licentiousness in former Times: But, if the Queen were but at Liberty, some of them had Rewards, others Impunity, in their Eye; by which means many were drawn in to the contrary Faction; nay, some of those too, who had serv'd as Instruments in apprehending her.

MAITLAND was as great an Enemy to *Bothwel* (whom he look'd upon as a vile and mischievous Man, and one that would have cut his Throat) as he was a Favourer of the Queens Affairs; and because he had no hopes of overthrowing him; as long as the Queen was alive, therefore in Parliament he inclin'd to that Side that would have had her punish'd according to Law. *James Balfure* was in the like Case, as imagining *Bothwel* to be his implacable Enemy, tho' neither of them was thought innocent in the Matter of the King's Death. But when *Bothwel* was taken, and kept Prisoner in *Denmark*, they then applied their Thoughts wholly to the Deliverance of the Queen; not only because they hoped for an Impunity of their common Crime more easily from her; but also because they thought, she that had made away with her Husband would do but little better with her Son, whose Infancy and the Shadow of whose Royal Name was that alone, which kept her from the Throne; but besides, they judg'd it also for their own Security, for fear the Son should come to the Kingdom, and be the Revenger of his Father's Death. Besides, there were no obscure Conjectures, that the Queen's Mind was not mightily set against such an Attempt: For she was often heard to say, the Child was not long-liv'd; and that a skilful Astrologer had told her at *Paris*, that her first Child would not live above a Year, and ('tis thought) that she herself came once to *Sterlin* with the same Hopes, intending to bring the Child with her to *Edinburgh*. That Suspicion caus'd *John Erskin* Governor of the Castle, not to suffer the Child to be taken out of his Hands; and made a great part of the Nobility likewise, then met at *Sterlin*, associate themselves by Oath, to maintain the said young Prince in Safety.

MOREOVER, the *Hamiltons* were might and main for freeing the Queen; because if her Son could but be remov'd out of the way by her means, they would then be themselves one degree nearer to the Crown; and after that, it would be no hard Task to take her off into the Bargain, because she was hated by every body for her Crimes; and having once been stop'd in her Tyranny, would afterwards let forth the Reins looser, and more impetuously to Cruelty. *Argyle* and *Huntley*, of which the one had a Mother, the other a Wife, of the Family of the *Hamiltons*, cherish'd their Hopes, and wish'd them good Success, but they had also proper Reasons of their own to incline them so to do; because neither of them was judg'd to be wholly ignorant, or guiltless, of the Queen's Crimes; besides, *William Murray* of *Tillibardeu*, being quite averse to the Regent, both by reason of his different Opinion in point of Religion, and likewise his having a private Grudge against him, tho' he had been highly serviceable in taking the Queen; yet did not only revolt from the Royal Party himself, but drew a great many of his Friends along with him too, upon the Proposal of no small Rewards. These were the Principals in delivering the Queen; there were many others also that fell in with their Party, whom either domestick Necessity, private Grudges, desire of Revenge, hope of bettering their Fortune, or else Propinquity or Obligation to those above nam'd, engag'd to that Side.

In this troublesome State of Affairs, the Regent was equally unmoveable against the Entreaties of his Friends, and the Threats of his Enemies, though by the publick Libels, which they posted up and down, he very well knew the Cause of their Hatred, and their Desire of Revenge: And though some Astrologers, not unacquainted with the Plots design'd against him, had foretold, that he would not live beyond such a Day; yet he persisted in his Purpose, often saying, *That he knew well enough he must die one time or other; and that he could not part with his Life more nobly or creditably, than by procuring the publick Tranquillity of his Native Country.* And therefore, first, he summon'd a Convention of the Estates at *Glasgow*, to which Place the *Lennox* Men, the *Renfroans*, and the Men of *Clydesdale* were commanded to come, and whilst he was busied there, in the Administration of Justice, and in the Punishment of Offenders, the Plot that had been so long in agitation, for the Deliverance of the Queen, took effect. The manner of it was this: Within the Castle where the Queen was kept in *Lough-Levin*, there were the Regent's Mother, three Brothers

thers of his by another Father, and abundance of other Women; yet none were admitted to visit the Queen, but such as were well known; or else, that came by the Regent's Order. Out of these domestick Attendants, the Queen made choice of *George Douglas* as fittest for her purpose; he was the Regent's youngest Brother, a young Man, ingenious enough, and by reason of his Age apt to be imposed upon by Female Inticements: He being something familiar with her, on pretence to attend her in such Sports, as Courts at idle times refresh themselves withal, undertook to corrupt some of the common Servants of the Castle, by Gifts and Promises; and she having intrusted the Management of that Point to him, would not deny any thing to such a Person, from whom she expected her Liberty. *George* then having a Promise of Indemnity from her for himself, and his Partizans, and being excited with the Hopes of great Wealth and Power for the future, not without the Consent of his Mother (as was verily thought) acted all that ever he could to bring the thing about. And tho' some Persons smelt the Design, and acquainted the Regent with it, yet he put such a Confidence in those he had placed there, that he changed none of the old Guard, only *George* himself was commanded out of the Island; upon that, he departed to the next Village, on the Edge of the *Lough*; where having before corrupted the Officers of the Castle with Money, he had in a manner a freer Communication with the Queen by Letters than before; and now truly there were not only those *Scots* admitted to a Partnership in the Plot, who were discontented at the present State of things, but the *French* were associated too by *James Hamilton*, who had been Regent some Years before; and by *James Beton*, Archbishop of *Glasgow*: The *Scots* (it seems) were to do the Work, and the *French* to pay the Wages.

ABOUT the end of *April*, an Embassador came from *France*, and in the Name of his King, desired leave to visit the Queen, which if he did not obtain, he pretended he would presently depart. The Regent told him, it was not in his Power; that the Queen was not made Prisoner by him, neither could he determine any thing in the Case, without advising with those who had first committed her, and with others who had afterward confirm'd by an Act of Parliament what was done; nevertheless he would gratify his Sister, and the King his Ally, in what he could, and would call an Assembly of the Nobles, the twentieth of the then next Month in order to that End. With that Answer the Embassador was somewhat pacified, and the Re-

gent went on in his Courts of Judicatory; whereupon the Queen having brib'd the Master of a Vessel, her other Companions being sent about sleeveless Errands, was brought out of the *Lough*; her Escape being told to those that were then at *Dinner* in the Castle, they made a great stir, but to little Purpose, for all the Boats were haled ashore, and their Loop-holes, to put out their Oars, were all stop'd up, so that no speedy Pursuit could be made. There were Horsemen expecting the Queen on the other side the *Lough*, who carried her to the several Houses of the Partizans in the Design, and the Day after, which was *May* the third, she came to *Hamilton*, a Town eight Miles distant from *Glasgow*. When the thing was noised abroad, many came in to her, some distrustful the King's Party, which they look'd upon as not very strong; others in hope of Favour from the Queen; and some in Confidence of a Reward for their old Services in this Tumult, discover'd their Minds; and part of them, having obtain'd Pardon for what was past, expecting the Event of Fortune, were but loose Adherents to the Regent. The Defection of others was not so much wondered at, but the Revolt of *Robert Boyd*, who till that very Day had obtain'd a great Opinion for his Constancy, afforded matter of Discourse; he being brought up on the Ruins of a noble Family (as I said before in the Life of King *James* the third) parsimoniously and meanly under his Father, a valiant Man, and a mighty Lover of the ancient Frugality, follow'd the same Course of Life as the rest of his Relations did; that is to say, he applied himself to richer Families in order to repair his own, and to restore this noble House, that was so lately flourishing, but now decaying, to its ancient Estate and Dignity. For this end his Father and he first applied themselves to the *Hamiltons*, who were then uppermost. And when their Regency was at an end, and the chief Magistracy settled in the Queen Dowager, and Controversies about Religion began to arise, he join'd in with the Reformers, to whom his Father bore a mortal Aversion. That Faction was accounted the most potent, to that he adher'd till the Queen's coming out of *France*; nay, he grew very renown'd for his Constancy, Fortitude, and Prudence; and *Gilespey*, Earl of *Argyle*, was so far taken with him, that he would scarce do any one thing without his Advice. However, when some of the Nobles had associated at *Sterlin*, not for any treasonable Project, but only to defend the King, he indeed subscribed the League too; but then, both he himself, and *Argyle* who was guided by his Counsel, shew'd a great deal of Levity, in
discovering

discovering the whole Intrigue to the Queen. From that time forward, *Boyd* sided with the Queen in all her Designs, against his old Friends, being in good repute with her Party; but he was accounted an inconstant Man, a Trimmer, and a Turn-coat, by those whom he had deserted. When the Queen was committed to Prison, *Boyd* made his Applications to *Murray* the Regent, and was so well respected by him, for his Industry and Ingenuity, that he was admitted into his Cabinet-Council; and tho' several Opinions pass'd upon him, yet he was in high Favour with the Regent at *Glasgow* in his Juridical Processes; yet when he perceiv'd it was like to come to Blows, he went off privately to the Queen, and sent from thence a Letter to the Earl of *Mortoun* by his Son, excusing his Departure, and alledging, he might probably do the *Royalists* as much Service there, as if he had staid with them. His Revolt, by reason of the good Opinion many had of his Conversation and Manners, gave great occasion of Discourse.

In the mean time, the Regent had an hot Debate in Council, whether they should stay where they were, or else go to the King at *Sterlin*: A great many were of Opinion, that it was better not to stay, and they urg'd Arguments for it; as that *Hamilton* was a Town near them full of People, and all the Clanships of that most numerous Family lay round about it: Besides, the Queen had with her five hundred Horse, and it was reported, many more were making towards her from remoter Parts; whereas there were only a few of his own Friends with the Regent, the rest having run away to the Queen, or gone privately home, about their own Affairs, as if all things had been quiet; and tho' the Citizens of *Glasgow* were faithful enough, as being provok'd by the many and great Injuries they had received from the *Hamiltons* when in Power; yet the Town it self was large, not very populous, and every way approachable. On the contrary, others reason'd, that all depended on the first beginning of things: that their Departure would be dishonourable, and look like running away; that all Suspicion of Fear was then principally to be avoided, for they should animate their Enemies by it, and discourage their Friends. On the one side, there were the *Cunninghams* and the *Semples*, potent Families; on the other side, *Lenox* the King's peculiar Patrimony, from whence the nearest Neighbours might presently come in, within the space of a few Hours; the rest either the next Day, or, at furthest, the Day after; in the interim, till further Aid came, they had Strength enough,

enough, especially being assisted by the Townsmen. This Advice prevail'd in Council.

THE *French* Ambassador posted betwixt both Parties, rather as a Spy, than a Peace maker, which yet he pretended to be; for perceiving that there was but a small Force at *Glasgow* at first, and an Appearance of a great Multitude at *Hamilton*, he earnestly excited the Queen to put it to a Battel presently. The Regent had gathered a Party from the Neighbourhood, and expected those farther off from *Merch* and *Lothian*; there came in about six hundred choice and resolute Men; he gave them one Day to refresh themselves, and then determined to march out to *Hamilton*, and to engage the Enemy immediately; for he believed Delay was dangerous for him, and advantageous to the Enemy, whom the remote Parts of the Kingdom favoured most. Two Days after, he was informed, about the third Watch, that the Enemy was drawing together from all places where they quartered; they trusted to their Number, being about 6500 fighting Men, and they knew the Regent had scarce 4000; but they resolved to march by *Glasgow*, and to leave the Queen in *Dunbarton-Castle*, and so either to fight, or lengthen out the War as they pleased; or if the Regent should be so hardy as to stop their Passage, which they believed he durst not do, they would then fight, and were confident they should beat him. But he having before determined to provoke them to Battel, as soon as ever he could, drew out his Men into the open Field before the Town, the Way that he thought the Enemy would come, and there waited for them in Battel-array for some Hours. But when he saw their Troops on the other side of the River, he presently understood their Design, and commanded his Foot to pass over the Bridge, and his Horse to ford over the River, which they might do, it being low Water, and so to march to *Langside*, which was a Village by the River *Cart*, where the Enemies were to pass, situated in the Foot of an Hill, looking South-West. On the East and North, the Passage was steep, but on the other side, there was a gentle Descent into a Plain; thither they hastened with such Speed, that the Royalists had near possess'd the Hill, before the Enemy, who aimed at the same place, understood their Design, though they marched thither by a nearer Cut; but the Royalists met with two Advantages, which was a great Discouragement to their Enemies; one, that *Gilesy Cambel*, Earl of *Argyle*, who commanded in Chief, fell suddenly down from his Horse sick, and by his Fall much delay'd the March of his Party. The other, that their Forces
being

being placed here and there in little Vallies, could never see all the Royalists at once, whose supposed small Numbers (as indeed they were not many) made the Enemy to despise them, and the Disadvantage of the Place too. At last, when the Queen's Forces drew nigh, and saw the Ground which they aim'd at possess'd by the Enemy, they went to another little Hill over against them, and there divided their Party into two Bodies: Their chief Strength they placed in the first; if they had overthrown their Adversaries there, they knew the rest would be dismay'd at their Flight, and so march off without fighting. The King's Party also divided themselves into two Wings; *James Douglas*, Earl of *Morton*, *Robert Semple*, *Alexander Hume*, *Patrick Lindsey*, each with his Clanship were placed in the right. In the left stood *John* Earl of *Marr*, *Alexander* Earl of *Glencairn*, *William* Earl of *Monteith*, and the Citizens of *Glasgow*. The Musqueteers were in the Village and Gardens below, near the high Way. Both Armies thus placed in Battell-array, the Queen's Cannoneers and Foot were driven from their Posts by the King's Forces: On the other side, the King's Horse being less by one half, were beaten back by the Enemy: After they had performed that Service, they endeavoured also to break the Battalions of Foot; in order whereunto, they charged directly up the Hill, but were beat back by the King's Archers, and by some of those, who after their Rout, had rallied again, and join'd with the rest of their Body. In the mean time, the left Wing of the Enemy marched by the Highway, where there was a rising Ground lower down into the Valley, where though they were galled by the King's Musqueteers, yet passing through those Straits, they opened and ranged their Body: There it was, that the two Battalions held out a thick stand of Pikes, as a Breast-work before them, and fought desperately for half an Hour, without giving Ground on either side; inso-much that they, whose long Pikes were broke, threw Daggers, Stones, pieces of Pikes or Lances, and whatsoever they could come by, into their Enemy's Faces: But some of the hindermost Ranks of the King's Forces beginning to run, (whether out of Fear or Treachery is uncertain) their Flight without doubt had much disordered those who stood to it, unless the Ranks had been so thick, that the foremost could not know what the hindmost did. Then those of the second Battalion, seeing the others Danger, and perceiving no Enemy coming to charge themselves, sent some whole Troops to wheel to the right, and to join with the first; upon which the adverse Party could not bear their Charge,

but

but were wholly routed and put to flight: Many were so enraged against them, that there would have been a great Slaughter in the Pursuit, had not the Regent sent out Horse several ways, to forbid the Execution. The second Squadron of the Royalists stood so long, till they saw the Enemy scattering and flying in a disorderly manner; when they in like manner broke their Ranks and pursued. The Queen stood about a Mile from the Place to see the Action, and after the Rout, fled with some Horse of her Party, who had escaped, towards *England*; the rest ran away as well as they could to their own Homes. There were but few killed in the Field, but more in the Pursuit (being wearied and wounded) all along the Highways and Fields. The number of the Slain were about three hundred, but there were more taken Prisoners. Of the King's Forces there were not many wounded, of the chief Commanders none but *Alexander Hume* and *Andrew Stuart*, and only one Man killed; the rest of the Army, besides a few Horse, who pursued very far, return'd joyfully into the Town; where, after giving Thanks to Almighty God, for prospering their just Cause against a double Number of their Enemies, and for giving them, in a manner, an unbloody Victory, mutually congratulating one another, they went to Dinner. This Battel was fought *May* the 13th, eleven Days after the Queen's Escape out of Prison.

THE *French* Ambassador expected the Event of the Fight, and promised himself a sure Victory on the Queen's side, but being thus disappointed of his Hopes, he put off his Mask, and without taking his Leave of the Regent, to whom he pretended he was sent, got a Party of Horse to guide him; and with what Speed he could, made for *England*. In the Way he was rob'd by *Moss-Troopers*; but *James Douglas*, Laird of *Drumlanerick*, though he knew he was of the Enemy's Party, had such Deference to the Honour and Name of an Ambassador, that he caused his Goods to be restored to him. The Regent pass'd the rest of the Day of Battel in taking a List of the Prisoners; some he discharged *gratis*, others upon Sureties; the chief Commanders were retained, especially the *Hamilton's* Family, and sent to Prison. The Day after, knowing how much that Clan was hated in the Neighbourhood, he took only five hundred Horse, commanding the rest of his Army to stay in their Quarters, and went into the Vale of *Clydisdale*, where he found all Places naked and desolate, the Inhabitants being run away, as rather conscious to themselves what they had deserved, than confiding in the Regent's Clemency, of which yet they had

had Experience before : He took the Castles of *Hamilton* and *Drassin*, which were naked Places, only in *Hamilton-Castle* was found some of the Household-stuff of King *James V.* The same Fear and Terror forced the Queen into *England*, either because she thought no Place in that Part of *Scotland* safe enough for her ; or else because she durst not trust *John Maxwell* of *Herreis*.

WHEN the Regent had settled all things, as well as he could at present, he summon'd an Assembly of the Estates to be held at *Edinburgh* in the Month of The adverse Party endeavoured many Ways to hinder it : Rumours were spread abroad of Aid from *France*, nor were they altogether groundless. For some Troops were drawn down to the Sea-side, under the Command of the Earl of *Martignes*, a stout Man of the Family of *Luxemburgh*, to be transported with all speed into *Scotland* ; and they had been so accordingly, had not Civil Wars on a sudden broke out in *France*. But that Assistance would not have been so prejudicial to the Regent, as his Enemies thought, for it would have alienated *England* from them, and engaged it to him. Moreover *Argyle*, with six hundred of his Clanship, came to *Glasgow*, where he had a Conference with the *Hamiltonians*, and other Leaders of the Faction, to hinder the Convention ; but finding no way to effect it, they went every Man severally home. *Hunsley* also had got together a thousand Foot, against the Day of the Parliament's Sitting ; he came as far as *Perth*, where perceiving that the Fords of the River *Tay* were guarded by *William Ruven*, and the neighbouring Nobility, who continued loyal to the King, he retired without doing any thing of moment.

ABOUT the same time, there came Letters from the Queen of *England*, by the Intercession of the adverse Party, to the Regent, to put off the Parliament ; she desired, that Judgment might not be hastened concerning the Rebels, till she was made acquainted with the whole Cause ; for she could not well bear the Injury and Affront, which the Queen, her Neighbour and near Kinswoman, affirmed she had received from her Subjects. Tho' the Request was but small in it self, yet if it should have been granted, at the Instance of the Rebels, they might have thought to have carried all ; either because such a trifling Delay seem'd to hearten them, and weaken their Enemy, especially since it might argue a Fear in the Royalists ; or that they, in the mean time, resolv'd to call a Convention in the Name of the Queen. But the Regent, being sensible of what great Consequence it was, to have the Parliament sit ; though even all the Power of the

the Enemy had combin'd against it, resolv'd to keep his Day. In that Parliament there was a great Debate, whether all those who had taken Arms against the King, and afterwards had not obtained their Pardon, should be condemn'd as Traytors, and have their Goods confiscated. But *William Maitland*, who secretly favour'd the Rebels, obtained, that only a few of them should be condemned at present, as a Terror to the rest; and a Door of Clemency left open to others, if they repented. That Procedure wonderfully encourag'd the Conspirators, and encreas'd their Obstinacy, since they saw their Punishment deferr'd, and they were verily perswaded, that neither the Queen of *England*, being their Queen's Neighbour and Kinswoman, nor the *Guises*, who then were very powerful in the *French* Court, nor the *French* King himself, would suffer such an Eclipse to be made of Royal Majesty; and tho' they should be deserted by them, yet they were not so weak of themselves, as not to be able to maintain their Cause without foreign Aid, as being superior in Number and Power; so that nothing was wanting to the Victory, but the empty Shadow of the Royal Name, which was (*said they*) usurped by Force.

In the mean time, the Regent attended only the publick Peace; some of the neighbouring Offenders he fin'd in small Sums, and so took them into Favour; the Earl of *Rothel*, by his Friends Intercession, was banish'd for three Years; as for the rest, he daily, by Correspondents, solicited them to repent and come in; but perceiving that many of them were obstinate, and inclined to Revenge, he levied an Army, and march'd into *Annamdale*, *Niddisdale*, and lower *Galway*, where he took some Castles, and put Garrisons into them; others, whose Owners were more refractory, he demolish'd, and, in a short time, would have run over the whole Country, had not Letters from the Queen of *England* interrupted the Course of his Victories. She was perswaded by the Exiles, that the Queen of *Scots* had received much Wrong: That her ill-affected Subjects had laid unjust Imputations on her, and declared she would not suffer the Royal Name to grow so cheap, or Majesty to be so contumeliously used, as to be exposed to the Wills of seditious Persons. That the Wrong of this great Wickedness redounded only to one, but the Example to all; and therefore she desired they would apply some speedy Remedy, that the Contagion of dethroning Princes might not spread farther. Having made a great Harangue in her Letters to this Purpose, against the Avengers of the King's Murder, she desired of the Regent, ' That he ' would send Commissioners to her, to inform her of the State ' of

‘ of the whole Matter, and to make answer to those, either
 ‘ Crimes and Reproaches, which were cast upon, and al-
 ‘ ledged against himself.’ This Demand seemed very grie-
 vous and offensive, that things already judged, should be
 called again in Question, to a new and hazardous Tryal,
 and that before foreign Princes, who are oftentimes emu-
 lous, if not Enemies, and their Minds already prepossess’d
 by Adversaries; and for a Man, as it were, to plead for his
 own Life, before a foreign Judicature; though the Case was
 dangerous and hard, yet many Arguments induced him to
 comply with the Proposal, though never so unequal. Abroad,
 the Cardinal of *Lorrain*, the Queen’s Uncle, ruled all in
France; and at home, a great part of the Nobility conspired
 in behalf of the Queen; and if the Queen of *England* were
 disobliged too, then he should have no Force to withstand
 such mighty Difficulties. Being thus resolved to send Em-
 bassadors, he could not tell whom to pitch upon: The
 chief of the Nobility declining the Employment: At last,
 the Regent himself resolved to go, and chuse proper Per-
 sons to attend him, amongst whom was *William Maitland*,
 though much against his Will; but the Regent, knowing
 him to be a factious Person, and inclinable to the Queen’s
 Party, did not think it safe to leave him behind, whilst
 things were in such a doubtful Condition at home; and
 therefore he persuaded him, by great Promises and Rewards,
 to accompany him, not doubting but to overcome his avaricious
 Mind with large Presents; the rest went very willingly.
 The chief were, *James Douglas*, and *Patrick Lindsey*
 of the Nobility; of the Clergy, the Bishop of the *Orcades*,
 and the Abbat of *Dumfermlin*; of Lawyers, *James Macgil*,
 and *Henry Balnavey*; to whom he added a ninth, viz. *George
 Buchanan*. Though he found himself in these difficult Cir-
 cumstances, yet two things relieved his Thoughts; one was
 the Equity of his Cause; the other, the last Letters he receiv-
 ed from the Queen of *England*, gave him Assurance, that if
 the Crimes objected against the Queen of *Scots* were true,
 she should judge her unworthy to hold that Scepter any longer.
 The Regent was a little heartened by those Letters, and
 with above a hundred Horse in his Company, he began his
 Journey, though he had certain Intelligence brought him, that
 the Earl of *Westmorland*, at the Command of the Duke of
Norfolk, watch’d to intercept him, before he got to *York*;
 however, *October 4*, he came to *York*, the Place appointed for
 the Conference, and the same Day, and almost Hour, *Thomas
 Howard*, Duke of *Norfolk*, likewise entered the City.
 The Reason why an Ambush was laid for the Regent, was
 because

because the Duke, by secret Correspondents, was dealing with the Queen of *Scots* to marry her; and therefore, that the Suspicion of the King's Murder might be more easily taken away, she resolved, if the Regent could be dispatched, to return home, and suppress the Letters she had written to *Bothwell*, which contained a manifest Discovery of the whole; but because the Duke was so near, she could not so accomplish it, as that he might not also be aspersed with the Infamy of so cruel a Murder; and therefore the Plot was deferred till another Opportunity. Besides *Norfolk*, there were appointed two other Commissioners by the Queen of *England*, to determine the Controversies of the *Scots*, the Earl of *Suffex*, who inclined to *Howard's* Party, as it was commonly reported, and Sir *Ralph Sadler*, an indifferent and impartial Person. Within a few Days, there came Messengers from the Queen of *Scots*, to complain of her disobedient Subjects, and to desire Help of the Queen of *England* to enable her to return home without Delay. They had their Hearing apart from the Regent, and his Attendants: First, they protested, that they came not before them as Judges, that had a lawful Authority over them; then they made a long Harangue, what Wrong the Queen had received from her Subjects; and after, desired of the Queen of *England*, that either she would persuade her ungrateful Subjects to re-admit their Prince; or, if they refused, then that she would supply her with an Army, to force them to it. After some few Hours, the Regent was heard: He stood upon the Equity of his Cause, referring it to impartial Judges: He pleaded that the Royalists had done nothing, but according to the ancient Laws and Customs of their Nation, and that too ratified and approved in full Parliament; and that he being a single Person, with those few with him, could not abrogate any thing which had been enacted by common Consent of all the Estates in Parliament. But when the *English* Commissioners told them, they could not be satisfied with those Statutes made at their Parliaments at home, and now produc'd, unless withal they produc'd the Reasons, which mov'd the Nobility to such a severe Judgment against the Queen: The Regent was unwilling, as much avoiding to divulge the foul Offences of the Queen, being his Sister also, and that amongst Foreigners, who were forward enough to hear them, and therefore denied to do it, unless upon these Terms, That if he made good the Charge against the Queen, that she kill'd her Husband, then the Queen of *England* should stipulate and promise to defend the young King's Cause, and take him as it were into her Protection. But when the *English* Commis-

sioners

sioners told them, that they had only a Commission to hear the Demands of both Sides, and so to lay the whole Matter before their Queen : The Regent again urg'd them to obtain such a Promise from their Queen, or else that they themselves should get a Commission, fully to decide the Controversy ; if they would do that, he promised, unless he evidently made it appear, that the King was murdered by his Wife's Means, he would not think himself unworthy the Punishment due to Crimes the most flagrant and enormous. The Commissioners wrote to the Queen to know her Mind herein ; who return'd Answer, ' That the *Scots* of the King's Party should send one or more of their Number to her Court, who might fully acquaint her with the Merits of their Cause, and then she would consider what was fit for her to do.' Upon which the Regent sent *William Maitland*, of whom many sinister Opinions daily arose, and *James Macgil*, not so much to be his Assistant in publick Business, as to observe his Actions. The Causes which made *Maitland* suspected were these, amongst many others : Before his Journey into *England*, though he mightily endeavoured to conceal his Designs, yet by his Words and Actions, and great Familiarity with the Men of the adverse Party ; and farther, by Letters he sent to the *Scots* Queen, which were intercepted, they could not be stifled. In those Letters he endeavoured to persuade the Queen, that his Service might yet be useful to her, using the Example of the Lion in the Fable, who, being taken in a Net, was freed by such mean Animals as Rats. And after he came to *York*, there was scarce a Night he did not meet with the chief Embassadors of the adverse Party, consulted with them, and acquainted them with the Designs of the Regent. The Regent did not forbid those Meetings, knowing he should do no good by it, but only make them meet more secretly. Though these were manifest Evidences of his Treachery, yet casually there happen'd an undeniable Demonstration of it. *Norfolk* and he went abroad on pretence of Hunting, where they had a great deal of Discourse concerning the whole Affair, and came to this Agreement amongst themselves, to spin out the Matter, if 'twas possible, and so to delay it, that, at last, nothing might be done, and yet the Cause not seem wholly deserted neither. For, by this means, the Regent must depart, without effecting what he came for ; or else, some Commotion at home would enforce him so to do, and then other Remedies might emerge in time ; For *Norfolk* was then designing a Civil War, how to take off the one Queen, and to marry the other. *Maitland* inform'd *John*

Lesly, Bishop of *Ross*, with this, one intimately acquainted with all the Queen's Affairs, who accordingly informed his Mistress by Letter, how the Duke would have her write to Court what Course to steer for the future; and tho' her Cause went but slowly on, yet that Delay should not hinder her from expecting a good Issue. The Queen having read those Letters, laid them by as loose Papers, so that they came to be read by others; and from hand to hand, were at last brought to the Regent, who by them discovered the Main of his Adversary's Design against him; as for *Maitland*, he had experienced his Perfidiousness many times before.

WHEN the Embassadors before-mentioned came to the Queen at *London*, she and her Council thought it best, that the Regent himself should come up, and speak to the Points in Question by Word of Mouth: Upon which, he dismiss'd part of his Retinue, and with the rest went to *London*; but there he met with the same Difficulty as he had done at *Tork*; for he refus'd to enter upon the Accusation of the Queen his Sister, unless, if he proved her guilty, the Queen of *England* would take the *Scots* King's Party into her Protection: If she would do this, he would begin the Accusation immediately, upon the same Terms as he had proposed to the Delegates at *Tork*. Whilst these things were acting in *London*, the Queen of *Scots*, by means of *James Balfure*, endeavoured to raise Commotions in *Scotland*; and the more easily to accomplish her Designs, she wrote Letters to all the Exiles, and to *Bothwell's* Friends, to contribute all their Endeavours to infest the contrary Faction by Force of Arms: And not only created Lieutenants thro' all the Kingdom, to whom she gave even Kingly Power, but caus'd Rumours to be spread abroad, that the Regent, and his Companions were committed Prisoners to the *Tower of London*; but foreseeing that Falshood could not be long believ'd, she devised another (to wit) that the Regent had promised to subject *Scotland* to the Crown of *England*; and, that he was to give up the King, as a Security. 'Tis thought, her Design in this was, that whereas she had promis'd the same things by her Commissioners; and the *English* look'd upon it as a Vanity in her, seeing she had no Power to perform it; yet she was willing to possess the Minds of the Vulgar with an Untruth, and so to raise an Oidium against the Regent; and, if she could not avert the whole Reproach from her self, yet at least she would have her Adversaries bear a part with her therein.

WHEN

WHEN the Regent saw himself in these Straits, he resolv'd to end Matters as well as he could, and so to return home: Whereupon, at the earnest Solicitation of the *English*, who desired to know the Causes of the Proceedings in *Scotland* (without which they could determine nothing;) he also being desirous to satisfy the Queen of *England* at that time, whom he could not offend without great Prejudice to his Cause; and being willing to return home to extinguish the Civil War, then in its first Rise, neither of which he could well do, unless the Queen of *England* was his Friend, or at least not his Enemy; induc'd by these Motives, he first protested before the Council of *England*, that it was not willingly, but by the Importunity of his Enemies, that he was compell'd to accuse his Queen and Sister of so horrid a Crime before Strangers; that he did not do it out of any Inclination to accuse, but out of Necessity to clear himself; for he was very unwilling to discover those things which he wish'd, if possible, might be covered in perpetual Oblivion; and therefore, if any Reflection were made on what he did, the Envy ought deservedly to light upon those, who would not suffer him to be like himself; that is, to obey his Prince chearfully, when Good; and to reprove him or her against his Will, when Evil; only he desired one thing, that the Queen's Proxies, who had forced him to that Charge, might be present to hear the Crimes objected; that so, if they were false, they might disprove them before the Council; and that he himself, in many weighty Matters, might also make use of their Evidence. The *Scotts* Queen's Commissioners refus'd this, as putting little Confidence in their own Cause, and insisted only on this one thing, that the Queen, who was by Force of Arms ejected, might be restored. Whereupon, a Day was appointed for the Regent to shew Cause, why the Revengers of the King's Murder had taken up Arms (for he himself was then in *France*) and had ejected the Queen from her Government, and acted other things, as till that time they had done. When the time came, he declared in Order all things as they had been acted, and the Testimonies of the Partizans of the King's Murder, made before their Deaths; and also the Statute of Parliament, to which many of the Regent's Accusers had subscribed: And when the Silver Cabinet was produced, which the Queen had given her by her former Husband *Francis*, and had bestow'd on *Bothwell*, in which were Letters to *Bothwell*, writ in *French*, with the Queen's own Hand, and a *French* Poem, not unelegantly compos'd by her; and also the manner of the King's

Death; and after his Death, *Boibwel's* carrying her off, and three Contracts of Marriage with him: The one before the Parricide written with her own Hand, in which, as by a Bill, she promises to marry him, as soon as ever she was freed from her former Husband: The other was, before the Divorce from his former Wife, writ by *Huntley's* Hand: The third was openly made, a little before the Marriage. When all this was produced, seen, and read before the Council; the whole Fact was so plainly expos'd, that now no Doubt could be made, who was the Author of it. Though the Queen of *England* could not but believe these Discoveries, yet she fluctuated in her Mind; on the one side, there was Emulation, the Queens mutually hating one another; there were also such flagrant Crimes, and such evident Proofs, that the *English* Queen thought her Kinswoman of *Scotland* deserved no Assistance to restore her: And though her Mind inclin'd to that which was right, yet it was shaken and hesitated, upon the remembrance of her former State, not without a Commiseration; and besides, the Majesty of Royal Honour, and a Fear, lest the Example of expelling Princes might creep into the neighbouring Kingdoms, wrought much upon her: Besides, she was afraid of *France*, for the Peace with them was not very sure or firm; and especially at that time, the *French* Ambassador daily pleading the Cause of the banished Queen. The *Spanish* Ambassador was desired also to interpose his Mediation; but the Foulness of the Crimes so deterred him, that he absolutely refus'd to meddle with it, Whereupon the Queen of *England*, that she might leave a Door open for Repentance, if Matters should succeed amiss in *France*, and not cut off all Occasion of gratifying them, gave a middle Answer, so tempering it, that at present she said, she knew no Cause to the contrary, but that all things had been acted according to Law and Justice in *Scotland*; yet, as if she deferr'd the compleat Decision till another time, she desir'd, that seeing intestine Tumults recall'd the Regent, he would leave here one of his Retinue in his Stead, to make Answer to those Crimes which might be objected against him in his Absence. But the Regent, who saw the Matter to be thus delay'd, that the Queen might take her Measures to give Sentence for her own Advantage, and the Event of foreign Affairs, left no Stone unturn'd, that he might have the Cause fully determin'd now; and therefore he desir'd, as most just and equitable, that if his Enemies, who had long studied beforehand to accuse him, had any thing to alledge, they would now produce it, and not watch an Opportunity to calumniate him in his Absence, seeing they refus'd to appear Face

to Face; he was not ignorant, what Rumours his Enemies would cause to be spread amongst the People, and what they had already said to some of the Council and to the *French* Embassador; and therefore, he earnestly desir'd of the Council, to command them not to mutter privately, but declare openly what they had to say; and that he wanted not to make such haste home, but that he would gladly clear himself first, let his own or the Publick Interest suffer what it would by his Absence. Whereupon the Commissioners of the banish'd Queen were sent for, and told, if they had any thing to allege against the Regent or his Companions, in reference to the King's Murder, they should produce it: Their Answer was, they had nothing at present, but they would accuse them, when they were commanded by their Queen. The Regent answer'd, that he was always ready to give an Account of all his Actions; neither would he shun either Time or Place so to do; yet seeing the Queen began that Accusation of him, he desir'd of his Accusers there present, that if any of them had the least Objection against him, they would then declare it; for it was much more honourable to produce it before so illustrious an Assembly, than in private Cabals to sully his Fame in his Absence: This they also refus'd. Upon which the whole Council called upon them, and in a manner reproach'd them, so that they were compelled, singly and severally to confess, that they knew nothing of themselves, why *Murray*, or any of his, should be accus'd of the King's Murder. Then after a long Dispute, *pro* and *con*, the Council was dismiss'd, and from that time, there was never any more mention made of accusing the Regent, or any of his Companions.

WHILST the Regent was thus necessarily detain'd in *England*, on a publick Account, the Queen's Faction tried every Way, both at Home and Abroad, to make Disturbances, but without Effect. *James Hamilton*, who had been Regent some Years before, seeing that Things went not according to his Mind at home, had gone into *France*, where having but a few Companions, he lived privately with a Servant or two to attend him, free from the Hurry of all publick Business: But when the Queen of *Scots* was escap'd out of Prison, overcome in Battel, and then fled for *England*; the *French* knowing that *Murray* was call'd home into his own Country, and in his Passage through *France*, not being able to work him over to their Party, in regard they could not send Men or Money to *Scotland*, to raise Disturbance there, by reason of their own

Commotions at home ; they therefore thought it most advisable to set up *Hamilton*, in Competition with him, especially at that time, when the Regent with part of the Nobility was absent, and out of the Way. He was therefore drawn out of his Privacy, and accommodated with some few *Pistoles*, and larger Promises. In his Return thro' *England*, his Friends persuaded him, that since the Queen of *Scots* with her Faction favour'd him, and the Queen of *England* was not averse to him, he would apply to the latter to induce *Murray* by her Authority to resign his Regency to him, in as much as that Office, by the Law and Consent of almost all Nations, and especially by the Custom of their own Country, was due to him, as the next in Blood : Neither was there any great need to make a laborious Search into the Records of ancient Times for this ; in which he might easily find, that Governors were always appointed to their Princes when under Age, out of the next of Kin ; as when *Robert* the third died, in the Absence of *James* the first his Uncle *Robert* manag'd the Government, and his Son *Murdoch* succeeded *Robert* : And of late Times, *John* Duke of *Albany* was made Governor to King *James* the fifth, whilst he was under Age : Nay, that *Hamilton* himself had been Regent, some few Years before *Mary*, now Queen, was of Age fit to govern or marry ; and how he was not excluded from that Office by any lawful Suffrages, but unjustly by the Rebellious ; and that which encreased the Indignity was, that it was done in Contempt of the Blood Royal, and a Bastard set up in his Room ; but if the Honour were restored to him, in a very short Time all domestick Tumults would be quieted ; and the Queen, even without Blood, would recover her Crown and Dignity again. To which the King's Embassadors answer'd, ' That *Hamilton* desir'd a Thing, not only ' contrary to the Laws and Customs of their Ancestors, ' but if the Consideration of the Law were omitted, yet ' 'twas very unjust in it self ; for our Ancestors (said they) ' by reason their Princes were murder'd by their Kindred, ' about 1300 Years ago, did wholly change the Method of ' their Assemblies in making a King : For as before, in ' the Family of *Fergus*, our first King, after the King's ' Death, it was not the next of Blood, but he that was ' most fit, was chosen King by Suffrage : So *Kenneth* the ' third, that he might hinder all Plots against Princes, by ' those of their Blood, and might also prevent the cruel ' and bloody Emulations of their Kindred amongst themselves, made this Decree of Succession that now is, for ' the

the next of Blood to be substituted in the Room of the deceased King. And Men by Experience finding, that in so great an Inconstancy of Fortune, 'twas scarce possible, but that sometimes the Right of chief Magistracy should fall on a Child, or else on one unable to govern ; therefore they decreed, that he who preceded others in Power and Wisdom, should undertake the Administration of the Government in the mean time ; and our Ancestors, by observing this Course for almost six hundred Years, have transmitted down a Kingdom safe to us : Thus when *Robert Bruce* died, there succeeded Regents chosen by most Voices, *Thomas Randolph*, Earl of *Murray* ; *Donald*, Earl of *Marr* ; *Andrew Murray*, *John Randolph*, *Robert Stuart* ; sometimes a single Person, sometimes more than one, were chosen by our Publick Conventions to that Office : So when *James* the second was a Child, *Alexander Levingston* was appointed his Governor, who was no way related to that King in Blood, neither was he so much as a Nobleman, but a Knight only, more eminent for his Wisdom than his Family. And if any say, that was for want of some of the King's Line, the Excuse will not hold ; for at that very time, there was *John Kennedy*, chief of his Family, his Nephew by the Sister of *James* the first, a Man eminently wise and virtuous ; there were also his Uncles, *James Kennedy*, Archbishop of *St. Andrew's*, the eminentest Person for Virtue in the whole Kingdom ; as also his Brother, the Son of the King's Aunt ; *Douglas*, Earl of *Angus* ; *Archibald* also, Earl of *Douglas*, not far remov'd from the King's Line, but in Power was almost equal to him ; at least, he was superior to all others ; yet none ever complain'd of the Injustice of our Assemblies in chusing *Levingston* Guardian. And not long after, *James* the third had four Tutors or Guardians assign'd him, not taken on the account of their Kindred, but chosen by Vote. And of late, *John Duke of Albany* was sent for by the Nobility out of *France*, to govern *Scotland* in the Minority of *James* the fifth ; and when he came, he was settled in the Regency by a publick Statute, enacted in a Convention of the Estates, which was not done on the account of Proximity in Blood ; for he had *Alexander* an elder Brother, one perhaps inferior to him, yet of far greater Merit than *James Hamilton*, who for a time affected that Dignity. In the Absence of *James* the first, *Robert* his Uncle manag'd the Kingdom, I pray, by what Right ? Was he assum'd into that Office for Nearness of Blood ? No : Was he elected by the People ? No, nor that neither : How was

he then created ? I'll tell you how. When King *Robert* the third was neither in Body nor Mind fit to manage the Kingly Office, he set up *Robert* his Brother in his stead, and commended his Children to his Care. The Brother starved *David* his eldest Son to Death ; *James* the younger had been also killed, had he not saved his Life by Flight : And being thus settled in the Possession of the Government, the King his Brother dying for Grief, he kept it, without the Consent of the People in Parliament, and transmitted it to his Son *Mordachus*. How *Robert* the King that died last stood affected towards his Brother is very plain ; for, as when he was a dying, he anominated and curs'd him, as the Executioner of his Children ; so certainly if he had been well enough in his Life time, he would not have design'd him Guardian to them. We are put in mind of that time, wherein, after the Death of *James* the fifth, he himself was made Regent ; (as if any thing at all was legally acted by him all that time.) When Cardinal *Beton* endeavoured by Fraud to invade the chief Magistracy, he crept into the vacant Office, rather out of People's Hatred to *Beton*, than Love to him ; being got into it, he ruled with great Cruelty and Avarice ; and not many Years ago, he sold that Magistracy which he got by Force, and the Queen too, then committed to his Care : In this was shewn, what Affection the People bare to him, when they preferred the Government of a Woman, and a Stranger, before that bitter Slavery they suffer'd under him. You see then, I suppose, how this Request of *Hamilton's* is contrary to the Laws of our Country, and the Institutions of our Ancestors ; nay so contrary, that for want of Arguments to maintain it, he supports it only with Falshood. And if there could be supposed any Custom of this kind, all Men see how unjust it would be : For what can be more unequal, than to commit the innocent and weak Age of the Prince to his Care, who either daily expects, or wishes for the Death of his Pupil ? All whose Family hath born, and doth bear great and lasting Enmity to the Family of the King that now reigns ? What Safeguard can there be here, in Nearness of Blood, against ancient Hatred, griping Avarice, and a vehement Propension to the Tyranny he hath tasted of ? *Laodice* Queen of the *Cappadocians*, is reported to have slain her Sons, as they came to Age, thus purchasing to herself a short Enjoyment of supreme Dominion, with the innocent Blood of her own Children. If a Mother destroy'd the Fruit of her own Womb, only to reign a little longer, what shall we think will old Enemies attempt, or rather, what will they

they not attempt, being inflam'd to Cruelty by the Stings of Avarice, against a Child, who is the only Obstacle to their Hopes of perpetual Sovereignty? If this Example seem old, obscure, and far-fetch'd, I will add some more illustrious ones nearer Home. Who is so ignorant of what was acted, as not to know how *Galeacius Sforza* was slain by his Uncle *Lewis*, tho' he was of Age, and married, and the Son-in-Law too of a most powerful King? Who doth not know the Calamities that followed upon that cruel Parricide? The brave Country of *Italy* was almost made a Wilderness; the Family of the *Sforza's*, from whence so many valiant Men had proceeded, was extinguish'd; and the Barbarians were introduc'd into the pleasant Country about the *Po*; whose Avarice and Cruelty despoil'd and ravaged all. Besides, who is there of the Inhabitants of *Great Britain*, that hath not heard of the Cruelty of *Richard* the third, King of *England*, against his Brother's Children? And with how much Blood was that Parricide expiated? If Men that were otherwise more sagacious, did not fear to commit such things against their nearest in Blood, excited only by the Desire of the Crown, what can be expected from him, whose Inconstancy is well known to all, and whose ill Management of the Government hath already cost us so much Blood? Whose Family, not content with the Murder of this King's great Grandfather, always acted traiterously against his Grandfather by the Mother's side, as long as he liv'd? And as for his Grandfather by his Father's side, when he could not kill him, he drove him, poor, out of the Kingdom; his Father he brought forth as a Sacrifice to be slain; his Mother and the Kingdom, when they could not enjoy it themselves, they sold to Strangers: And afterwards when by the Providence of God, she was deliver'd from that Bondage, they cast her into those Straits, in which she now is. What Judgment the Subjects made of these things may appear by this, that Men seem'd to themselves deliver'd from the Prison of a most miserable Bondage, so as to taste the sweetness of Liberty, when they sold the Government, which they themselves were not able to manage, to a Woman and a Stranger.

UPON the hearing of this Oration, the *English* Queen, by her Counsel, told *Hamilton*, that his Demand was unjust, and that she would not assist him in it; but that she was desir'd by the King's Embassadors not to suffer him to depart (since he plotted nothing but Sedition) till they likewise went themselves; which she look'd upon as very just, and therefore

therefore promis'd them it should be so, and upon this, she charg'd him not to depart before that time. The banish'd Queen also encourag'd her Friends with the Hopes of her speedy Return; for some Letters of hers were intercepted, wherein she advis'd them to seize upon as many Castles and fortified Places as they could; and so to disperse the War abroad, as far as ever they were able: Neither need they fear the Noise of a Truce, or Accommodation; for if Matters were ended that way, all the Offences of former times would be cover'd and forgiven, under the Umbrage of Peace: But if it should break out into an open War, the more Garrisons they had, the greater Opportunity would be put into their Hands, to annoy the Enemy.

WHEN the Regent had settled Matters as well as he could in *England*, and had leave to return, some Letters were brought out of *Scotland*, lately intercepted from the Queen of *Scots*, wherein she complain'd to her Friends, that she was otherwise treated by the Queen of *England*, than she herself first expected, or as was promised, and that by means of some Courtiers, who were the Cause that she was not sent back with an Army, as she affirm'd the Queen of *England* had promis'd her; but she hoped shortly to obtain a good Issue another way (for Messengers often had passed between her and *Howard*, about a Marriage between them) and therefore she wish'd them not to be discouraged, but to increase the Strength to of their Party, make a general Disturbance, and by all the Arts they could, to hinder the Regent's Return into *Scotland*. These Letters being divulg'd, affected People differently. The Queen of *England* took it ill, that she was accus'd of Breach of Promise; as also, that the Conditions of the Truce made by her means were not kept: And therefore, being very angry and enrag'd, she remitted much of her ancient Favour to the *Scots* Queen, and was more inclin'd to Equity than before. The *English*, who wish'd well to the Regent, were afraid that his Enemies would way-lay him to do him a Mischief in his Journey; for in the Counties which he was to pass through, they were either for the most part *Roman Catholics*, or Thieves inhabiting the Borders of both Kingdoms, who were all excited to hope for a sudden Change; and it was plain, they were tamper'd with to intercept him in his Return; for which reason abundance of the *English* Courtiers offer'd him their Assistance to secure his Passage; but he was contented with only his own Retinue, and about the thirteenth of *January* began his Journey. But the Queen of *England* judging it to be for their own Credit and Honour, that he should

should return in Safety, had of her own accord written to the Commanders and the Warden of the Marches, that when he came to Places suspected, or noted for Robbery, they should take care, that he might not be circumvented; and they were very careful therein, for strong Guards of Horse and Foot were placed along the Road, so that he came safe to *Berwick*, and the Day after, which was the second of *February*, he was conducted Home to *Edinburgh*, to the great Joy of his Friends; who in great Numbers were assembled. His Enemies hardly believ'd his coming at first, because false Reports had been causelessly spread, that he was shut up Prisoner in the Tower of *London*; but when it was certainly known that he was at *Edinburgh*, those who had beset the Highways to intercept Passengers, let go their Prisoners, and slip'd away home; so that, immediately from a turbulent Tempest, there grew a great Calm and Tranquillity.

A FEW Days after, the Nobility of the King's Party had a great Meeting at *Sterlin*, where the Transactions with the Queen of *England* were opened and highly approved, by the Consent of all there present. About the same time, *James Hamilton*, chief of his Family, came out of *England*, who, by a new and unheard-of Pretence and Arrogance, was adopted as a Father, by the Queen of *Scots*, and made Lieutenant of the Kingdom. He declar'd his Commission, and forbad the People to obey any, but those substituted by him: Upon this, the Royalists disburs'd Sums of Money to raise Forces, and to prepare to fight if need were: And accordingly, at an appointed Day, they met at *Glasgow*, but seeing the Country came not in to *Hamilton*, according to his Expectation, by the Mediation of his Friends, Terms of Agreement were proposed, upon which *Hamilton* was commanded to come to *Glasgow*, to acknowledge the King as chief Magistrate: If he did that, the rest would be easily accommodated; if he refus'd, it was in vain for him to come. He, by the Advice of his Friends that were with him, being forsaken by his Clanships, and terrify'd by the near Approach of his Enemy's Army, resolv'd to comply with Necessity, and to promise all that was desir'd; but when the Forces of the Royalists were disbanded, then he would consult his Advantage at leisure. When they came to *Glasgow*, a Day was appointed; wherein they and their Friends should profess their Allegiance to the King, and so recover their old Estates and Honours: In the mean time they were to remain in Prison, or to give in Hostages, of their Kindred, for their forthcoming. This also was added to their Conditions, that all of the same Party might come in, if they pleas'd, on the

the same Terms. *Argyle* and *Huntley* refus'd to subscribe to those Articles, either out of Anger to *Hamilton*, that he had given up himself to his Enemy's Hands, without asking their Advice; or else, because they thought to obtain for themselves more easy Terms of Peace, in respect of their Power; or else, being encourag'd by frequent Letters from *England*, they were easily inclin'd to that they had most mind to. For whilst these things were acted in *Scotland*, Letters came from the exiled Queen, containing large Promises, and willing them not to be terrified with vain Threats, for she should shortly be with them, with a great Army. Their Minds were ready to receive this News; and so much the rather, because the Queen was kept with a looser Guard than ordinary; and there was daily Talk of her Marriage with *Howard*. When *Hamilton* was come to *Edinburgh*, at the Day appointed, he eluded his Promise by several Pretences; as that the rest of his Party should come together, and so be all comprehended at once in one Agreement: As also, that they might send to the Queen to know her Mind; and to this end, he desir'd to defer the Matter till the 10th of *May*. To this his evident trifling, they answer'd, that it was to no Purpose for him to expect *Argyle* and *Huntley*, for they had declar'd, they would manage their Concerns apart. As for the Queen, it was demanded, if she did not approve the Capitulation, what they would do? Then *Hamilton* answer'd ingenuously enough, but not so prudently for the time, that he was compell'd to those Conditions, by the Force and Terror of an Army, and that if he were left free to himself, he would not subscribe at all: This being openly discover'd, the Regent committed *Hamilton* and *Maxwell* to *Edinburgh* Castle. The rest of the Dispute was about *Argyle* and *Huntley*: For *Argyle*, whilst the Regent was in *England*, came to *Glasgow*, to consult about publick Affairs, with about fifteen hundred Men in his Company: Thither also came many of the neighbouring Countries of that Faction; where they differ'd in their Opinions, and agreed in nothing, but only to disturb the publick Peace. The *Hamiltonians* desir'd of *Argyle*, that seeing the Inhabitants of *Lenox* were firm to the King's Cause, he would vex them, by driving away their Cattle, that so he might the better draw them, tho' unwilling, to his Party; or else might so impoverish them, as to render them unable to be of much Advantage to their own Side. When *Argyle* had communicated the thing to the Council of his Friends, not one of them favour'd his Design: For they remembered, that for many Years, the *Lenoxians* had been much addicted to *Argyle*,

gyle, and that there were many Alliances between them. Besides, said they, why are the *Argyle* Men nearer than the *Hamiltonians*, to the *Lenoxians*, who lie in the middle between them both? Or why should they put a Task, so full of *Odium*, upon him? Since it was principally their own Affair, let them appear *first* in it, and then *Argyle* would not be wanting: He would be a Companion, not a Leader, in such an Expedition. When that Assembly had held some Days, it was dissolv'd, without doing any thing, and *Argyle* return'd thro' *Lenox*, which was his nearest Way, without doing them any hurt; which Moderation of his endeared him, both to the Commons and Chiefs of the opposite Faction, and made his Pardon more easily obtainable.

BUT *Huntley* had endeavour'd in vain to break thro' *Mern*, *Angus*, and *Strath-earn*, in the Regent's Absence, having plunder'd the Country, and their Castle, and ranging over the neighbouring Places, had appointed *Crawford* and *Ogilby* his Lieutenants about *Dee*: Usurping, at the same time, all the Power of a King. This Carriage of his made his Reconciliation the more difficult. These two Men, seeing their Concerns were different, had a Council assign'd, to meet at *St. Andrew's*. Thither *Argyle* came first: He was easily reconcil'd; for that Year, and the former, he had committed no Act of Hostility; and besides, he was the Regent's Kinsman, and from his Childhood his great Acquaintance, and familiar Friend: So that all he required of him, was, an Oath to be faithful to the King for the future; which, if he were not, besides the usual Punishment of the Law, he did not desire but to be accounted the basest Person living: The rest were also admitted into Favour, upon the same Oath, but on far different Conditions. But *Huntley's* Case, before his Arrival, was long debated in Council.

For, whereas in *England*, the Marriage of the exiled Queen with *Howard* was carried on, and their coming into *Scotland* was privately design'd; their Faction there did, by degrees, take Heart, and encourage the Rebellious to Disobedience: For, if Matters were put into Confusion, they thought, the new Husband would have an easier Entrance to possess the Kingdom; for which reason, when they knew that the Regent would not be persuaded to betray the King, as being his Guardian and Uncle, they endeavour'd by all means to abridge his Power. For, besides those that had openly taken Arms against the King, a great part of the Counsellors did not now, as heretofore, favour *Huntley* in secret, but openly; they pleaded strenuously for him, that he should be indemnified for what was past, since that was the readiest and
safest

safest Way to Agreement ; nay, that it was more creditable for the State, to heal civil Breaches without Violence, and not to proceed to Forfeiture of Goods or Loss of Life ; and by this means, Peace might be obtain'd at home, and Renown abroad. But if a military Course were taken, they must fight with a Man, who, by reason of his ancient Power, his great Alliance, and by his many Clanships, was very formidable ; and, if he were overcome (which yet was uncertain) he might fly to to the *HIGHLANDS* and mountainous Desarts, or to foreign Princes, where out of a small Spark of Disgust, a mighty Flame of War might in time be kindled. On the other side, it was alledged, that the War would not be so formidable as some imagined : For his Father, tho' he had the Report of a very prudent Man, was yet easily subdued, even whilst his Force was entire ; and therefore this young Man, whose Power was not yet established, and besides, was discourag'd by the recent Calamity of his Family, was never able to bear up against all the Power of the Kingdom, and the Majesty of the Kingly Name too : and if he were overcome in Fight, or if distrustful his Forces, he fled to the Mountains, there were those, who by the same Largeesses, by which he had attached them to his Service, or by greater, might be induced either to kill him, or to betray him to the Regent. *For the Faith of Mercenaries is changed with Fortune ; they follow the Prosperous, and forsake the Afflicted.* As for foreign Princes, *they esteem'd Men according to their Power ; neither were they concern'd for another's Misery, but respected only their own Advantage.* But if any King of another Temper should be so clement and merciful, as to entertain a Fugitive and a Beggar too ; yet now the Times were such as took off that Fear. For *England* alone, of all *Europe*, was the Country which enjoyed a flourishing Peace, and that favour'd the Cause ; but other neighbouring Kingdoms were so busied with domestick Dissensions, that they had no time to look abroad : And if they had leisure so to do, yet there was some ground of Hope, that Equity would prevail more with them, than Mercy towards Exiles, who were Rebels to their own Kings, and faithless to the Kings of other Nations : As for the Impunity, which they say will declare our Clemency ; it will rather be an Argument of our Negligence, in regard a just Combat being declin'd thro' Fear, a War is imprudently nourish'd under a Pretence of Peace, and that such a Pretence as would encourage the crest-fallen Spirits of the Rebels, and weaken the chearful Endeavours of the King's best Friends. For how do you think' will both Parties stand affected,

affected, when the one Side sees, that all is lawful for them, without present Punishment, and so they hope it will be for the future: And the other sees their perfidious Enemies to be well rewarded for their wicked Crimes, themselves robbed of all their Goods, and vexed with all the Calamities of War; and, whereas they expected a Reward for their Faithfulness and Constancy, instead of it, to be punish'd for their Love to their King and Country? And therefore who can doubt but that, if Matters hereafter come to Arms (which of necessity they must do, unless this Fire be now quenched, before it break forth) who, I say, can doubt, but that Party will be strongest, which thrives by its Wickedness, and which may do all things with Impunity; rather than the other, which must suffer all Injuries offered to them with Patience? And if those Inconveniences did not attend this vain shew of Clemency, yet neither the Regent, nor the King himself, could lawfully *so* pardon, as to give away the Goods of the robbed to their Plunderers. If they should do that, they must lay down the Persons of Rulers, and take upon them the Habit of Spoilers too; if such a Condition should be granted, it were much more cruel for People to be despoiled of their Estates by Kings, *the Granters of Indemnity*, than by their very Enemies that robbed them. Many things having been *can-*
was'd, and alledged to this purpose, on either side; those who were for his Indemnity, were outvoted by a few Voices: The Regent declar'd that, for Peace-sake, he was very willing to pardon the private Wrongs done to himself and the King; but for the Injuries offered to particular Persons, he neither could nor would pardon them: But if *Huntley*, and those Friends of his, who followed his Party, could make some Terms of Agreement with those they had plunder'd, he was very willing, by the Consent of both Parties, to appoint Arbitrators, who might adjust the Value of the Losses.

PEACE, as it was thought, being settled on these Conditions, there arose another Dispute seemingly small, but managed with greater eagerness than before: The Question was, whether Pardon was to be given to all of *Huntley's* Party promiscuously, or whether every Man's Cause and Desert should be consider'd apart? Some were of Opinion, that because they thought *Huntley* was dealt hardly with in being forc'd to pay Damages to the Sufferers, that it was equitable to indulge him here, and not to press so severely, as to disoblige his Followers also: On the other side it was alledged, that the chief Aim, in such kind of Wars,
was

was to dissolve Factions; and that could not be done easily, any otherwise than if the Judgment of Pardon or Punishment did reside in the Breast of the Prince alone: All Men understand, how unjust it is, to impose an equal Fine on those whose Offences are unequal; and that the adjusting of the Punishment should be left to *Huntley* himself, was by no means fit; for he (it was probable) would exact the lightest Mulct from the greatest Offenders; and would lay almost the whole Burden upon such as were least criminal: since in imposing Punishment, he would not weigh each Man's Merit, but rather his Propensity to his Service; and as any Man had been more fierce and cruel in the War, so he would obtain from him a higher Place in his Favour. On the other side, the lightest Offenders would have the severest Punishment, and they who were less active in Wick- edness, should be fined for their Moderation and Favour towards the King. These Reasons so prevail'd with the Council, that they decreed to weigh every Man's Case apart; and yet, that they might seem to gratify *Huntley* in some things, his Domesticks were exempted, he was to lay a Fine on them himself as he pleas'd; but that which he most desir'd, that the Regent should not come with an Army into the North-parts, was absolutely refus'd him.

THINGS being thus settled with *Huntley* at St. *Andrew's* the Regent, with two Companies of Soldiers, and a great Number of his Friends, went first to *Aberdeen*, then to *Elvin*, at last to *Inverness*: The Inhabitants near these Towns being commanded to appear, they obeyed the Summons; some paid down their Money, imposed as a Fine on them, others gave Sureties: *Huntley* and the Chiefs of his Clanships put in Hostages. Thus having settled the Country towards the North, being highly gratulated by all good Men through all his March, he return'd to St. *Johnston's*, where an Assembly of the Nobility was summon'd, on account of Letters, which *Robert Boyd* had brought out of *England* to the Regent at *Elgin*; some of them were publick, some were private; the private ones were from some Courtiers in *England*, containing a Relation of *Howard's* Conspiracy, which was so strong and cunningly laid, that they thought no Force or Policy could withstand it, though all the remaining Power of *Britain* were united together: In these Letters his Friends exhorted him not to mingle his own flourishing Fortune with the desperate Condition of others, but to provide for himself and his Concerns, yet unimpair'd, apart.

THE State of Affairs in *England* compels me here a little to digress; because at that time, the Good and Ill of both Kingdoms

Kingdoms were so conjoin'd, that the one cannot well be explained without the other. The *Scots*, a few Years before, were deliver'd from *French* Slavery, by the Assistance of the *English*, and thereupon they observed and subscribed to the same Rites in Religion, in common with the *English*. That sudden Change of things seemed to promise an universal Quietness to all *Britain*, free from all domestick Tumults: But presently upon this, the Pope with the Kings of *France* and *Spain*, threatened a War, and privately combined to give another turn to things. The Pope was not wanting, by his Exhortations and Promises, to stir up their Minds already enrag'd; but the Kings were not sufficiently agreed amongst themselves; and their Forces were so exhausted, that they rather desired a War, than were able to make it. Besides, there was an Emulation between them; one could not well bear that the other should have so great an Accession as *England*, if it were conquered, to his Dominions. And then also some Disputes arose between them and their Subjects, which diverted their Thoughts from foreign Affairs, though the Novelty of a Woman's Reign; and she a young Woman too, and unmarried, gave Encouragement thereto (especially since those who were ill affected to her, said she was born to *Henry* the eighth in an unlawful Marriage) and the former Differences about the Kingdom and Religion, were rather stifled than extinguished; and besides that, the Sparks of Discontent glowed still in Men's Minds, which in a short time were likely to break out into a Flame.

In the mean time, the *English Catholics* had made many Attempts, but in vain, for they were soon quell'd; and though their Designs never succeeded; yet Foreigners still feeding them only with blooming hopes, not with real Supplies, they still persisted in the same resolute Design, wanting rather a Commander for their Numbers, than Power or Courage to assemble. The common People of that Profession had taken a view of all the Nobility, and they found none fit enough, to whom they might commit their Lives, and Fortunes; many of the most stirring had been cut off in the Civil Wars; many had gone over to the other Party; some were so old, that they were unfit for publick Business; or else the Vigour of their Minds, as well as the Strength of their Bodies, was so debilitated, that they desired Peace, if it were but a tolerable one. There was only one Man; who for Courage and Power seemed fit to undertake so great a Business; and that was *Thomas Howard*, who though he was of himself inclinable to Quietness, yet there were

some Causes which moved him to study Innovations ; for his Father and Grandfather, though they had been highly eminent, both in War and Peace, yet in the Storms of an unstable Court, they had been so toss'd, that their highest Glory was balanc'd with as great Disgrace. His Father was condemn'd for Treason, and publicly beheaded ; and two Queens, his Kinswomen, had been also put to death ; he in those Difficulties was liberally brought up, and so preserved his Family from being quite extinguished : In his very Youth he gave a Specimen of great Prudence, and in a few Years, by the Death of his Wives, and by new Marriages, he grew so rich, that, next to the Queen, he was the most potent of the *English*. For Wealth and Prudence, the rest of the Nobility yielded to him ; but as for his Skill in Military Matters, he had yet given no Proof of it ; but in the Controversies of Religion, he carried himself so swimmingly and ambiguously, that though he favour'd Popery in his Heart, yet he was such a Patron of the contrary Party, that many of them made sure of him, in their Thoughts, as their own.

DURING this, the Queen of *Scots* Army was routed, and she herself fled to *England*, when she wrote Letters to that Queen, concerning the Cause of her coming ; she was bid by her to retire to the House of the Lord *Scroop*, Warden of the Marches, till she had considered of her Demands in Council. *Scroop's* Wife was *Howard's* Sister, and by her Means the Treaty of Marriage was secretly begun between the Queen and *Howard*, and the Opportunity seemed to be offered by God himself, seeing *Howard's* third Wife was lately dead, and he was then a Widower. The Design was concealed, as being intrusted but to a few, yet it was whisper'd abroad among the common People ; for narrow Spirits cannot conceal great Hopes, but Joy gives them Vent, and so they fly abroad. The Matter was so far advanc'd, that the Fire of a civil War seemed ready to break out, nay and some were so confident of Success, after they had considered the Strength of their Parties, that they thought *Howard* might easily do what he pleased, without using any Force.

THINGS were in this Posture, when the *Scots* Nobles had a great Meeting at *Persh*, to hear the Demands of both Queens, both of them having written to them. The Queen of *England's* Letters propos'd one of these three Conditions. The first was absolute, that the Queen might be restored to her Throne and Dignity as formerly. But if that could not be granted, then, that she might reign jointly with her

her Son, that so she might enjoy Princely Honour in Letters and publick Acts; in the mean time, the Regency should be in the Hands of the present Regent, till the King came to the Age of seventeen. If neither of these could be obtained, then the third Condition was (if the Queen could be persuaded to accept of it) that she should live privately at home, being content with those Honours, which, saving the Authority and Majesty of the King, might be granted to her. This last Request was easily assented to, if the Queen would accept it; but the other two were peremptorily refused. For the better and more incorrupt Part of the Nobility were resolute in this, that they neither could, nor ought to determine any thing which might diminish the King's Authority, especially being lawfully enthron'd; but the two former Heads lessened the King's Honour, nay and exposed his Life too, being a Pupil, unless it could be thought that his Mother, who was known to be cruel towards her Husband, was not well affected towards her Son neither, being exasperated by her Banishment, should be now more kind to him, than she had been ever before. The Letters also from the exil'd Queen were read, wherein she desir'd, that some Judges might be appointed to consider of her Marriage with *Bothwell*; and, if it was found contrary to Law, that she might be released from him. Those Letters highly incensed the King's Party, because she wrote herself as Queen, and commanded them as Subjects: Nay, some would not have had them answered at all, because they seemed to abridge the King of his Power, and to arrogate all to an exil'd Queen. But that Part of the Council which was for the Queen, alledg'd, that they wondered much, why those who had the last Year much desired, that she would separate her Cause from *Bothwell's*, now when it was freely offered to them, should hinder it as eagerly, as they had before earnestly desir'd it: If a Word or two in the Letters did displease them, that Fault might easily be amended; nay, some there were, who undertook (provided the Matter of the Divorce might be discussed in the mean time) to procure a Commission from her, in what Expressions they themselves would have it. On the contrary, the adverse Party, urg'd, that they saw no new Cause of such great Haste; sixty Days was but a lawful time for *Bothwell*, who was out of the Kingdom, to appear; within which time a new Commission might be sent: Neither ought that Delay to seem long, especially to her, who had pass'd over so great a Matter in Silence, two Years, and had now sent Letters, which were of themselves an Hindrance, why those who were willing to gratify her, could not comply.

ply with them : but if she seriously desir'd a Divorce, it was easy to be obtained ; let her but write to the King of *Denmark*, desiring him to punish the Murderer of her former Husband ; who being once dead, she might marry whom and where she pleased, though all her Adversaries should forbid it : But if she refus'd this, then it was plain, she spoke not sincerely and from her Heart, but made a counterfeit Pretence of Divorce, that, if she married again, she might also live in a disputable and uncertain Matrimony, even with her next Husband : And of this there was a strong Suspicion, because she desired such Judges to determine the Divorce, who had no Power in the Case. For what Power could the Regent have over Exiles, with whom he had nothing at all to do ; and who, unless they themselves pleased, might refuse to stand to his Judgment ? or how could they, who had not the Disposal of themselves, submit to another's Judgment ? But seeing there seem'd to be some hidden Fraud in the Case, a Decision was not to be hastily made, but the Queen of *England* was to be acquainted with it, in whose Power it was either to promote or hinder it. Hereupon a young Nobleman of the Regent's Friends was sent to the Queen of *England*, to acquaint her with the Acts of the Convention. Some may perhaps wonder, that since greater Matters were transacted with less Dispute, there should be such ado made about the Divorce : But this was the Cause of it ; *Howard* had privately transacted by his Friends, concerning his marrying the Queen of *Scots* : and the Conspiracy was so strong both at home and abroad, that it was rumoured among the Vulgar, the Design was to take away both of the lawful Princes, and so to seize on the two Kingdoms for themselves ; the Place, Time, and the whole of the Design was so ordered, that all things seem'd to be secure against any Force whatsoever. The Conspirators were most forward and urgent to remove what might hinder the Marriage : If that were done, they seem'd secure, that all the rest should fall in of it self. On the contrary, they who were for the King, made it their chief Business to cast in Rubs to delay it ; for that in the mean while, many secret Designs might in time be discovered, and the Conspiracy prevented by the Care of both Princes.

In this posture of Affairs the Decree of the *Scots* Council was brought to the Queen of *England* ; but she alledging she was not satisfied with that Answer, and that the Messenger did not seem to her a fit Person with whom she might confer in so dangerous a Time, and about such weighty Matters, desired to be better inform'd by the *Scots* of

of those Matters. Whereupon there was another Assembly of the Nobility held at *Sterlin*, where they drew up this Answer: ' That as for the third of her late Propositions, it might admit of a Consultation, in order to an Agreement; but the second was of that kind, that no Consultation at all could be admitted on that Head, without manifest Impiety, in regard it would not only diminish, but even extirpate the Royal Authority. For besides that all Partnership in supreme Magistracy is dangerous; how can two be equally join'd in Government, of whom *one* was a Child, scarce out of his Infancy; the *other* a Woman in the prime of her Age, of a crafty Wit, having pass'd through variety of Fortunes, who, as soon as ever she can wind her self into Part of the Government, either by the Strength of that Faction, which, though she was remov'd by a Publick Decree from the Administration, do yet labour to restore her, not by Entreaties, but Threats; or else by corrupting the King's Friends; or lastly, by foreign Soldiers, whom she is now busy to procure, will soon derive the whole Authority to her self? How will she endure, that an Infant should be equalled with her, who would not be equalled even by her Husband? Besides, if she should marry some powerful Person (such a Matter being now on Foot) her Strength would be doubled, and her Husband (as of necessity he must) be admitted into Part of the Government, and would not willingly suffer, that his Children should be prevented in the Succession by a Son-in-Law; and then, in what a Case would the Child be? What if his Friends (as most Men are inconstant) should prefer a present Benefit to their future Hopes, and so side with the strongest? What can attend an Infant, being now thrust down into the second, and then into the third Place, but utter Ruin? As for other things, they had rather leave them to her private Thoughts to meditate upon, than to make a previous Conjecture, what an angry Woman, having Power in her Hands, prompted by the imperious Counsels of her Uncles, having evidenc'd her Cruelty towards her Husband, being also exasperated by her Banishment, would attempt against a Child, especially when stript of all Aid of Nature and Fortune, and expos'd as a Sacrifice to her Rage? And what Life would his Friends lead, by whom she thought she was so grievously wrong'd? Besides, what would the State of Religion be, when she could vent that Rage, which in former times her Fear had concealed, especially if an Husband, of known Arrogance, should further excite her innate Cruelty? How

‘ easily might the young King’s Friends be destroy’d, when he was cut off ; or how soon might the King be subverted, when he had lost his Friends ? For these Reasons the Queen could not be assumed into a Part of the Government, without evident Destruction to the King. Matters standing thus, there was no need to speak any thing to the first Head of her Demands.’

ROBERT PETCARN was sent to carry this Answer into *England*, a Man of no less Prudence than Loyalty ; and he came to that Court in the very Crisis of Time, when the Conspiracy to kill the Queen, and to seize on both Kingdoms, was discover’d. The Plot was so strongly laid, that the Queen of *England* began to be afraid of herself ; and after she had sent *Howard* to the *Tower of London*, she durst not proceed to punish the Queen of *Scots*, but was consulting to send her by Sea to the Regent of *Scotland* ; but when the Storm was a little over, that Design vanished.

In the mean time, the Regent seeing the Power of the adverse Faction mightily encrease, sends for *William Maitland*, who was a great Incendiary to the Conspiracy, from *Perth* to *Sterlin* ; he being conscious of his Guilt, though he had experienc’d the Regent’s Lenity to all his Friends, even in the greatest Offences, yet made no great haste to come ; till having before sifted out, by his Friends, if any Design was form’d against him ; he tamper’d also with the Earl of *Athol* to go with him, that, if need were, he might use him as his Intercessor : As he was sitting in Council at *Sterlin*, *Thomas Crawford*, a Dependant of the Earl of *Lenox’s*, accused him of having an Hand in the King’s Murder : Whereupon he was commanded to be kept close Prisoner in a Chamber in the Castle ; whilst others were sent to apprehend *James Balfure*, who was absent. The wiser sort would have had them both proceeded against according to Law, as having been the Authors of all the Tumults that had happened for some Years ; and as they were privy to the Murder of the last King, so they were Leaders of the Faction against the present : But the Lenity of the Regent overcame all Consideration of Publick Good ; which prov’d calamitous to his Country, and fatal to himself : *Balfure*, by his Friends Mediation, obtain’d Pardon for his Conspiracy, though lately entred into ; and *Maitland* was brought to *Edinburgh*, into a Lodging not far from the Castle ; some Horsemen were appointed to guard him, under the Command of *Alexander Hume*, a young and active Nobleman ; but *William Kircade*, Governor of the Castle, about ten a Clock

Clock at Night, brought counterfeit Letters to *Alexander*, (as if they had been the Hand-Writing of the Earl of *Murray*) which commanded him to deliver *Maitland* into his Custody. He knowing in how great Favour *Kircade* was with *Murray*, readily obey'd, and thus *Maitland* was carried into the Castle by the Governor, who, even till then, had privily been of the Enemy's Party. The Nobility were exasperated at it, and almost doubted, whether they should impute so great an Offence to *Kircade*, or to the Regent himself, as one not ignorant of his Audacity; and the Matter had come to a Sedition, if the Sanctity of his whole Life had not outbalanc'd all Imputations of Reproach. 'Tis true, *Kircade* was a valiant Man, and accounted, till that time, a faithful Observer of Friendship, and as he had received many other Courtesies from the Regent, so he had been lately preferr'd by him to the Government of the Castle, before his other Friends and Kindred, though the more discerning sort did even then suspect him; but such was the Indulgence of the Regent towards those whom he once loved, that he could not be severe to them, though taken in the very Act of Offending. *Kircade*, the next Day, was sent for by the Regent, but refused to come; and this in an unlucky Hour, when *Howard* and the Queen were daily expected, rais'd the Spirits of the adverse Faction. Strange Reports were commonly spread abroad, that the Regent was forsaken by his intimate Friends, in such a doubtful Time; and so the Castle being held against him, he was left to his Enemy's Will, others being likely to follow so leading an Example very shortly; and when the Governor was taken away, the innocent King and his Favourers would be deliver'd up to those Punishments, which the cruellest Tyrants could devise. Yet the Regent was not moved by their Speeches, but the next Day went to the Castle, and spoke to the Governor with an unchang'd Countenance, as if he had been reconciled to him, and so returned to the Expedition he had undertaken against the Robbers. In his Passage through *Merch* he turned aside, as he was wont familiarly to do, to *Alexander Hume*, the Chief of that Clanship; there also (*Hume* himself being covetous, and having been drawn off by great Promises to the contrary Faction) he found no good Reception from *Hume's* Wife, who being an arrogant Woman, even ridiculed him to his Face; thence he went to *Triviotdale*, coming thither with a small Retinue, and little more than his ordinary Guard, the Thieves admiring his Valour and Constancy, in that Soli-

fude of his Friends, having received the Publick Faith for their Return, came in such Numbers to him, that their Multitude equalled, nay sometimes exceeded those of his Attendants ; yet he renitted nothing of his former Greatness of Mind, but answered them as became the Dignity of the Publick and his own too ; and without doubt, he had quieted them without Force, had not some of the neighbouring Nobility, well affected to *Howard*, and now ready to take Arms, hindered his Design. His Friends came in to him at the time appointed, and then he march'd into the Territory of the Thieves, though some of the Neighbourhood endeavoured to dissuade him, telling him of the Difficulty and Danger of the Expedition. He pass'd with his Army through *Liddisdale*, *Ewsdale* and *Esksdale*, and received Hostages not only from them, but from those beyond them ; only some, who, by reason of the Greatness of their Offences, despair'd of Pardon, were outlawed. This Expedition procured him not only the Favour of the People for settling them in Security, but raised their Admiration also, that a Man forsaken by his intimate Friends, and extreemly unprovided of Necessaries, should accomplish that in a few Days, which the most potent of our Kings, in full Peace, and with great Forces, could hardly effect in a long time.

WHILST these things were acting, he was made acquainted, that the *Englisch* Conspiracy was detected, *Howard* committed to Prison, and the *Scots* Queen more strictly guarded than before. *Robert Petcarn* having performed his Embassy with good Success, was returned ; he informed the Regent, that his Proceedings were very acceptable to the Queen of *England* ; in that he had quieted the Borders ; that he had imprison'd the Earl of *Northumberland*, one of the Conspirators, who was fled into *Scotland* ; that he was pursuing all the rest as Enemies ; that he had sent to the Governor of *Berwick*, to offer him Assistance freely on all Occasions. These Courtesies she promised to remember, and that she would not be wanting to him in his Dangers, but that all the Force of *England* should be at his Service if need were.

ALL the time of this Expedition, the Regent had daily Information brought him by his faithful Friends, of a great Conspiracy against him entred into at home. And in all the Letters the Governor of the Castle was still accused ; whereupon the Regent, old Courtesies and ancient Acquaintance not being yet quite worn out of Memory, wrote to him plainly, and sent him a Copy of all his Accusations,

cusations. He answered so coldly to the Crimes objected, that he became now more suspected than before; he denied, that any Man could shew his Subscription to any Engagement, relating to that Conspiracy.

IN the mean time, the Day for *Maitland's* Trial drew near: For after he was carried to the Castle, to put a bold Face on a bad Matter, he expressly desired to be brought to his Trial; for he was fully persuaded, that the Power of the Conspirators was so great in *England*, and also in *Scotland* (of whom he was one of the chief) that nothing could be orderly or lawfully determined: For in Trials of Life and Death, there used to be great Flockings together of Friends and Vassals, according to the Faction, Favour or Nobility of the accus'd, as it happen'd also at this time. The chief of the Faction against the King, viz. the Earls of *Hamilton*, *Gordon*, and *Argyle*, gather'd all their Force against that Day; hoping, that if the Judgment were disturb'd by Arms (as it was easy to do) they might end the Conflict at one Skirmish, as being superior in Number of Men, Opportunity of the Place, and also better provided for War. The Regent expected not a Contest by Arms, but Law, and had therefore made no Preparation on the other side; and thus being unwilling to put things to the utmost Hazard before he needs must; and also, lest the Majesty of the Government might be lessened by contending with his Inferiors, he put off the Day of Trial; and the Day after, about *January* the first, having sent the Earl of *Northumberland* to a Prison in *Lough-Levin*, he went to *Sterlin*.

THE adverse Faction thus again disappointed, and perceiving the Authority and Power of the Regent to encrease, and that, besides his Popularity at home, he was also supported by the *English*; being stirr'd up, partly by Emulation, partly by the large Promises of the Queen of *Scots*, who by Letters inform'd them, that the *French* and *Spanish* Forces would be presently with them, they proceeded to accomplish that which they had long design'd, even the cutting off the Regent. As long as he was alive, they knew their Projects could not take effect, and therefore they sent Messengers through all Countries to the Chiefs of their Faction, to enter into a League to that purpose. To this League the *Hamiltons* subscrib'd, and those who either themselves or their Children were Prisoners in the Castle of *Edinburgh*. The Governor himself was thought to be privy to it, and that which followed encreased the Suspicion: *James Hamilton*, Son of the Archbishop of *St. Andrew's* Sister, promised

sed to be the Instrument, and endeavoured to find a fit Time and Place to commit the Murder. It happen'd that at the same time some Hopes were given to the Regent, that *Dunbarton* would be surrendred upon Conditions ; whither he went, but return'd without Success. *Hamilton* being intent on all Occasions, his Ambushes not succeeding well, first at *Glasgow*, then at *Sterlin*, he fixt upon *Linlithgow* as a Place fittest to execute his Purpose, because that Town was in the Clanship of the *Hamiltons*, and the Archbishop his Uncle had a House there, not far from that where the Regent us'd to lodge ; in that House, being prepared for the Murder, he closely concealed himself. The Regent had often been apprised of this Design, and particularly that very Morning before it was light : The Discoverer for more surety added, that the Murderer lay hid at the Distance of three or four Houses from his Lodging ; that if he would send a small Party with him, he would pull him out of his Hole, and so discover the whole Design and Order of the secret Plot : But the Regent would not alter his former Purpose ; only he design'd to go out of the Town through the same Gate he came in at, and then take another Rout in his Journey ; but neither did he keep to this Resolution ; either because he undervalued such Dangers, as believing his Life to be in God's Hand, to whom he was willing to render it, when it was call'd for ; or else because the Multitude of Horse, waiting for him, stop'd up the Way. When he was got on Horseback, he thought to ride swiftly by the suspected Places, and so to avoid the Danger ; but the Multitude of the People crowding in, hinder'd this Design also, so that the Murderer, out of a wooden Balcony, which he had purposely covered with Linnen, as if it was for another Use, shot him with a Leadn Bullet, a little below the Navel, and it came out almost by his Reins, and also kill'd the Horse of *George Douglas*, which was beyond him. *Hamilton* escap'd by a back Door or Passage of the Garden, which he had pluck'd down for that end ; and so mounting a swift Horse, set on purpose to carry him off, after he had committed the Fact, by *James Hamilton*, Abbat of *Aber-Brothwick*, he rode to *Hamilton*, with the great Gratulation of those who waited to hear the Event of his audacious Enterprize ; who commended him highly, and rewarded him profusely, as if now the Kingdom had been actually translated into their own Family.

THEY at *Linlithgow* being startled at the suddenness of the Noise, the Regent told them he was wounded, and as if he had not felt it, he leap'd from his Horse, and went on Foot to

to his Lodging: They who were sent for to cure the Wound, at first said, it was not Mortal; but his Pain increasing, though his Mind was not disturb'd, he began seriously to think of Death. Those who were about him, told him, that this was the Fruit of his own Lenity, in sparing too many notorious Offenders, and amongst the rest, his own Murderer, who had been condemned for Treason. To which he returned a mild Answer, according to his Custom, saying, *Your Importunity shall never make me repent of my Clemency.* Then, having settled his domestick Affairs, he commended the King to the Nobles there present, and without speaking a reproachful Word of any Man, departed this Life before Midnight, about *January* the 23d, in the Year of our Lord 1571. His Death was lamented by all good Men, especially by the Commons, who loved him alive, and lamented him when dead, as the publick Father of his Country; for besides his many other noble Achievements, they called to mind, that, not a Year before, he had so quieted all the troublesome Parts of the Kingdom, that a Man was as safe on the Road, or at his Inn, as in his own House; and Envy dying with him, they who were disaffected to him when alive, really praised him when dead. They admired his Valour in War, which yet was always accompanied with a great Desire of Peace; his Celerity in Business was always so successful, that an especial Providence of God seem'd to shine on all his Actions; besides, his Clemency was great in moderately Punishing, and his Equity as great in his legal Decisions. When he had any spare time from War, he would sit all Day long in the College of Judges; so that his Presence struck such a Reverence into them, that the *Poor* were not oppress'd by false Accusations, nor tired out by long Attendances, their Causes not being put off to gratify the *Rich*. His House, like an Holy Temple, was free, not only from Impiety, but even from wanton Words; after Dinner and Supper, he always caus'd a Chapter out of the Holy Bible to be read; and though he had still a learned Man to interpret it, yet if there were any eminent Scholars there (as frequently there were a great many, and such were still well respected by him) he would ask their Opinions of it; which he did, not out of a vain Ambition, but a desire to conform himself to its Rules. He was in a manner too liberal; he gave to many, and that very often; and his Alacrity in giving commended the Gift. And that he might spare the Modesty of the Receivers, he commonly gave very privately with his own

own Hand. In a word, he was honest and plain-hearted to his Friends and Domesticks ; if any of them did amiss, he reprov'd them more sharply than he did Strangers. By these his Manners, Deportment, and Innocency of Life, he was dear and venerable, not only to his Countrymen, but even to Foreigners, especially to the *English*, to whom in all the Vicissitudes of Providence in his Life, his Virtues were more known, than to any other Nation.



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AL that time, which immediately followed the Death of the last Regent, although it was free from Bloodshed, yet was it embroiled with the various Attempts of the Factions. Before the Murder, the *Hamiltons* in great Numbers had met at *Edinburgh*, under the Pretence of prevailing with the Regent, to release *James Hamilton*, the Head of their Kin or Tribe, who was yet kept Prisoner in the Castle: But after the Murder was perpetrated, they sent some from amongst them, to the rest of the *Hamiltons*, who were to dissuade the other Clans (for so they would

would have made People believe) from joining with, or protecting the publick Parricides : But, as very many suspected; it was to bid them be prepared, and ready for all Occasions. For the next Night after the Murder, *Walter Scott*, and *Thomas Carr of Farnieft*, entering into *England*, ravaged all Places with Fire and Sword; and that, with somewhat more Cruelty than was used in former Times. Neither was it so much the Desire of Booty, or Revenge, which mov'd them to this unusual Cruelty, as the Effect of what was long before resolved by the Bishop of *St. Andrew's*, and the rest of the Heads of the Faction, to incense the *English* against the *Scots* : And if they could provoke them no other Way to take up Arms, then by Injuries to draw them, tho' unwillingly, into a War. The Governor of the Castle, altho' suspected upon many Accounts, so that all Mens Eyes and Discourse were upon him by way of Reflection, as yet continu'd in his former counterfeited Loyalty to the King : It was upon his Account, that *William Maitland* was deliver'd out of Prison : For when he had, in many Words, pleaded his Innocency before the Council, the Nobles then present attesting, that it did not with any Certainty appear to them, that he was guilty of those Crimes which were laid to his Charge (for he was accused to have been privy to the King's and Regent's Murders, and also to be the Author of the Civil War that was lately raised in *England*) he was at last dismissed; yet so, that the Matter seem'd to be deferr'd till another time, rather than absolutely to be decided : He also, protesting his Innocency upon Oath, promised to appear whenever the King's Relations would appoint a Day for his Trial. Afterwards when, upon consulting about the State of the Kingdom, they had almost agreed, that of those whom the Queen, before she abjured her Government, had nominated Tutors to the King, he that would undertake it, provided he had not afterwards revolted to the adverse Faction, should have the chief Administration of Affairs : *Maitland*, now contriving the Disturbance of Affairs, brought it so about, that it should be again signified to the absent Lords, that they might, if they pleased, be present in the Parliament of the Regent, to be assembled at a certain Day, lest they might afterwards complain, that so great an Affair was hastily huddled up in their Absence. *Asbol*, with a few others, consented; neither did the rest refuse it, that they might take away all Occasion of Detraction and Calumny from their Adversaries, rather than that they had any Hopes; that this Delay of the Parliament would bring any Profit to the Publick.

AFTER

AFTER these things, *Thomas Randolph*, the *English* Ambassador, had Audience. For that Queen, while the Regent was yet alive, had sent her Ambassadors to demand those *English* Exiles, who, after *Howard's* Conspiracy was detected, and he punished, for Fear of Punishment had escaped thither: The Regent giving these Ambassadors Audience at *Sterlin*, had referred them to the Council at *Edinburgh*; and, after his Death, Things being in a great Confusion, they returned home without any Answer. But when they convened about choosing a Regent, *Randolph* (who some Years before had been in *Scotland*) for that he was thought to be well read in the Affairs, and in the Men of that Kingdom; and that his former Embassies had been also advantageous to both Nations, was in great Esteem with all good Men like himself. Being introduc'd into the Council, he declared, 'How great his Queen's Good-will had always been towards the *Scots*: That as she had not formerly been wanting to them in their Disturbances, so she would not fail them now. Then he rehearsed their Incurfions into *England*, the Slaughters, Rapines, and Burnings of late Days committed: Adding, that she knew well enough, that none of these Things were acted by the publick Council; that therefore, at present, her Kindness and Friendship towards them was the same it ever was: So that although she had been in the highest Manner, and without any Cause, provoked; yet she did not, as she might justly do, repeat Particulars, nor publicly require Reparation; nor, for the Fault of a few, seek Punishment of *all*: That indeed she was not ignorant, what a great Disturbance in publick Affairs there was of late; yet she was no wise doubtful of the Good-will of honest Men towards her: That, in Favour of them, she did not only free the Publick from any Guilt, but if, by reason of domestick Troubles, they could not compel the Disturbers of the Peace to settle Things, she would join her Forces with theirs, that so, by common Consent, they might exact Punishment of those Violators of Leagues and Truces: But if they were not able to do that, then she would revenge their Injuries with her own Forces: That her Army should pass peaceably through the Country, without the least Damage to it: That none that had not been guilty of the Crimes alledged, should be involved in the Punishment.' The remaining Heads of his Embassy contained Admonitions, ever profitable in all legal Assemblies, but now, as the present Posture of Affairs was, very necessary, *viz.* 'That they should first of all, with all Care and Vigilance, have regard to Religion,

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which alone teaches us our Duty both towards God and Man : That seeing no Common-wealth at Discord within itself can long subsist, they should bend their chiefest Endeavours, and strive with their utmost Force, that at home, *among Fellow Subjects and Countrymen*, Peace and Concord might be religiously observed ; and seeing God, the Framer of the Universe, had indulged them with a Kingly Government, it was just for them to honour and obey their Kings, and to yield all Obedience and Obedience to them : That Peace, Concord, and Friendship with all Men, as much as possible, are most acceptable to God; and quench, or, at least, lessen the Thirst of shedding human Blood (which Wickedness God especially detests :) That they increase the Riches of all in general, and render a People more formidable to their Enemies : That Justice is the Preserver of the publick Safety, of which the chief Part now to be made use of is; the Punishment of Offenders : And since Treason is most hateful to every lawful Government, its Abettors, to what Part of the Earth soever they retreated, should have neither Mercy, Favour, nor Indulgence shew'd them.' Thus far *Randolph*, whose Advice seem'd both pious, wholesome, and reasonable. But, because none was yet chosen Regent, he could not have any certain Answer, and therefore was put off till the first of *May*. At last, *William and Robert Douglas*, Brothers by the Mother's side to the late murder'd Regent, petition'd, that the villainous Death of their Brother, suffer'd upon no private, but the Common-wealth's Account, should be reveng'd. Herein the Opinions were various, although all agreed, that the Murderers were to be punished : Some thought fit, that a Day should be appointed for those suspected of the Murder to appear (and many of their Names were given in :) Others were of Opinion, that Court-Days were not to be waited for against those, who were now in Arms, to maintain by Force that Fact which they had impiously committed : And that it was fit, not only to take up Arms forthwith against them, but likewise against all those, who were sentenced by the last Parliament. To this Opinion the Knights of the Shires were most inclined, yet they could not obtain their Desires, through the Dissuasion chiefly of *Aibol*, who said, they ought to expect a more numerous Assembly of the Nobility ; and of *Morton*, who thought, that should they join more Crimes together, the Revenge of the Regent's Death would miscarry, and a Civil War break out ; because all those who dreaded the Peace, would join with the Murderers. That therefore

therefore their Crimes should be separated, and Affairs, if possible, by Law transacted, and nothing innovated before the first of May (which was the Day appointed for their Meeting). And so that Session was dissolv'd; most part of the People condemning this Delay of the Nobility, because (*said they*) all things are acted as the King's Enemies please, who had occasioned these Delays on purpose, that thereby the Odium of the Murder might diminish, and the opposite Faction in the mean while gain Strength. This Opinion of the People was confirmed, not only by some preceding Accidents, but also by very many which followed. For presently, when the Regent's Murder was yet hardly divulg'd, *James Hamilton*, upon a Mortgage of his Lands, procures Money of *John Somervail* of *Carmethen*, which, together with another Sum, borrowed of his Friends, he sent to his Accomplices to hire Troops, having warned them before, to be ready for all Attempts, because of the sudden Alteration which had happen'd, upon their having rid themselves of their capital Enemy. And after that, the Queen's Party ceased not to have Meetings in many and distant Places. About the 15th of February, almost all the Chiefs of the rebellious Faction met together at *Glasgow*; whence *Argyle* and *Boyd* wrote to *Morton*, that they, because as yet they knew not who were the Actors in, or privy to the Regent's Murder, would willingly communicate their Counsel with the rest of the Nobility, as well for its Discovery as Punishment; but that they would not come to *Edinburgh*: But if the King's Party would be persuaded to meet them at *Linlithgow*, at *Falkirk*, or at *Sterlin*, they would without Delay come thither. This being communicated to *Maitland* by *Morton* (for so the Letter desired) came to nothing. About the same time, *Thomas Carr* wrote to his Father-in-Law, the Governour of the Castle, from *Linlithgow*, that if the Queen of *England* would be prevailed withal, to lay by her Resentment of the late Incursions, he would endeavour that for the future, the Borders should be quieted, and kept in due Order; but if she should refuse these Offers, he would continue in the Design he had begun; not doubting but that his honest Countrymen, who yet retained their Loyalty to their Queen, would join with him, and that the *French* Auxiliaries would likewise speedily arrive.

About the 3d of March the *Hamiltons*, with *Argyle* and *Boyd*, met at *Linlithgow*; but the killing of one common Soldier begetting a Tumult, disturbed all their Counsels; which made the Archbishop of *St. Andrew's* take home the

Hamiltons along with him. The rest of the Rebels, especially *Huntley*, *Arbol*, *Crawford*, *Ogilby*; as also those on this side *Forth*, *Hume*, *Seton* and *Maitland*, met at *Edinburgh*, where *Morton* was accompanied but with a few, till the Earls of *Glencairn* and *Marr*, with their Followers, came to him. About the 4th of *March*, the Heads of the Factions met to consult about the main Affair, but this Consultation went but slowly on, by reason of *Argyle's* Ab-
 Tence, whose Power and Authority was then very great. *Huntley* goes to him, undertaking to persuade him to join with the rest of the Faction, but returns without Success, by the Treachery of *Maitland* (as most Men thought) who desired to keep things at a stand, that, amidst the Confusions of the Kingdom, he might have the fitter Opportunity for Innovations. *Argyle* also, in all his Undertakings, had another Impediment, which hindred that his Power was not now so great, as it was formerly, which was, that though he himself was a most eager Favourer of the Queen's Cause, yet neither his Friends and Dependants, nor his very Brother, could be prevailed with to follow him against the King. The ensuing Night, a sudden Terror, without any apparent Cause, so seiz'd upon all the Factious, that they watched in their Armour till it was Day-light; and, in the Morning, as secretly retired from *Edinburgh*. All the time of this Convention, the chief thing controverted was, by what Authority the *Scots* might, at that time, choose a Regent? Some according to the Queen's Letters Patents three Years ago, by which she had designed eight of the Nobility, that out of them one or more, as should be thought fit, might be nominated as Tutors to her Son, would have one of that Number placed at the Helm. Others were of Opinion, that those Letters were now useless, since a Regent was already chosen, according to their Appointment; and that all Thoughts of them should be laid aside, as being not made to be always in Force, but for that one Juncture of Time only. Some there were, who would have the whole Affair deferred, till the general Convention of the Nobility: But these were chiefly of *Maitland's* Faction, who expected that a great Distraction in Affairs would follow, which, in a great Multitude, without a Governor, is easily rais'd, but not so easily laid. The third Opinion condemned both these: The first, because now there ought less Account to be made of the Queen's Letters-Patent, since (if the Matter of Law were consider'd) they were, from their beginning, of little or no Force: The other, for that a Prorogation would both draw much Danger along with it, as also a greater Delay than the

the present Condition of Affairs could well permit; and therefore they would have all those to meet, who at first had advised that the King should enter upon the Government, and had constantly adhered to him ever since: These, according to the Sense of this Party, were to take the best Care they could for the publick Welfare, and speedily appoint such a Regent, who was both able and willing to provide for the Safety both of King and Kingdom. But this Opinion was also rejected, and thus before any thing was concluded upon, the Convention broke up.

So many Meetings having been tried in vain, the Rebels again return to the old Seminary of the *English* War, thereby to draw the Populace to their Faction; and send out the same Officers of the Freebooters, as they called them, who were sent before, who left nothing of Cruelty uncommitted, even to the utmost Extremity. And in the mean time the Heads of their Faction bespatter the Queen of *England* with all manner of Reproaches: And they maliciously accuse the *Scottish* Nobles, as Pensioners to the *English*, commonly giving out, in a way of Threatening, that if their Adversaries called in the *English* to their Aid, they would have Recourse to the *French* and *Spaniards*. About this time, Mr. *Le Verac*, of the King of *France's* Bed-Chamber, came from *France* to *Dumblinton*, who with his large Promises somewhat elevated their Spirits. Hereupon the *Hamiltons* appointed a Meeting of their People, to be held the 9th of *April*, at *Linlithgow*; where, when the Queen's Faction was gathered together in great Numbers, they began openly to treat of that, which they had long before meditated in their private Cabals, viz. that, if a War against the *English* could be made, private Injuries and Actions, either about the King's or Regent's Murder, in that universal Disturbance of Affairs, would thereby either grow out of Remembrance, or at least the Resentment of them would much abate. These Things having been transacted at *Linlithgow*, by the Associates of the Conspiracy only, who having not yet plainly unmasked their Intentions, that they might have more shew of Authority, determine to meet at *Edinburgh*, on the 11th of *April*, that, besides the other Conveniencies which the Place would afford them, they might draw the Citizens, of whom they always made great Account either way, to their Party. This seemed no hard Matter, since they had already gained *William Kirkcaldie*, the Governor both of the City and Castle to their Side: But because they understood that Watch and Ward was kept there, and that the common People were more inclined to their Adversaries,

ties, they thought fit to send to the Citizens first to know whether it was their Pleasure they should meet there? The Citizens Answer was, that they would exclude no Person, that was desirous of the publick Peace, and obedient to the King; but that they would admit neither the *English* Exiles, nor the *Hamiltons*, into their City, lest they should either highly displease the Queen of *England*, in whose Kingdom they had great Traffick, or seem to join in Counsel with those that were guilty of that horrid Murder; neither would they endure the Proposal of any new Edicts, which might tend to the lessening of the Regal Authority; or, that their Soldiery should be forc'd (as the Custom was) to run to their Arms by Sound of Drum. Upon these Conditions, how hard soever they seem'd, they notwithstanding came into the City, in hopes by degrees to gain upon the unwary Multitude, and by soothing them with fair Speeches, at last to win them all over to them; but for all this, they could not prevail with the Citizens to deliver up their Keys, or to cease their usual Watch, though *Kircade*, Governour of the Castle and City, joined his utmost Endeavours with them to procure all this.

ALL that time they visited *Mailand* (who, if he did not dissemble deeply, was troubled with the Gout) every Day, and in such Numbers, that his House was commonly called a School, and he a Schoolmaster: *Athol*, mean while, incessantly passed from one Place to another, that he might draw those of the contrary Faction to this Meeting at *Edinburgh*; but they all unanimously refused to come before *May 1.* (which was the Day generally agreed upon by all) unless they were satisfied of the Necessity of coming before; if any thing of moment happened, which would admit of no Delay, they would have them acquaint the Earl of *Morton* with it, who was at his House but four Miles off, and he would intimate it to the rest. *Athol* at last appoints a Day, on which some of either Faction should meet at *Morton-Hall*, which is in *Dalkeith*; but this Place did not please the Queen's Faction, not that they dreaded any Treachery, but out of Conceit, that it would be an undervaluing to their Authority, if they should come to *Morton*, rather than he come to them. For which Reason, after many Attempts, and finding nothing proceeded to their Satisfaction, they were forc'd to break up the Meeting; for being desirous to rid the City of their Adversaries, and seeing they could not prevail with the Citizens to join with them; in order to it, they resolved to call in a greater Number of their Friends who lived nearest to them, that,

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in spite of the Inhabitants, they might get all things into their own Power. The Governor of the Castle facilitated this very much, who set at Liberty those Persons whom he had in Custody (and they were almost all the Heads of the Queen's Faction.) But a sudden Rumour, that the *English* Army was come to *Berwick*, shook all their Resolutions. *Alexander Hume*, and *John Maxwell*, lately let out of Prison, without any Publick Authority, betook themselves to their own Homes, to look to their domestick Affairs; And *Hume* had Part of the Money (gathered for raising of Soldiers) given him, to fortify his own Castle. *Thomas Carr* and *Walter Scot*, who, by the Instigation chiefly of the Archbishop of *St. Andrew's*, had made Incursions into *England*, foreseeing that from this beginning, a War would be kindled between the two Kingdoms, being deserted by their Neighbours, and doubtful of their own Strength, send to the Heads of their Faction for Aid; or if that could not be given, that at least they would come as far as *Lauder* (a neighbouring Town) and from thence make a Shew of War. When in this too they could not obtain their Request, nor yet the least Portion of their common Money for the publick Use; and being highly incensed to be thus betrayed and forsaken by those very Men that had put them upon the War, every one of them betakes himself to the care of his own Safety, their Hopes, for the time to come, being all blasted. Thus so many cross Accidents unexpectedly falling out at one and the same time, entirely disturbed all their Plots and Machinations; but the sudden Approach of the *English* Army was what most surprized them; and therefore, to see if they could put a Stop to it, they make use of two Embassies into *England*; one to *Thomas*, Earl of *Suffex*, to desire a Truce, till such time as they had laid open the State of their Affairs to the Queen of *England*; The other Embassador carried Letters to the Queen, containing many things, as well for their own Cause, as against the King's Faction; especially by making their Boasts of greater Forces than they had in Reality, and vilifying those of their Adversaries, thereby covertly threatening the *English* with a War: For *Maisland* had made them believe, that the Queen, a Woman naturally timorous, would do any thing rather than be brought to a War, at a Time when both the *French* and *Spaniard* were, for many Reasons, at Enmity with her, and her own Affairs at home were scarce settled. The Rebels desired, that by the *English* Queen's Arbitrement, all the Ordinances of the last two Years should be called in, although many amongst them had sub-

subscribed to them; and that all things being, as it were, acted *de novo*, a new Ordinance should, by a general Consent be made: And that they might the better set forth the Power of their Faction, their Letter had all the great Mens Names, that were of their Party, subscribed to it; and for the greater Ostentation of their Multitude, they set to it the Names of many as well the adverse Faction, as of those that were Neuters; in hopes that the *English* (by reason of the great Distance, and their Ignorance of Things done so far off; and that their Letters to the Queen would be exposed to the View but of few Persons) would hardly be able to detect their Fraud.

ABOUT that time an Accident happened, as they thought, very advantageous to their Affairs, as hoping that it would both make the *English* less forward, and at the same time terrify the *Scotch* Populace, viz. the Arrival of a certain *Frenchman*, however of a mean Condition, who as being *Lausack's* menial Servant, was for his Master's sake entertain'd at that Court. This Man brought a great many Letters, all of the same Purport, from the *French King*, not only to the Heads of the Queen's Faction, but likewise to many who had not declared themselves for either Faction, in which great Thanks were given to every one of them, for their having hitherto taken the Queen's Part; the King desiring them constantly to persist in so doing, and he would send them Assistance, even greater than they had desired of him, as soon as ever he could do it with Conveniency. He also that brought the Letters adds, as from himself, *That all things were now quiet in France, Jasper Colligny and the other Rebels being reduced to such Terms, as to promise to leave France, lest their Presence should be a hindrance to the Publick Peace: And that he doubted not, but the Soldiers which were to be sent to assist them, would all be raised before his Return.* The wiser sort, although they knew that these things were for the most part nothing but vain Reports, yet permitted the common sort to be deluded by them. When therefore the Minds of many People were by these Means much lifted up, their Joy was lessened by the unsuccessful Return of their Embassadors out of *England*: For *Suffex* could not be induced to think it would be for the *English* Interest, to maintain an Army only to idle their time away in Traces, and wholly to desist from War, without any Conditions offer'd on the part of the *Scots*. And the Letter which they writ to the Queen being opened by *Suffex* (as she had commanded, to prevent the Delay of waiting for her Answer) discovered

covered the Fraud. For it contained nothing but vain boasting, as the *English* well knew, who knew every thing that was doing in *Scotland*: So that their Embassadors were almost hooted away, and Copies of their Letter were sent to the King's Party in *Scotland*. Being thus disappointed, and frightened by the sudden drawing near of the *English* Army, and those who were to have assisted them, being gone to defend their own Homes; having also small Confidence in the Citizens, and knowing that their Enemies would come to *Edinburgh* on the first of *May*: They therefore retired from thence, and went to *Linlithgoe*, thinking that Place to be very commodious for the sending for those of their Party from the most distant Places of the Kingdom; as also for hindring the Journies of the others that were going to the Assembly; and for bringing about of those other things, which were lately discussed at their Consultations. From this Place the *Hamiltons*, with their Friends and Vassals, made the whole Road leading to *Edinburgh*, very unsafe for Passengers; and knowing that *John Erskine*, Earl of *Marr*, was to come that Way, they placed themselves on the neighbouring Hills to hinder his Journey; but he knowing how the Way was beset, passed the River about two Miles above; and so on *April 29* in the Evening came safe to *Edinburgh*. After that Day, the King's Party kept at *Edinburgh*, and the Queen's at *Linlithgoe*, mutually charging one another with the Causes and Rise of these civil Combinations. But those at *Edinburgh* informed their Opposites, that they were willing to come to an easy Agreement upon other Heads, and that if they had done any one any Wrong, they would give him just Satisfaction, as indifferent Arbitrators should award; provided always, that this King's Authority might be secured, and that both Parties might join to revenge the Murder of the last King, and of the Regent. To this Proposal they at *Linlithgoe* gave no satisfactory Answer, but instead thereof made an Edict, that all Subjects should obey the Queen's Commissioners; and the three Earls of *Arran*, *Argyle* and *Huntley*, summoned an Assembly to be held at *Linlithgoe*, *August* the third. Whereupon the other Party sent *Robert Petcarn* their Embassador to the Queen of *England*, to treat with her about suppressing the common Enemy; and to shew how well-affected the *Scots* stood towards her, he was to inform her, that they would chuse such a Regent as she should please to recommend or approve.

THUS, whilst each Party was crossing one another's Design, the *English* enter *Teviotdale*, and spoil the Towns and Villages belonging to the Families of the *Cars* and of the *Scots* (who had violated the Peace, by making Excursions into *England*, and giving Harbour to such *English* Fugitives as fled to them for Shelter) wasting and burning their Country. The Earl of *Sussex* their General besieged *Hume* Castle, where the Owner of it had laid up much Provision, and all the Neighbourhood had brought in their best Goods to that Fort, as into a Place of Safety. It was valiantly defended by the Garrison within, and the *English*, the next Day after, were about to raise the Siege; when Letters were brought to the Garrison-Soldiers, written a while before by *Alexander*, Owner of the Castle, which disturbed all their Measures. For by these Letters he commanded them to obey the Orders of *William Drury* an *English* Knight, and to do what he commanded them, without any Dispute. *Drury* acquainted *Sussex* herewith, whereupon the Castle was surrendered and plundered; and *Sussex* placing in it a Garrison of *English*, with a great Booty returned to *Berwick*. Thus *Hume*, who was so far from being afraid of the *English*, that rather he thought them his very Friends, as knowing that *Drury* and *Sussex* both did secretly favour *Howard's* Affairs, almost ruin'd himself by his own Credulity; for at last being forsaken of all his Friends and Relations, who were mostly Royalists, he came with one or two in his Company to *Edinburgh*, and shut up himself, as a Recluse, in the Castle there.

On the other side of the Borders, *Scroop* an *English* Commander entred *Annandale*, and ranack'd the Lands of one *Johnston* (who also had made Incursions into *England*) but *Johnston* himself with a few of his Companions, being well acquainted with the Passes of the Country, made a Shift to escape from the Horse that pursued him. *John Maxwell*, who had gathered together three thousand Men out of the Neighbourhood, yet durst not adventure to come in to his Aid, but only stood upon his own Guard. A while after, the *English* that were at *Berwick* having received Hostages, and thinking that Matters would have been carried with Fidelity towards them, sent in three hundred Horse, and one thousand Foot, under the Command of *Drury*, against the common Enemy. Upon the Rumour of their March, the *Hamiltonians* went to *Glasgow*, resolving to demolish the Castle of the Archbishop there, that it might not be a Receptacle to the Earl of *Lenox*, then returned out of *England*, and that Country be made the Seat of War. They knew that

that it was kept but by a few raw Soldiers, that the Governor was absent; and that it was unprovided of Necessaries, so that they thought to surprise it by their sudden Approach; for they flew into the Town in such haste, that they shut out a good part of the Garrison-Soldiers from entering the Castle; but being disappointed of their Hopes, they began to batter and storm it with the utmost Violence, and were as valiantly repulsed, for the Garrison-Soldiers (which were but twenty-four) did so warmly receive them for several Days, that they kill'd more of the Assaultants, than they themselves were; and the rest they beat off, very much wounded: Of their own, they lost but one Man, and none of the rest received so much as a Wound. But the *Hamiltonians* hearing that the *English* were already at *Edinburgh*, and that *John Erskin* was come to *Sterlin*, with a Design speedily to relieve the Castle, though they had received some additional Force, even from the remote Parts of the Kingdom; yet toward Evening they raised their Siege, and in great fear pack'd away: *Hamilton* and *Argyle* himself posted into *Argyle's* Country: *Huntley* went home, over the almost impassable Mountains; the rest shifted for themselves, and ran several ways to save their Lives.

BUT the *English*, two Days after they came to *Edinburgh*, went to *Glasgow*, and in their Passage through *Chysdale*, wasted all the Lands of the *Hamiltons*, and any others, that had consented to the Death of the Regent; as also of those who had harbour'd the *English* Fugitives, and carried away a very great Booty, making Havock in all the Country; when the Engines to beat down the Castle, that was situated near a Village called *Hamilton*, were bringing to *Sterlin*. *Drury*, who privately favoured the *English* Rebels, had almost render'd the whole Expedition fruitless; for he was so far from quieting the *English* who mutinied, because their Pay was not paid them at the Day (whereupon they threatened immediately to lay down their Arms) that it was thought by many, he himself was the Author of the Mutiny: But the Soldiers were appeased, upon the receiving their Pay down upon the Nail; and the great Guns being planted, and playing against it, the Castle was surrender'd in a few Hours. Amongst the Booty, some there were that knew the Apparel, and other Household-stuff of King *James the Fifth*; that the Owner of the Castle, when he resigned up his Regency, had so solemnly sworn he had none of. The Castle was left half demolished; and the Town, together with the stately Mansion of the *Hamiltons*, the wild common

common Soldiers burnt to the Ground, against the Will of their Commanders. Upon which the Army march'd back, the *English* to *Berwick*, and the *Scots* each to their own home; *Drury* interceded for the Garrison, that they should march away in Safety; who being dismiss'd took *Robert Semple* Prisoner, the chief of his Family, out of the House of his Son-in-law, who was quietly returning home, as if the Service had been ended: which Passage greatly increas'd the Suspicion of *Drury*.

THESE Matters were scarce finish'd, before *Petcaru* returned from his Embassy out of *England*, and brought this Answer, *That the Queen wonder'd, they never made her acquainted with the State of their Affairs till now, four Months after the Death of the Regent; and by reason of this Delay, she was uncertain what Estimate to make of them; in the mean time, that she had been often solicited importunately by the French and Spanish Embassadors in the Name of their Kings, and that she was even tired out with the daily Complaints of the Scots Queen, that she had promised them Audience; but upon Condition, that the Queen of Scots should write to her Party for a Cessation of Arms, till the Conference was ended; that those Innovations which they had attempted by their publick Edicts, they should revoke by other Edicts contrary to the former, and to suffer things to stand as they were, when the Regent was murdered; that the English Exiles should be given up without Fraud; and if upon the Conference, Matters were accommodated between them, Hostages and other Pledges should be given on both sides, for the faithful Performance of Agreements. That upon these Conditions a Conference was promised, and having oblig'd herself to this, she could not join with them in their Design of making a new Regent, lest she might seem to condemn their Queen without bearing her; but in general she said, that she had a great Affection for them, and their Welfare. In the mean time, she desir'd, that they would abstain from Arms, and from making a Regent, and she would take Care, that such a small Delay should be no Damage to them. This Answer being reported to the Scots, did variously affect them. On the one hand, the Necessity of the Time requir'd them to steer their Counsels so as they might be pleasing to the Queen of *England*; and on the other, they knew of what Concernment it was to the Publick, that one chief Magistrate should be set up, to whom all Complaints might be made; and for want of creating one some Months already past, the Enemy hath improv'd the Delay to gather Forces, to make new Courts of Justice, daily to set forth new Edicts,*

Edicts, and to usurp all the Offices of a King. On the other side, the Royalists were dejected, and a Multitude, without one certain Person whom to obey, could not be long kept in Obedience. After the Ambassador's Return, News came that there was a new Insurrection in *England*, and that, in *London* the Pope's Bull was fastened on the Church Doors to exhort the *English*, partly to cast off the unjust Yoke of the Queen's Government, and partly to return to the Popish Religion; and it was thought, that the Hand of the Queen of *Scots* was in all this.

Now tho' they knew from the Earl of *Sussex's* Letters, that notwithstanding these things, all was quiet in *England*; and also, the said *Thomas Randolph* had, in Presence, confirm'd it, yet they could hardly be restrained from chusing a Regent. But at last a middle way prevailed, that they might have an Appearance of a chief Magistrate, to set up an Inter-Regent, or Deputy-King, to continue till the 12th of *July*; in which time they might be farther inform'd of the Queen of *England's* Mind: They judged that she was not averse from their Undertaking, especially upon this Ground, that she had put it into the Articles of Capitulation, that they should give up all the *English* exiled for Rebellion: For if that were done, they understood, that the Spirits of all the *Papists* in *England* would be alienated from the Queen of *Scots*: If it were denied, then the Conference, or Treaty, would break off, and the Suspensions, which made the Commonalty averse, would daily increase: For they saw, that other things would not easily be agreed upon, when a greater Danger threatened the *English* than the *Scots*, upon the Deliverance of their Queen; and, if other Things were accorded, yet the Queen of *England* would never let her go, without Hostages; neither was she able to give any such, who could make a sufficient Warranty. These Considerations gave them some Encouragement, so that they proceeded to create *Matthew Stewart*, Earl of *Lenox*, the King's Grandfather, Vicegerent for the time.

WHILST this new Vice-Roy, by the Advice of his Council, was busied in redifying Things, which had been disorder'd in the late Tumults; Letters came opportunely from the Queen of *England*, *July* the 10th, wherein she spake much of her Affection to the King and Kingdom of *Scotland*, and freely offer'd them her Assistance; withal she desired them to abstain from naming a Regent, which was a Title invidious of it self, and of no good Example to them; only if they were resolv'd, and ask'd her Advice, she thought none was to be preferr'd to that high Office before the

the King's Grandfather; none being of greater Fidelity to the King, yet a Minor; and who undoubtedly had the Prerogative before all others. These Letters encouraged them, by the joint Suffrages of all the Estates, of a Vice-Roy to make him Regent. As soon as ever he was created Regent, and had taken an Oath (according to Custom) to observe the Laws and Customs of his Country: First of all he commanded, that all which were able to bear Arms, should appear at *Linlithgoe*, August the 2d, to hinder the Convention, which the Seditious had there appointed in the Name of the Queen; then he himself summon'd a Parliament in the Name of the King, to be held the 10th Day of *October*; he also sent to the Governor of the Castle of *Edinburgh*, (who still pretended great Friendship to the King's Party, tho' his Words and Actions did very much disagree) to send him some Brass-Cannon, Carriages, and other things for the managing them: This he did, rather to try the Governour's Fidelity than in Hopes to obtain his Desires. He promis'd very fair at first, but when the Day was coming on, that the Parliament was to meet, when he was desired to perform his Promise, he peremptorily refused, alledging, that his Service should be always ready to make up an Agreement between, but not to shed the Blood of his Countrymen. Nevertheless the Regent came, at the Day appointed, to *Linlithgoe*, with five thousand armed Men in his Company; but hearing that the Enemy did not stir, only that *Huntley* had placed one hundred and sixty Soldiers at *Brechin*, and had sent out an Order, commanding the Inhabitants to get in Provision for some thousands of Men by the 2d of *August*: The Garrison there placed by him, not only robbed the Inhabitants, but way-layed all Travellers, who passed the Roads thereabout. Upon which the Regent, by the Advice of his Council, resolved to march thither, and to seize on the Place (which would be of great Advantage to him) before *Huntley* could arrive at it; and if occasion offer'd, there to fight him, before his Partners came up with their Force, and so to defeat that Party of Musqueteers, which was all he had; and by that means might take some of the Leaders of the Faction, as the Earl of *Crawford*, *James Ogilby* and *James Balfour*, who he heard, were there. Pursuant to this, he commanded *Patrick Lindsey* and *William Ruven*, chief Officers, and *James Haliburton*, Governour of *Dundee*, to take what Soldiers they could raise at *Dundee*, and *St. Johnston's*, and to make haste thither to prevent the News of their coming. They made all the Speed that ever they were able; the next Night horsing their Foot for

for greater Expedition ; however, as they drew near the Place, they march'd slowly, to get some Refreshment before they charg'd the Enemy ; so that the Alarm was taken at *Brechin*, that the Enemy was a coming : Upon which *Ogilby* and *Balfour*, who chanc'd to be there, got the Soldiers presently together ; and encouraging them as well as they could for the time, they told them, that they and *Huntley* would return again in three Days ; and so they got on Horseback, and hasted away over the Mountains to their own Men. The Soldiers, that were left, catch'd up what was next at hand, and about twenty of them got to the Tower of a neighbouring Church : The rest fled into the House of the Earl of *Marr*, which was seated on a Hill near to it, it was like a Castle, and commanded the Town. *James Douglas* Earl of *Morton*, with eight hundred Horse, went a farther March about, and came not in till the Day after : The Regent sent home the *Lenoxians* and the *Renfroans*, to guard their own Country, if *Argyle* should attempt any thing against it ; but he himself in three Days, overtook those whom he had sent before to *Brechin*. At the Noise of his coming, the neighbouring Nobility came in, so that now he muster'd seven thousand effective Men ; whereupon they who were in the Church-Tower presently surrender'd themselves. The rest having stoutly defended themselves for a few Days, killing and wounding some, who were unwary in their Approaches ; at last hearing, that Brass-Cannon were plant'd against them, and that *Huntley* had forsaken them, surrender'd also at Mercy to the Regent. He hang'd up thirty of the most obstinate, many of them having been taken and releas'd before ; the rest being very feeble he dismiss'd. *Huntley* was then about twenty Miles off, endeavouring to gather more Force, but in vain (for most Men, when they had free Liberty to declare themselves, abhorred so bad a Cause :) Upon which he was forc'd, thro' Fear, to provide for his own Safety, and with a small Party retired into the remote Countries.

AFTER this the Regent returned to *Edinburgh*, to be present at the Parliament there summon'd ; and, by their Advice, to settle the present Disturbances. The Rebels perceiving, that, by the Agreement of all the Estates, there was no Hope left them ; especially they who were guilty of the King's Murder, and of the Death of the Regent, dealt with the Queen of *England*, that, because she had promised the *French* and *Spanish* Embassadors, she would hear both Parties, and compose things if she could, that therefore no new Decree should be made in the mean time. This Delay being

being obtain'd (for nothing was done in that Assembly, only the Election of the Regent was confirm'd) the Rebels never ceased to solicit the *French* and *Spaniard* to send Forces into *Britain*, to restore their Queen; and because they affirmed that the Restitution of the Pope's, or the old Religion, depended on her, therefore they had Recourse also to the Pope, that tho' he were far remote, yet he might help them with Money. Whereupon he sent an Agent into *Scotland*, to enquire into the present State of things there, who giving an Account that the Popish Party there was very weak; and that all the Rebels were not unanimous in the restoring of Popery, he refused to intermeddle with it; but in the mean time, he endeavour'd to raise some Commotion in *England*, by his Execrations and Curses hung upon Church-Doors by Night, by his Indulgencies and by his Promise of Indemnity for what was past; for there he thought his Faction was the strongest. The Regent having appointed the Parliament to be held the 25th of *January*, (for within that time he hoped to satisfy all foreign Embassadors) to compose things legally and judicially, as well as he could, return'd to *Edinburgh*. The Rebels, having renew'd the Truce, by means of the Queen of *England*, till the Embassadors of both Parties had been heard before her; yet contrary to the Peace desir'd by themselves, were very busy to attempt Alterations, encourag'd (as 'tis thought) by the Favour of the Earl of *Suffox*, who then commanded the Army of the *Englifs* in *Northumberland*. For he, either not altogether despairing of the Duke of *Norfolk's* Affair, or else induc'd by the Promises of the exiled Queen, of whose Return he had some Hopes, was somewhat inclinable to the Rebels; which the *Scots* taking notice of, were more sparing in communicating Counsels with him. The Winter being past in the reviving of the Truce; the Parliament summon'd on the 25th of *January* was defer'd till *May*. In the mean time the *Hamiltons* having, in vain, suborn'd many Men to kill the Regent, at last seized upon the Tower of *Pasley*, driving out the Garrison-Soldiers, as thinking they might do it with Impunity, while Men's Minds were employed in greater things. The Regent appointed the Earl of *Morton*, *Robert Petcarn*, and *James Macgil*, his Embassadors to *England*, to reason the Affair with the Embassadors of Foreign Princes, and sent them away *February* the 5th and he himself march'd to *Pasley*, where he summon'd in the neighbouring Nobility that were of his Party, and attacked the Castle: Having cut off their Water, the besieged were forced to a Surrender. Afterwards, when *Gilbert Kennedy*

Kennedy annoyed the Royalists, with his plundering Incur-sions in *Carrick*, he went to *Aire*; and as soon as *Kennedy* heard of the Approach of a few Troops, being also afraid of his Clanships, who had been always loyal to the King and his Party, he gave his only Brother as Hostage, and appointed a Day to come to *Sterlin*, and subscribe to the Capitulation agreed on. *Hugh Montgomery*, Earl of *Eglington*, and *Robert Boyd*, follow'd his Example; and surrendring themselves to the Regent, were by him received to Favour. During all this time that the Regent was quelling the Seditious, and *Morton* was absent in his Embassy in *England*; they that held *Edinburgh* Castle, being freed from the Fear of their Enemies near at hand, ceas'd not to lift Soldiers, in order to put Garrisons into the most convenient Places of the City, to take away Provisions which the Merchants had brought to *Leith*, and to provide all things necessary to endure a Siege, till their expected Relief from foreign Parts might arrive.

THE Regent was very much bruised by a Fall from his Horse, and therefore return'd to *Glasgow*, where a common Soldier came to him, and gave him some Hopes of surprizing *Dunbarton*, he had been a Garrison-Soldier in the Castle there, and his Wife coming often to visit him, had been accus'd, and whip'd for Theft, by *Flemming* the Governour. Her Husband, being an uxorious Man, and judging his Wife to have been wrongfully punish'd, went from the Castle; and from that Day forward, imploy'd all his Thoughts how he might do *Flemming* a Mischief: Upon which, he breaks the Business to *Robert Douglas*, Kinsman to the Regent, and promises him, that if he would assign a small Party to follow him, he would shortly make him Master of that Castle. *Robert* acquainted *John Cunningham* with the Design, who was to enquire diligently of him, how so great an Attempt could be accomplish'd? He, being a blunt rough Soldier, perceiving that they boggled at his Proposal, because he could not well make out how to accomplish what he had promised. Since, said he, you do not believe my Words, *I'll go on my self the first Man in the Service; if you will follow me, I will make you Masters of the Place; but, if your Hearts fail you, then let it alone.* When this was told to the Regent, tho' the Thing it self, being in reality a great Enterprize, had somewhat elevated their Spirits, and made them willing enough to have it effected, yet the Author (tho' they judg'd him trusty enough) seem'd not a fit Instrument to bring about so great an Undertaking: Upon which *Thomas Crawford*, a bold Man, and a good Soldier, was made

made acquainted with the Project, and 'twas agreed between them, rather to try the Hazard of so great Fortune, than idly to neglect such an Opportunity. Upon which, a few Days were appointed to provide Ladders, and other Necessaries, and the Design was to be put in Execution the first of *April*, for then the Truce granted to the Rebels, by the Mediation of the Queen of *England*, would expire. In the mean time, no Talk at all was to be made about it.

BEFORE I declare the Event of this Piece of Service, give me leave to tell you the Nature and Situation of the Castle of *Dunbarton*. From the Confluence of the Rivers *Clyde* and *Levin*, there is a plain Champaign of about a Mile, extended to the Foot of the adjoining Mountains; and in the very Angle where the two Rivers meet, stands a Rock with two Heads or Summits. The highest, which is to the West, has on the very Top of it a Watch-Tower, from whence opens a large Prospect to all adjacent Parts. The other being lower, looks towards the East between these; that Side that turns towards the North and the Fields, hath Stairs ascending obliquely up the Rock, cut out by Art, where hardly a single Man can go up at once. For the Rock is very hard, and scarce yields to any Iron Tool; but if any part of it be broken off by Force, or falls down of it self, it emits a Smell far and near like *Sulphur*. In the upper part of the Castle there is a vast piece of Rock of the Nature of a Loadstone, but so closely cemented; and fastned to the main Rock that no manner of joining at all appears. Where the River *Clyde* runs by to the South, the Rock (naturally steep in other Parts) is somewhat bending; and stretching out its Arms on both sides, takes in some firm Land, which is so inclosed, partly by the Nature of the Place, and partly by human Industry, that, in the overthwart or transverse Sides of it, it affords sufficient Space for many Houses; and in the River, a Road for Ships, very safe for the Inhabitants, by playing from the Castle Brags Ordinance, but unsafe for an Enemy; and small Boats may come up almost to the very Castle-Gate. The middle Part of the Rock, by which you go up, being full of Buildings, makes, as it were, another Castle distinct and secluded from the higher one. Besides the natural Fortification of the Rock, the two Rivers, *Levin* to the West, and *Clyde* to the South, make a kind of Trench about it: On the East side, when the Tide is in, the Sea washes the Foot of the Rock, when 'tis out, that Place is not sandy (as usually Shores are) but muddy; the fat Soil being dissolved into Dirt. This Strand is also intercepted, and cut by many Torrents of Water, which tumble down from the adjacent Mountain.

Mountain. The other side turns towards a plain Field full of Grass. The Castle has three Fountains in it always running ; besides Springs of running Water in many other Places. The ancient *Britons*, as *Bede* says, call'd the Place *Alcuith* ; but the *Scots*, who were heretofore sever'd from the *Britons* by the River *Levin*, because that Fort was built on the Borders of the *Britons*, call'd it *Dumbrition*, now *Dunbarton*. There is a little Town hard by of the same Name, upon the Bank of the River *Levin*, about half a Mile distant from the Confluence of the Rivers.

THIS Castle was accounted impregnable ; and in all foreign and civil Wars, was of great Advantage to them that held it, and as prejudicial to their Enemy. At that time *John Flemming* was Governor of it, by Commission from the banish'd Queen ; he, tho' he consented not to the King's Father's Murder, yet having not a Force sufficient to defend himself against the Royalists, sided with the Parricides, and for four Years last past, had kept up the Garrison at the Charge of the King of *France* (whom he had persuaded, that almost all the *Scots* had secretly confederated with the Queen of *England*;) and made his Boasts to him, that he held, as it were, the Fetters of *Scotland* in his own Hands ; and whenever the *French* had Leisure from other Wars, if they would but send him a little Assistance, he would easily clap them on, and bring all *Scotland* under their Power : And the *French* King was as vain in feeding his fond Humour ; for he sent him some military Provisions by one Monsieur *Vercas*, whom he commanded to stay there, and to give him an Account of the Affairs of *Scotland*. Besides, the Insolence of the Governor was increas'd by the Treachery of the Garrison-Soldiers of *Edinburgh* Castle, who had lately revolted from the King ; he was also somewhat animated by the Sickness of the Regent, who was almost kill'd with a Fall from his Horse, and was troubled with the Gout besides ; he was no less encouraged by the Truce, which the Queen of *England* had obtain'd for them till the End of *March*. These Considerations made him and his Garrison-Soldiers so secure and negligent, that they went frequently to make merry into the Town, and lie there all Night, as if they had been lull'd at Rest in the very Bosom of Peace.

AFFAIRS standing in this Posture, and Preparation being made for the Expedition as much as the present Haste would permit, *John Cunningham* was sent before with some Horse, to stop all Passengers ; that so the Enemy might have no Intelligence of their coming. *Thomas Crawford* followed after with the Foot ; they were ordered to meet together at *Dum-*

beck, a Hill about a Mile from the Castle, at Midnight. At that Place *Crawford* (as he was commanded) told the Soldiers what the Design was they were going upon, and how they were to effect it; he shewed them who was to lead them on, and had promised to scale the Walls first; and then he, and those Commanders that would be taken Notice of for their Courage, were to follow. The Soldiers were easily perswaded to follow their Leaders; and accordingly the Ladders were carried, and other Things, to storm the Castle; and the Foot, a little before Day, march'd on towards it. The Horse were commanded to stay in the same Place, to expect the Event. As they were approaching the Castle, they met with two Rubs; one was, that the Bridge over the Brook that runs between the Fields was broken down; the other, that a Fire appearing suddenly near it occasion'd a Suspicion, that the Bridge was broken down on purpose to stop the Enemy; and the Fire kindled by the Garrison-Soldiers, to discover and prevent the Enemy's Approach: But this Fear was soon dispelled, by their repairing the Bridge as well as they could in such haste, and making it passable for the Foot; the Scouts likewise were sent out to the Place where the Fire was seen, and they could find no Sign of any Fire at all; so that in reality the Fire was a meer *Ignis Fatuus* of a meteorous Nature, like those Fires which are bred in the Air, and sometimes pitch on the Ground, and presently vanish. But they had a greater Cause of Fear, lest the Sky, which was clear and starry, and the Approach of the Day, should discover them to the Sentinels that watch'd above; but, on a sudden, the Heavens were cover'd with a thick Mist, yet so that it reach'd not below the middle of the Rock whereon the Castle stood, but the upper Part of it was so dark, that the Guards in the Castle could see nothing of what was done below. But as the Mist came seasonably, so there was another Misfortune, which fell out very unluckily, and had almost ruined the whole Design: For many Ladders being necessary in Order to get up that high Rock, and the first unmanageable by reason of their Length; and being over-laden with the Weight of those who went hastily up, and not well fastned at Foot in a slippery Soil, fell suddenly down with those that were upon them: That Accident cast them into a great Consternation for the present; but when they found that no body was hurt in the Fall, they recollected their almost despairing Spirits; and, as if God Almighty had favoured their Design, they went on upon that dangerous Attack with greater Alacrity, setting the Ladders up again more cautiously; and

when

when they came to the middle of the Rock, there was a Place reasonably convenient where they might stand ; there they found an Ash-Shrub casually growing amongst the Stones, which did them great Service; for they ty'd Ropes to it, and let them down, by which means they drew up their Fellows that were left below ; so that at one and the same time, some were drawn up by the Ropes to the middle of the Rock, and others, by setting other Ladders, got up to the top of it. But here again they met with a new and unexpected Misfortune, which had almost destroyed all their Measures; for one of the Soldiers, as he was in the middle of the Ladder, was suddenly taken with a kind of Fit of an Apoplexy; so that he stuck fast to the Ladder, and could not be taken from it, but stopped the Way to those that would follow. This Danger was also overcome by the Diligence and Chearfulness of the Soldiers; for they ty'd him to the Ladder, so that when he recovered out of his Fit, he could not fall; and then in great Silence, turning the Ladder, the rest easily mounted. When they came to the top of the Rock, there was a Wall to which they were to fix their third Ladders, to get over it. *Alexander Ramsay*, with two common Soldiers, got upon it; the Sentinels presently spy'd them, gave the Alarm, and cast Stones at them: *Alexander* being assaulted with this unusual kind of Battery, having neither Stones to throw again, nor Shield to defend himself, leaped down from the Wall into the Castle, and there was set upon by three of the Guard; he fought it out bravely with them, till his Fellow Soldiers being more solicitous for his Danger than their own, leap'd down after him, and presently dispatch'd the three Sentinels. In the mean time, the rest made what haste they could, so that the Wall being old, loose, and over-charged with the Weight of those who made haste to get over it, fell down to the Ground; and by its Fall, as there was a Breach made for the rest to enter, so the Ruins made the Descent more easy thro' the Rock, that was very high and rugged within the Castle: Upon which, they entred in a Body, crying out with a great Noise, *For God and the King*; and often proclaim'd the Name of the Regent; so that the Guards being astonished forgot to fight, but fled every one to shift for himself as well as he could; some kept themselves within Doors, till the first brunt of the Soldiers Fury was over. *Flemming* escaped the Danger, by slipping down thro' the oblique Rock, having but one in his Company who was knock'd down; but he, descending a By-way, was let out at a Postern, and so got into a Vessel on the River,

which, by reason of the Tide's being in, came up to the Walls, and so fled into *Argyleshire*. The Sentinels of the lower Castle, and twenty five more of the Garrison-Soldiers, who had been drinking and whoring in the Town all Night, taking the Alarm, never offered to fight, but fled every one which way he could. There were taken in the Castle, *John Hamilton*, Archbishop of *St. Andrew's*; *John Flemming* of *Begal*: a young *English* Gentleman, that had fled from the last Insurrection in *England*; *Verac*, a *Frenchman*, who some time before had been sent to them with some warlike Provisions, and staid there in the Name of the *French King*, to acquaint him with the State of Affairs in *Scotland*: *Alexander*, the Son of *William Levingston*, endeavoured to escape by changing his Habit, but was discover'd and brought back. The Regent being inform'd of the taking the Castle, before Noon came thither: And first, he highly commended the Soldiers, then he comforted *Flemming's* Wife, and gave her not only her own Furniture, Plate, and all her Household-stuff, and Utensils, but also assigned an Estate, part of her Husband's, which had long before been forfeited into the King's Exchequer, to maintain her self and Children: The rest of the Booty was allowed the Soldiers. Having settled Things thus, he had Leisure to take a View of the Castle; and coming to the Rock, by which the Soldiers got up, it seem'd so difficult an Ascent to them all, that the Soldiers themselves confess'd, if they had foreseen the Danger of the Service, no Reward whatsoever should have hired them to undertake it. *Verac* was accused by the Merchants, that when they came into the Bay of *Glyde*, he had robb'd them in an hostile Manner: Upon which, many of the Council were of Opinion, he should have been indicted as a Pirate or Robber; but the empty Name of an Ambassador prevailed more with the Regent, which yet he had violated by his unwarrantable Conduct: However, that the injured People might be kept in some Hopes (at least) of Satisfaction from him, he was kept seemingly for a Trial, and lodg'd in a House at *St. Andrew's*, whose Owner was inclined to the Rebels; whence he was taken away, as 'twere by Force, which was the Thing aim'd at, and then he suddenly left the Kingdom. The *Englishman*, tho' many Suspicions were fixed upon him, and tho' the commendatory Letters of *John Lesly*, Bishop of *Ross*, to *Flemming*, which was found after the Castle was taken, really convicted him, yet he was sent home to *England*; but after he was gone, it was found that he was suborn'd by the Duke of *Norfolk's* Party to poison the King of *Scots*: *Begal* was kept Prisoner. There was one Prisoner more, whom

whom the Regent most desired should have perished, and that was the Archbishop of *St. Andrew's*: He, in former times, while his Brother was Regent, had advised him to many cruel and covetous Practices; and under the Queen also, he bore the Blame of all Miscarriages. The Regent feared, if he should delay his Punishment, the Queen of *England* would intercede for him, and the Archbishop's Friends were in great Hopes of it; and lest Straitness of Time should prevent their Endeavours for him, the Archbishop earnestly desired he might be try'd by the legal Way of the Country, for that would occasion some, tho' not much Delay. But his Desires were over-ruled, it being alledged, that there was no Need of any new Process in the Archbishop's Case, for it had been already judged in the Parliament. Upon which, being plainly convicted as guilty of the King's Murder, as also of the last Regent's, he was hang'd at *Sterlin*. There was then new Evidence brought in against him; for the greatest Part of it had been discover'd but lately. The Archbishop of *St. Andrew's*, who lodg'd in the next House, when the Proposition of killing the King was made to him, willingly undertook it, both by reason of old Feuds between them, and also out of Hopes thereby to bring the Kingdom to his own Family: Upon which, he chuses out six or eight of the most wicked of his Vassals, and commend-ed the Matter to them, giving them the Keys of the King's Lodgings; they then enter'd very silently into his Chamber, and strangled him when he was asleep; and when they had so done, they carried out his Body thro' a little Gate (of which I spoke before) into an Orchard adjoining to the Walls; and then a Sign was given to blow up the House. The Discovery of this Wickedness was made by *John Hamilton*, who was a chief Actor therein upon this Occasion: He was much troubled in his Mind, Day and Night, his Conscience tormenting him for the Guilt of the Fact, and not only so, but, as if the Contagion reached to his Body too, that also was miserably pained and consumed by degrees; endeavouring all Ways to ease himself, at last he remembered, that there was a School-Master at *Pasley*, no bad Man, who was yet a *Papist*; to him he confesses the whole Fact, and the Names of those who joined with him in perpetrating the Murder: The Priest comforted him what he could, and put him in mind of the Mercy of God; yet, because the Disease had taken deeper Root, than to be expiated by such Remedies, within a few Days he was so overwhelmed with Grief, that he dy'd. The Priest was not so silent in the Thing, but that some Notice of it came to the King's

Friends. They many Months after the Murder was committed, when *Matthew*, Earl of *Lenox*, was Regent, and when *Dunbarton* was taken, and the Bishop brought to *Sterlin*, caused the Priest to be sent for thither: He then justified what he had spoken before about the King's Murder; upon which, being ask'd by *Hamilton*, how he came to know it? Whether 'twere revealed to him in auricular Confession? He told him, yes; then said *Hamilton*, you are not ignorant of the Punishment due to those, who reveal the Secrets of Confessions, and made no other Answer to the Crime. After fifteen Months or more, the same Priest was taken, saying Mass the third time; and, as the Law appointed, was led out to suffer; then also he publicly declared all that he had before affirmed in the Thing in plainer and fuller Words, which were so openly divulg'd, that now *Hamilton's* Vassals fell out amongst themselves, and charged one another with the King's Death.

In the mean while, the Rebels had procured a little Money from *France*, by means of the Brother of him, who commanded *Edinburgh* Castle. Besides, *Morton* was returned from his *English* Embassy, and in a Convention of the Nobles held at *Sterlin*, declared the Effect of it in these Words:

' When we came to *London*, Feb. 20, we were referr'd by the Queen to seven Men of her Council, chosen out for that Purpose; who, after much Dispute between us, at last insisted upon two Points, first, that we should produce the clearest and best Arguments we had, to shew the Reasons of those Actions, which had lately pass'd in *Scotland*, that so the Queen might be satisfied in the Equity of them, and thereby know how to answer those who demanded a Reason of them. If we could not do that, yet the Queen would omit nothing which might conduce to our Safety. In Answer to which, we gave in a Memorial to them to this Effect: The Crimes wherewith, at first, our King's Mother complained, that she was falsely charg'd with, have been so clearly prov'd by the Earl of *Murray*, and his Partners in the Embassy, that both the Queen of *England*, and those who were delegated by her to hear the Cause, could not be ignorant of the Author of the King's Murder, which was the Source of all our other Miseries: To repeat them again before the Queen, who, we doubt not, is therein sufficiently satisfied already, we think it not necessary; and besides, we ourselves are unwillingly drawn into the Trouble of renewing the Memory of so great a Wickedness. But they who cannot deny, that this Fact was cruelly and impiously

' impiously perpetrated, do yet calumniate the Resignation of
 ' the Kingdom, and the Translation of the Government
 ' from the Mother to the Son, as a new and intolerable
 ' Thing, extorted from her by mere Force. First, as for
 ' the Matter of Fact in punishing our Princes, the old Cust-
 ' tom of our Ancestors will not suffer it to be called *new* ;
 ' neither can the Moderation of the Punishment make it in-
 ' vidious. 'Tis not needful for us to reckon up the many
 ' Kings, whom our Forefathers have chastis'd by Imprison-
 ' ment, Banishment, nay, Death it self; much less need we
 ' confirm our Practice by foreign Examples, of which there
 ' are abundance in old Histories. The Nation of the *Scots*
 ' being at first free, by the common Suffrage of the People,
 ' set up Kings over them, conditionally, that, if Need were,
 ' they might take away the Government by the same Suffrages
 ' that gave it: The Footsteps of this Law remain to this very
 ' Day; for in the neighbouring Islands; and in many Places
 ' of the Continent too, which retain the ancient Speech and
 ' Customs of our Forefathers to this Day, the same Course
 ' is yet observ'd in creating their Magistrates. Moreover,
 ' those Ceremonies which are used in the Inauguration of
 ' our Kings, have an express Representation of this Law,
 ' by which it easily appears, that Kingly Government is
 ' nothing else but a mutual Stipulation between King and
 ' People; and the same most clearly may be collected from
 ' the inoffensive Tenor of the old Law, which hath been
 ' observed ever since there was a King in *Scotland*, even
 ' unto this present Time, no Man having ever attempted
 ' to abrogate, abate, or diminish this Law in the least. 'Tis
 ' too long to enumerate, how many Kings our Ancestors
 ' have divested of their Kingdoms, have banish'd, imprison'd,
 ' put to Death; neither was there ever the least Mention
 ' made of the Severity of this Law, or the abrogating of it,
 ' nor ought there to be: For it is not of the Nature of such
 ' Sanctions, which are subject to the Changes of Time;
 ' but, in the very Original of Mankind, it was ingraven in
 ' Mens Hearts, approved by the mutual Consent of almost
 ' all Nations, and together with Nature it self was to re-
 ' main inviolable and eternal; so that these Laws are not
 ' subject to the Empire of any Man, but all Men subject to
 ' the Dominion and Power of them. This Law prescribes
 ' to us in all our Actions, 'tis always before our Eyes and
 ' Minds, whether we will or no; it dwells in us: Our An-
 ' cestors followed it, in repressing the Violence of Tyrants
 ' by arm'd Force. 'Tis a Law not proper to the *Scots*
 ' only, but common to all Nations and People in well
 ' instituted

' instituted Governments. To pass by the famous Cities of
 ' Athens, Sparta, Rome, Venice, which never suffered this
 ' Right to be taken from them, but with their Liberty it self:
 ' Even in those Times, wherein Oppression and Tyranny
 ' were most triumphant in the Roman Government; if any
 ' good Man was chosen Emperor, he counted it his Glo-
 ' ry to confess himself inferior to the whole Body of the
 ' People, and to be subject to the Law. For Trajan, when
 ' he deliver'd a Sword to the Governor of a certain City,
 ' (according to Custom) is reported to say, *Use it either for*
 ' *me, or against me, as I shall deserve.* Even Theodosius, a
 ' good Emperor in bad Times, would have it left recorded
 ' amongst his Sanctions and Laws, as a Speech worthy of
 ' an Emperor, and greater than his Empire it self, to con-
 ' fess, *That he was inferior to the Laws*: Nay, the most bar-
 ' barous People, who had little Notion of Civility, had how-
 ' ever a Sense and Knowledge of this, as the History of all
 ' Nations, and common Observation shews. But not to in-
 ' sist on obsolete Examples, I will produce two in our own
 ' Memory: Of late, *Christiern*, King of *Denmark*, for his
 ' Cruelty, was forced out of the Kingdom, with all his
 ' Family, a greater Punishment than ever our People exact-
 ' ed from any of their Kings; for they never punished the
 ' Sins of the Fathers upon their Children. As for him, he
 ' was deservedly punish'd, after a singular Manner, as the
 ' Monster of his Age, for all kind of Wickedness. But
 ' what did the Mother of the Emperor *Charles V.* do, to
 ' deserve perpetual Imprisonment? She was a Woman in
 ' the Flower of her Age, and her Husband died young, even
 ' in the very Prime of his Age; it was reported, she had a
 ' Mind to marry again; she was not accus'd of any Crime,
 ' but of a certain allowable Intemperance (as the severe
 ' *Catos* of the Age speak;) and of an honourable Copu-
 ' lation, approved by the Laws of God and Man. If the
 ' Calamity of our Queen be compared with *Christiern's* of
 ' *Denmark*, she is not less an Offender, (to say no more)
 ' but she has been more moderately proceeded against and
 ' punished. But if she be compared with *Joan of Austria*,
 ' the Mother of the Emperor *Charles*, what did that poor
 ' Lady do, but desire, as far as lawfully she might, a Plea-
 ' sure allowed by the Law, and a Remedy necessary for her
 ' Age? Yet, being an innocent Woman, she suffer'd that Pu-
 ' nishment, of which our Queen convict of the highest
 ' Crimes, does now complain: The Murder of her lawful
 ' Husband, and her unlawful Marriage with a publick Parri-
 ' cide have now the same Intercessors, who, in killing the
 ' King,

King, did inflict the Punishment due to wicked Men on the Innocent. But here they remember not what the Examples of their Ancestors prompt them to; neither are they mindful of that eternal Law, which our noble Progenitors following, even from the first beginnings of Kingdoms, have thereby restrained the Violence of Tyrants. And, in our present Case, what have we done more, than trod in the Steps of so many Kingdoms and free Nations, and so bridled that Arbitrariness, which claim'd a Power above Law? And yet we have not done it with that Severity neither, as our Ancestors have us'd in the like kind; for they never would have suffer'd any one, who had been found guilty of such a notorious Crime, to escape the Punishment of the Law. If we had imitated them, we had been free from Fear of Danger, and also from the Trouble of Calumniators; and this may be easily known by the Demand of our Adversaries. How often have they accused and arraigned us before our neighbouring Princes? What Nations do they not solicit, and stir up against us? What do they desire by this Importunity? Is it only, that the Controversy may be decided by Law and Equity? We never refused that Condition; and they would never accept of it, tho' it was often offered them. What then do they desire? Even this, that we should arm Tyrants with publick Authority, who are manifestly guilty of the most notorious Wickedness, who are satiated with the Spoils of their Subjects, besmear'd with the Blood of Kings, and aim at the Destruction of all good Men? That we set them up over our Lives, who are found Actors in the Parricide, and very much suspected to be the Designers of it, without acquitting themselves in a judiciary Way? And yet we have gratified their Request, more than the Custom of our Country, the Severity of the Law, or the Distribution of equal Justice would allow. There is nothing more frequently celebrated, nor more diligently handled by the Writers of our History, than our Punishment of evil Kings. And amongst so many peccant Governors, who ever felt the like Lenity of angry Subjects in inflicting Punishment, as we have us'd in punishing our King's Mother, though evidently guilty of the greatest Crime? What Ruler convicted of such Crime, had ever Power given to substitute a Son, or Kinsman, in his or her Place? To whom, in such Circumstances, was the Liberty ever granted, to appoint what Guardians they pleas'd to the succeeding King? And in the Abjuration of the Kingdom, who can complain of any hard Usage? A young Woman unable to

undergo

' undergo the Load of Government, and toss'd by the
 ' Storms of unsettled Affairs, sent Letters to the Nobility
 ' to free her from that Rule, which was as burdensome to
 ' her, as it was honourable : It was granted her : She desir'd the Government might be transferr'd from her to her
 ' Son ; her Request was assented to : She also desir'd to have
 ' the naming of Guardians, who might rule the State till
 ' her Son came to be of Age ; it was done as she desir'd :
 ' And that the Thing might have more Authority, the
 ' whole was referr'd to the Estates in Parliament, who
 ' voted, that all was rightly done, and in good Order ; and
 ' they confirm'd it by an Act, than which there cannot be a
 ' more sacred and a firmer Obligation. But 'tis alledged,
 ' that what was done in Prison, is to be taken, not as done
 ' willingly, but by Constraint, for Fear of Death ; and so many other things which Men are inforc'd to do for Fear, are
 ' wont, as they ought, to go for nothing. Indeed, this Excuse of Fear, as sometimes it is, not without Reason, admitted by the Judges, so it doth not always infer a just
 ' Cause for abolishing a publick Act once made in a Suit of
 ' Law. If a Man strike a Fear into his Adversary for his
 ' own Advantage ; and so the Plaintiff extorts more from the
 ' Defendant, than he could ever obtain by the Equity of the
 ' Law ; those Remedies are most rightfully and deservedly
 ' provided against such as are either terrified by Compulsion,
 ' or inforc'd by Fear, to do what is prejudicial to themselves. But 'tis otherwise, if a guilty Conscience creates
 ' a Fear to itself, out of an Expectation of a deserved Punishment, to avoid which, the Offender assents to some certain
 ' Conditions : This Fear carries with it no just Cause to rescind publick Acts ; for otherwise, the wickedest a Person
 ' is, so much the easier Retreat he might have to the Sanctuary of the Law ; and then the Remedies found out for the
 ' Relief of the Innocent, would be transferred to indemnify
 ' the Guilty. And the Laws themselves, the Avengers of
 ' Wrongs, would not be a Refuge to good Men, when
 ' vex'd by the Impravity of the bad ; but an unjust Shelter
 ' to the Evil, when they fear deserv'd Punishment. But that
 ' Fear, let it be what it will, wherein has it made the Condition of the Queen the worse ? The Title of Royal Dignity, and the Administration of the Government, was long
 ' since taken from her by Parliament ; and being reduc'd to
 ' Privacy, she liv'd a precarious Life, which she owed to the
 ' People's Mercy, more than her own Innocency : When
 ' therefore she was divested of the Kingdom, what did she
 ' lose by her Fear ? Her Dominion was ended before, she
 ' only,

only cast away the empty Name of *Ruler*, and that which might lawfully have been extorted from her against her Will, she parted with of her own accord, and so redeem'd the Residue of her Life, the Sentiment of her Infamy, the perpetual Fear of imminent Death, which is worse than Death it self, only by the laying down the Shadow of a mere Title and Name. And therefore I wonder that, on this Head, no body discovers the Prevarication of the Queen's Delegates, and of her Embassadors. For they who desire that what was done in Prison, by the Queen, may be undone; ask this also, that she may be restored to that Place from which she complains she was ejected thro' Fear. And what is that Place, to which they so earnestly desire she should be restor'd? She hath been remov'd from governing the Kingdom, and from all publick Administration, and left to the Punishment of the Law. Now these goodly Advocates would have her restored to the necessity of pleading for her self in a Cause which is as manifest as 'tis foul and detestable; or rather, it being already prov'd, that she should suffer just Punishment for the same. And whereas now she enjoys some Ease in the Compassion of her Relations, and in so black an Offence is not in the worst Conditions of Life, they would again cast her into the tempestuous Hurry of a new Judgment: She having no better Hope of her Safety, than she can gather from the Condemnation of so many former Kings, who have been called before Judges to answer for themselves. But because our Adversaries seditiously boast, to trouble the Minds of the simple, that the Majesty of good Kings is impaired, and their Authority almost villify'd, if Tyrants be punished; let us see what Weight there is in this Pretence: We may rather on the contrary judge, that there is nothing more honourable for the Societies and Assemblies of the *good*, than to be freed from the Contagion of the *bad*. Whoever thought, that the Senate of *Rome* incurr'd any Guilt, by the Punishment of *Lentulus*, *Cethegus*, or *Catiline*? And *Valerius Asiaticus*, when the Soldiers mutinied for the killing of *Caligula*, and cry'd out to know, *Who was the Author of a Fact so audacious*? He answer'd from an Eminence where he stood, *I wish I could truly say, I did it*: So much Majesty there was in that free Speech of one private Man, that the wild Soldiers were by it presently dissipated and quieted. When *Junius Brutus* defeated the Conspiracy made for bringing back the Tyrants into the City of *Rome*, he did not think that his Family was stained by a severe Execution; but

‘ but that, by the Blood of his Children, the Stain was rather washed away from the *Roman* Nobility. Did the Imprisonment of *Christiern* of *Denmark* detract any thing from the Commendation of *Christiern* the next King ? Did it hinder him from being accounted the best of Kings in his Time ? For a noble Mind that is supported by its own Virtue, doth neither increase by the Glory, nor is lessen’d by the Infamy of another. But to let these Things pass, let us return to the Proof of the Crime. I think, we have abundantly satisfy’d the Queen’s Request ; her Desire was, that we should shew her such strengthening and convincing Proofs for what we have done, that she might be satisfied in the Justness of our Cause ; and also be able to inform others, who desir’d to hear what we could say for our selves. As for the King’s Murder, the Author, the Method, and the Causes of it, have been so fully declared by the Earl of *Murray*, and his Associates in that Embassy, that they must needs be clear to the exact Judgment of the Queen, and those others delegated by her to hear that Affair. As for what is objected to us, as blame-worthy, after that Time, we have shewn that it is consentaneous to the divine Law, and also to the Law of Nature, which too is in some Measure divine : Besides, ’tis consonant to our own Country Laws and Customs : Neither is it different from the Usage of other Nations, who have the Face of any good and just Government amongst them. Seeing then that our Cause is justified by all the Interpreters of divine and human Laws ; and that the Examples of so many Ages, the Judgments of so many People, and the Punishments of Tyrants do confirm it, we see no such Novelty nor Injustice in our Cause, but that the Queen her self might readily subscribe to it ; and persuade others that, in this Matter, they should be no otherwise opinionated of us, but that we have carried our selves like faithful Subjects and good Christians.’

THESE were the Allegations, which we thought fit to make to justify our Cause, which we committed to writing, and read them the last Day of *February*, before those grave and learned Persons, whom the Queen had appointed to confer with us on this Subject ; and the next Day, which was *March* the first, we again went in the Morning to Court, to learn how she relish’d our Answer, and what Judgment she made of the whole Cause ; but because that Day she was going to her Country-House at *Greenwich*, about three Miles below *London*, we had no Opportunity to

to speak with her: Then we went to the Chief of the Council, who at first were appointed to hear and treat with us: 'They told us, that the Queen, tho' she had very little spare time, in regard of her Journey, and other Business, yet had read our Memorial: But she was not yet so fully persuaded, that our Cause was so just, that she could approve it without Scruple; and therefore she desired us to go to the second Thing, at first proposed to us, which was, to find out some Way, whereby this Dispute might be ended upon some moderate Conditions.' To which we replied, 'That we were not sent from home with an unbounded Commission, but one circumscribed within certain Limits; so that we had no Freedom to enter into any Debate at all, of what might in the least diminish the Authority of our King; and if such a Liberty had been offered us, yet we should have been unwilling to accept it, or to make use of it, if allow'd us.

'MATTERS standing thus; the Queen being at *Greenwich*, and we at *London*, we sent some of our Number to her, to know, whether she had any thing more to say to us? If not, that we might have Liberty to go home, there to consult, as well as we could, the Good of our Country, and our own private Concerns: And if there were any thing we might gratify her Majesty in, we were willing to shew our Obsequiousness and Respect; nay, that we should take more Opportunity to shew it at home, than we could have now in another's Dominions. This Demand procur'd us a Summons to appear at Court the 5th of *March*. When we were come into the Queen's Presence, she mightily blamed our Stiffness in maintaining our Opinion, and that we so pertinaciously shunn'd a Dispute, or rather a Consultation, about a Matter so much concerning our Security: She also added a large Declaration of her Mind and Will against the King, and those who maintain'd his Cause. We urg'd, that the Justice of our Cause had been clearly enough declar'd before. She answered, that she was not satisfied in her Mind with the Examples and Arguments produc'd by us; neither, said she, am I wholly ignorant of such Disputes, as having pass'd some of my former Time in the Study of the Law: But, says she, if you be fully determined to make no other Proposal for your King's Safety, and your own; yet I would have you, at least, enter upon another Conference with the Chief of my Council, who treated with you about these Things before. We answer'd, That we were not at all so stiffly wedded to our own Opinions, as
'not

' not to be willing to hear any good Expedient, that might be
 ' offer'd by her, or her Counsellors.; but ever with this
 ' Proviso, that no Alteration be made in the present State
 ' of the Kingdom; nor any Diminution at all of the King's
 ' Authority: For upon those two Heads, we neither could,
 ' or would admit the least Consultation or Debate. The
 ' Day after, we went down again to the Queen's Palace,
 ' (as we agreed) and entered into a Conference with her
 ' Counsellors, where many Proposals were made by them to
 ' decide the Controversy between Mother and Son, concern-
 ' ing the Title to the Government: We, because the Rea-
 ' sons were many, and concerning Matters of such great
 ' Moment on both sides, desired that we might have them
 ' given us in Writing, and Time allow'd us to consider of
 ' Things of such great Consequence. They were very
 ' ready to do it, having first consulted the Queen. When
 ' we had run them all over in Order, the Matters proposed
 ' seem'd so difficult to us, and so derogatory to the Power
 ' of the King, and so exceeding the Bounds of our Embas-
 ' sy and Commission, that we neither would, could, nor
 ' durst touch upon them. The Day after, *Robert Pet-*
 ' *cairn* was sent to Court with this Answer, That such Mat-
 ' ters did belong to the Decision of all the Estates, and were
 ' not to be disputed by so small a Number of Persons as we
 ' were. He also carried our Answer to them, who the Day
 ' before, *viz.* the 9th of *March*, had desir'd to have all in
 ' Writing. He earnestly desir'd the Queen, that seeing we
 ' had executed all the Points within the Bounds of our
 ' Commission, we might have Leave to return home. Ten
 ' Days after, we had Liberty to attend the Queen: The De-
 ' legates of the Council, who, from our first coming, were
 ' appointed to treat with us, were very urgent that we would
 ' yet treat with them, about finding out some Remedies to
 ' compose Things: They us'd many Arguments to that pur-
 ' pose, telling us, that if War from abroad should be added
 ' to our Troubles at home, our Labours, Dangers and Dif-
 ' ficulties would be doubled, especially being not able to
 ' extricate our selves by our own Forces. But we persisted
 ' in our Resolution, and would hearken to no Model of
 ' Accommodation, which lessen'd the King's Authority, and
 ' so that Day ended.' The next Day, which was the 20th
 ' of *March*, we were sent for again to Court, and being com-
 ' manded to come to the Queen, she spoke to us to this Pur-
 ' pose: ' That she and her Council had weigh'd our An-
 ' swers, by which she understood, that none but a supreme
 ' Council, or Parliament of *Scotland*, consisting of all the
 ' Estates,

Estates, could give a certain Answer to her Demands ;
 and thereupon she had found out a Way how to leave the
 Matter intire as she found it, and with an honest Pretence
 too. She was inform'd, that there was shortly to be a
 Convention of all the Estates in *Scotland*, that we should
 go thither, and God speed us well ; and that we should
 there endeavour, that an equal Number of both Factions
 should be chosen to examine the Grounds of the Difference
 between them ; and that she also would send her
 Embassadors thither, who should join their Endeavours
 with those to promote a Peace : In the mean time, she
 desired, that the Pacification might be renew'd, till the
 Matter was brought to some Issue. She said also, that she
 would confer with the Queen of *Scots* Embassadors, and
 persuade them, if she could, to the same. But when it
 was mov'd to them, they excused themselves, saying, that
 they could determine nothing on that Head, without consulting
 their Queen ; but that they would write to her to know
 her Pleasure in the Case. We press'd hard to have our
 Convoy to return as was promis'd us, but were desir'd
 to have a little Patience, till an Answer was return'd from
 the *Scots* Queen to the Bishop of *Ross*, and the rest of her
 Embassadors, and then we should have our Dismission.
 We urg'd our Return still, but without Effect, though we
 told her, we had nothing to do with the Bishop of *Ross*,
 neither was our Embassy to him ; we had ended what we
 came for, and did much wonder why the Bishop of *Ross*
 should retard our Journey, especially since so many Tumults
 were rais'd in our Absence, to the great Inconvenience
 of the King's Party : But though our Importunity was
 almost exceeding the Bounds of good Manners, yet we
 could not prevail ; for the Matter was deferr'd from
 Day to Day, till the last of *March*, and then the Queen
 return'd to *London*. The Things which were acted in
 Parliament for three Days after employ'd the Queen so much,
 that she had no Leisure to debate foreign Matters. But
 the 4th of *April* she sent for us, and excus'd the Delay :
 She told us, that our King's Mother had by her Letters
 severely chid her Embassadors for their presumptuous
 Confidence in descending to debate her Cause after that
 Manner ; and therefore, says the Queen, seeing they are so
 averse to Peace, which I propose, I will detain you no longer ;
 but if she hereafter repent of her present Sentiment (of
 which I have some Hopes) and take the Course pointed
 out by me, I do not doubt but you, for your Part, will perform
 your Duty. Thus we were respectfully dismiss'd,
 and

and the eighth Day of *April* we began our Journey towards our own Country.

THIS Account was given at *Sterlin*, by the Embassadors, before the Convention of the Estates. Upon which, the Care and Diligence of the Embassadors were unanimously approv'd. Other Matters they referr'd to the first of *May*, a Parliament being summoned against that Time. In the mean time, both Parties bestir themselves, one to promote, the other to hinder the assembling of it. The wisest Senators were of Opinion, that the Queen of *England* would never let the *Scots* Queen leave her Kingdom, as foreseeing how dangerous it would be to all *Britain*. In the interim, Mention was made by somebody of demanding the *Scots* King, as an Hostage for his Mother, rather in Hopes to hinder a Concord, than to establish it; for she was well assur'd, that the *Scots* would never yield to it; but there were some powerful Men in her Council, who secretly favour'd the Duke of *Norfolk's* Faction: These were desirous, that the Queen of *Scots* should be restor'd, and that thereby the adverse Faction might, in Time, be broken and diminish'd, that so they might obtain that Point from them by Necessity, which they saw they could not otherwise gain; nor did they doubt, but the Matter would come to that pass, when the Rebels were assisted with Money, and other Necessaries for War from *France*; and the Royalists had their Eye only on the Queen of *England*, who had, at the Beginning, largely promised them, upon understanding the Crime of the Queen, that she would take a special Care of the King and Kingdom of *Scotland*. Neither could the *French* King well bring about his Designs. He was willing the *Scots* Queen should be restored, but not that the King should be put into *English* Hands; and hearing how strong the *Norfolk* Faction was, which was all for Innovations, he did not despair, but that the *Scots* Queen might, in Time, escape out of Prison privately, or be deliver'd by *Howard's* Means. Thus stood the State of *Britain* at that Time.

MORTON, having given a laudable Account of his Embassy to the Convention at *Sterlin*, returned to his own House, about four Miles from *Edinburgh*; he had a Company of one hundred Foot, and a few Horse to guard his House, and to defend himself, if the Townsmen should attempt to make any Excursion, till more Forces might come in. In the mean time, the Queen's Faction were Masters of the Town, and set Guards in all convenient Places; and levell'd all their Designs to exclude the Regent, and to hinder the Parliament, which was summon'd to be held at *Edinburgh*.

burgh. Upon which, *Morton*, as the Regent had commanded, sent twenty Horse and about seventy Foot (for the rest had Passes to go abroad for Forage) to *Leith*, who were to make a publick Proclamation there (for *Edinburgh* was garrison'd already) that no Man should assist the Rebels by Land or Sea, either with Provision, Arms, or any other warlike Furniture; they that did so, were to undergo the same Punishment with them. These knowing themselves to be inferior to the Town-Soldiers, sent their Foot another Way about, which was cover'd by a Hill from the Sight of the City, (commonly call'd *Arthur's Seat*) and the Horse pass'd near the Walls and Gates of the City, not a Man of the Enemy stirring out. When they had done what they were commanded to do at *Leith*, they had not the same Fortune at their Return; for the Foot refus'd to march back the same Way that they came, but returned against the Will of the Horse near the Gates of the City, and so pass'd with them under the Walls, with an intent to try what Courage themselves were of, and their Enemies too, when, on a sudden, a Sally was made from two of the Gates. At first they fought bravely, so that those of the Town were forc'd to retire in Disorder into the Town, with no great Loss, 'tis true, yet it easily appear'd that they were inferior in Valour, tho' superior in Number. The Regent having nothing in Readiness to attack the Town, and having no Time neither, by reason of the sudden sitting of the Parliament, to bring any Cannon thither, thought it better to desist from Force, and to hold the Parliament without the Gate of *Edinburgh*: For that City being stretch'd out mostly in Length, they, who first compassed it with a Wall, left a great part of it in the Suburbs; yet so, that the Inhabitants of that Part had the full Privilege of Citizens, as well as those within the Walls. There the Convention was held, for the Lawyers gave their Opinion, that it was no great Matter in what Part soever of the City it met. In this Parliament, these were declared Traitors, *viz.* the Chief of them who held out the Castle, especially those, who out of Consciousness of their Guilt of the King's and Regent's Murders, had avoided Trial. The Rebels being thus condemn'd by an Act of Parliament (the Judgment of which Court is of very great Authority) left the Commonalty, which usually is at the Beck of the Nobility, should be alienated from them, they also of the Number which they had there, made up a Convention, such as it was. Few appear'd, who had any lawful Right to vote; and of them

some came not to the Assembly at all; some presented themselves but as Spectators only, abstaining from all judiciary Acts; so that having neither a just Number of Voices, nor being assembled either in due Time, or according to ancient Custom; yet, that they might make shew of a lawful sufficient Number, two Bishops, and some others that were absent (a Thing never heard of before) sent in their Votes in Writing, at all Adventures. At this time the Castle continually play'd with its great Guns upon the Place where the Nobility were assembled; and though the Bullets often fell amongst Crouds of People, yet did they neither kill nor wound so much as one Man. There were but few condemn'd in either Convention; and both Parties appointed another Convention to be held in *August*, one at *Sterlin*, the other at *Edinburgh*. When the Assembly was dismiss'd, neither Party attacked the other, so that there was a kind of Truce by common Consent. Upon this, the greatest Part of the Soldiers that were with *Morton*, being press'd Men, slip'd away to their own Homes. They who kept the Town, knowing that *Morton* had but a small Party for his Guard, and being willing also to have Reparation for their former ignominious Repulse, they sent out two hundred and twenty Musqueteers, and one hundred Horse, carrying two Brass Field-Pieces along with them; intending either to burn the Town of *Dalkeith*, where *Morton* then was; or, if that succeeded not, to frighten the Enemy and keep him within the Town; and if they could thus put him into a Fright, they intended to make their Boasts of it all over the Country. They shew'd themselves well accounted on a Hill over against *Dalkeith*: Upon which, those of *Dalkeith* being alarm'd, cry'd presently, *Arm, Arm*. The *Mortonians* drew out immediately, being two hundred Foot, and about sixty Horse, and mounting a little an opposite Hill, and then again descending into the Valley, stood over against them ready for Battel: Some Archers picquered and skirmished on both sides, and there was a light Onset; but the Rebels, who expected to find their Enemies unprepared, being disappointed of their Hopes, march'd back in as entire a Body as they could to recover the City; and thus some pressing upon others, in the Eagerness of their Retreat, they came to *Cragmiller* Castle, situate almost in the Midway between *Edinburgh* and *Dalkeith*. There a few of *Morton's* Foot, which pass'd by the Castle privately on the other side, rose from their Ambush, and attack'd the Enemy's Body, in the strait Passage of the Way, which was between them,

them, and so disorder'd their Ranks, and put them to flight : They, who kept Garrison in the Castle of *Edinburgh*, perceiving from the higher Ground, that their Men were flying toward them, sent out eighteen Horse, and thirty Foot to relieve them ; with this Supply they charg'd again, and the King's Horse being fewer in Number by half, and not able to endure the Action, fled back in as much haste as they had pursued before. The Foot was in a manner useless on both sides, because of a great Shower that fell suddenly from the Clouds. In the Pursuit, of the *Mortonians* there were but few slain, more were wounded, and about twenty six taken Prisoners : Of the Rebels there were more slain, but fewer Prisoners taken. But one Accident did almost equal the Loss of both Parties : They which came from *Edinburgh*, brought with them a Barrel of Gun-powder, and as the Soldiers, in haste and carelessly, went to take out some Powder, a Spark of Fire fell into it, and blew it up, inso-much that the Horse which carried it, *James Melvil*, the Commander of the Foot, and many other Soldiers, were so scorch'd and burnt, that the most part of them, in a few Days after, dy'd.

WHILST these Things were acting about *Edinburgh*, Victory inclining to neither side, one Troop of the *Scots*, who, some Years before, had serv'd in *Denmark*, under *Michael Weems*, a noble, virtuous, and learned young Man, returned into their own Country, and offered their Service to the King, against the Desires of the Townsmen, who would willingly have drawn them over to their Party. They had a little Time allowed them to visit their Friends ; and coming together at the Day appointed, they were informed, that some Ships were mann'd out by the Rebels to intercept them. *Morton* himself was aware of the Design, and therefore taking what Force he could on a sudden get ready, without acquainting any body with his Design, he came so suddenly to *Leith*, that he had almost taken them before they went a Ship-board ; sixteen of them, who did not make such haste to launch out their Boat, he took Prisoners on the Shore. The next Day he provided Ships, either to follow them (he could not do it sooner because of the Tide) or to intercept them in their Return. The Regent also was made acquainted with it the same Night, who speedily gathering some irregular Troops, hastned to the left Shore of the *Forth*, to set upon the Rebels when they landed : But the Speed of the *Danish* Soldiers rendered those Endeavours needless ; for the greatest part of them got aboard a large

F f 2

Vessel,

Vessel, and so pass'd safely over. The rest, who were in a smaller Skiff, were taken far from *Leith*, and being about twenty six, were brought Prisoners to the Castle. After this Action, the Regent return'd to *Sterlin*: *Morton*, being wearied with Labour and Watching, and seized with the Colick, was confin'd to his Bed at *Leith*. *Drury* the *Englissman*, who had treated a Truce between the Factions for for many Days, could in the end effect nothing; for the Regent would yield to no other Terms, but that the Places which were seized on, during the former Truce, should be restored. When *Drury* was about to depart, the Rebels, as it were in Respect and Compliment to him, drew out all the Strength that ever they could make, supposing that whilst *Morton* was sick, they should either put their Enemies into a terrible Fright, who were inferior in Number to themselves; or else, if they durst fight with the Force they had without their General, they might do some considerable Execution upon them toward the ending of the War. *Morton* being inform'd of this by his Horse-guard, rose presently out of his Bed, and buckling on his Armour, brought up all his Men into a neighbouring Hill, where he kept them ready for the Attack, about four hundred Paces from the Enemy. *Drury* rode between both Armies, and earnestly desir'd them to return home, and not to break off all Hope of Accomodation, by over-rash and hasty Counsels: Upon which, they both agreed to retreat, only the Dispute was, who should do it first. *Drury* endeavoured to compound this Difference also, and desired of both, that when he, standing in the middle between both Armies gave a Sign, they should both retreat in one and the same Moment. *Morton* was willing; but the Rebels threaten'd, that unless he retreated first of his own accord, they would beat him shamefully out of the Field; and indeed they could hardly be kept from advancing towards him. When *Morton* heard this Answer, he supposed he had satisfy'd *Drury* and the *Engliss*, whom at this Time he was unwilling to offend, but would rather have them Witnesses of his Moderation; whereupon he presently drew forth against the Enemy; first, his Horse made a brisk Charge, and routed the Enemy's Wings; their Foot attempted to charge him, but were routed also; when the Gate of the next Street being narrow, could not admit of so many at once in their hasty Flight, many were there slain, many trodden under Foot; great Numbers taken, none making any Resistance, but only a Party of Foot, who having the Advantage

tage of the next Church-yard, rallied again; and yet, at the first Charge, were a second time put to flight. Their Flight into the City was so confused, that the Guard left the Gates, and all fled into the Castle; so that if the Pursuers had not been intent on their Booty, they might have taken the Town, as being unguarded. Above fifty of the Rebels were killed, and about one hundred and fifty taken. *Alexander Hume* had a slight Wound with a Fall from his Horse, and was taken Prisoner: *Gawin Hamilton* was killed: *James Culen*, *Huntley's* Kinsman, a Commander of Foot, hid himself in a poor Woman's Pantry, but was discover'd, and brought to *Leith*. The common People, when they saw him, made such a Shout, that it plainly appear'd they would not be satisfied, but by his Death; for, in the former Civil Wars, he had been a cruel and rapacious Plunderer. He was infamous in his military Employment in *France*; and when the Kings of *Denmark* and *Sweden* were at difference, he promised to serve them both, and accordingly took their Money to raise Soldiers, but cheated them both. Many such villainous things he had done; and being thus taken at last (as I said) to the great Joy of all, was led forth to his Execution.

AFTER a few Days Rest, the Townsmen recruited their Forces, and then shew'd themselves again in Arms; after that, light Skirmishes pass'd between the Parties almost every Day, with various Events. The King's Party were more courageous, but the Rebels had Places more convenient for Ambushes; and besides, they had a high Castle from whence they might see all the Motions of their Enemies, neither would they commonly venture any farther on an Action, than their Ordnance out of the Castle could command. The Regent kept himself at *Leith*, watching all their Sallies, and stopping all Provisions by Sea; for he could not do it by Land, by reason of the Largeness of the City, and Unevenness of the adjacent Places, in the surrounding of which many Opportunities of Service were lost. Whilst these Things were acting about the City, a *French Ship* was taken, that brought Gun-powder, Iron Bullets, small Brass Guns, and some Money for the Rebels. The Money went to pay the King's Soldiers, but the Bullets, Powder, and part of the Cannon, being sent with little or no Guard to *Sterlin* up the River, the Rebels, having Intelligence of it, procured some Vessels from other Havens, and surprized them; but not being able to carry their Booty to the Castle, they sunk it in the River. About the same time, another small Ship was also

F f 3

taken,

taken, in which there was little else but Letters and large Promises of Assistance, speedily to be sent from *France*. For during the two whole Years last past, in which there was War by fits in *Scotland*, the Queen of *England*, on behalf of the Royalists; the King of *France*, and the *English* Papists, on behalf of the Rebels, sent in some small Sums of Money, but loaded them with more Promises, as rather studying, that their respective Party might not be conquer'd, than conquer. Both of them were willing Matters should be brought to that Necessity; the *English* Queen, that the *Scots*, being worn out by their Divisions, might be willing to send their King into *England*, and so seem to depend wholly on her; the *French* King, that the Rebels might surrender *Dunbarton* and *Edinburgh* to him, and that thus by those two commanding Garrisons from both Seas, he might keep the *Scots* always in Fear of his Arms. But despairing of the Queen's Liberty, and *Dunbarton* Castle being lost, he mov'd but slowly in the Cause of the Rebels; he was not willing, now the Kingdom was exhausted with domestick Seditions, to undertake a new and unnecessary War, for the sake of one Castle only; it was enough, he thought at present, if it did not fall into the Enemy's Hands.

THE *Scots* were fully resolved not to give up their King to the *English*, upon the Account of old Controversies; as also, because the *English* Papists were so strong, who placed all their Hopes in his Death. For if he were taken out of the Way, the Queen of *England* would not only be weakened, seeing it was one Royal Life only that delay'd their Hopes; but also the Queen of *Scots* would be the undoubted Heir of the whole Island, who, by her Marriage, might gratify whom she pleased with the Regal Power, and so be of mighty moment in the Change of the State of Religion thro' all *Europe*. And in the *English* Court there were some, no mean Persons, who prefer'd the Hopes of new Matters before old Benefits; yet if, as long as the King of *Scots* was alive, they should cut off *Elizabeth*, many of those of the Queen's Privy-Council feared, lest the known Wickedness of the *Scots* Queen might diminish her Authority, and increase her Son's Power, and so, for Fear of Tyranny, endear him more to the *English*: Whereupon the *English* Rebels were willing to destroy the Queen of *England*, and King of *Scots* both; and not succeeding in doing it openly, they resolv'd upon Poison.

MATTERS

MATTERS standing thus in *Scotland*, both *Factions* prepared themselves against the approaching sitting of the *Parliament*. The *Rebels* had only three of the *Lords* voting with them, of which two were the *Proctors*, or *Commissioners* to the *Convention*, to be held in the *Queen's Name*: The third, *Alexander Hume*, was the only *Man* who had *Right* to vote. And of the *Ecclesiastical Order*, two *Bishops*, the one banish'd thither two Months before by the *Regent*; and, the *State* of the *City* being chang'd, not daring to depart without a *Convoy*, he stay'd there against his *Will*: The other was a *Bankrupt*, who having spent his *Estate*, was driven thither by *Necessity*. By their *Votes*, above two hundred were condemn'd, some of them being *Children* under *Age*. Besides, the *impertinent Soldiers*, as if they had already got the *Victory*, divided other *Mens Patrimonies* among themselves, and so put many quiet and innocent *Persons* (and, by that means, more liable to *Injuries*) into the *Roll* of those that had forfeited.

THE *Regent* went to *Sterlin* in a great *Concourse* of *Nobility*, where he held a *Parliament*; in which, about thirty of the most obstinate of the *Queen's Party* were condemn'd, the rest were spared in *Hopes* of *Pardon*. The *Rebels* thought this a fit *Opportunity* for them to attempt something in the *Absence* of the *Nobility*; and accordingly they drew all their *Forces* out of the *City*, and to make a greater *Shew*, the *Townsmen* with them; they set them in *Battel-array*, that so, as in former *Times*, by light *Skirmishes*, they might draw the *King's Forces* out of *Leith*. In the mean time, while the *Enemy* were kept in *Play* by them, they resolv'd to send others privately to march about, and when the *Garrison* was drawn out, to enter in at the opposite *Gate*, and so burn the *Town*. *Patrick Lindsey* was *Governor* of *Leith*, a wise and valiant *Person*; he drew out his *Forces*, having sufficiently provided against *Ambuscades*, and march'd directly towards the *Enemy*; they fought stoutly at first; at last he gave the *Rebels* a round *Salvo*, and so beat them back, not without *Slaughter*, to the *Gates* of the *Town*; a great many *Prisoners* were brought off, but the most part of them were *Townsmen*. *Alexander Hume* was taken once, but rescu'd again by his own *Party*. In the *Evening*, as the *King's Party* were returning joyful for the *Victory*, *James Haliburton*, a good *Man*, and a skilful *Soldier*, who commanded all the *Foot*, being too far from his *Company*, was taken by some *Horse* in the *Dusk* of the *Evening*, when he could not discern

of whose Party they were in the Highway, and so carried Prisoner into the City. Upon this Loss, the Rebels took heart to make another Attempt, more full of Danger and Boldness, and more likely, if it had succeeded, to have put an End to the whole War. For having received Intelligence by their Spies, that the Nobility of the contrary Faction at *Sterlin* were so careless and remiss, that in an open Town, they had not so much as a Night-Guard, as if it had been a Time of profound Peace, they took three hundred Foot, and two hundred Horse, and march'd thither : To ease the Foot, who were hastily called forth, they took away all the Countrymens Horses, who came to Market the Day before ; and if occasionally they lighted on any other Horses by the Way, they took them too. The Captains in this Expedition, were *George Gordon*, *Claud Hamilton*, and *Walter Scot* ; they were much encouraged to the Undertaking by *George Bell*, an Ensign of a Foot-Company, who was born at *Sterlin* ; he knew all the convenient Passages and Accesses into the Town, and was acquainted with all the Noblemens Lodgings ; he gave them assured Hopes, that they would quickly master all, insomuch that they were so confident of Success in their March, as to appoint whom to kill, and whom to save alive. They came to the Town early in the Morning, and found Things in profound Security, not so much as a Dog opened his Mouth against them ; so that they silently enter'd the Town, and without any Resistance went up to the Market-Place ; they set Guards at all the Passes, and then went to the Noblemens Lodgings ; the rest were easily taken, only *James Douglas*, Earl of *Morton*, put some stop to them in his Lodging ; when they could not break in upon him by Force, they set fire to the House ; one or two of his Servants, who stoutly defended the Passes, were kill'd, and he himself, when all was a Fire, hardly escaping out of the Flames, surrendred himself to *Walter Scot*, his Kinsman, who came up with him. At the same Moment the Regent, being poorly guarded, and forced to fight for himself, was taken Prisoner. *Alexander*, Earl of *Glencairn*, and *Hugh*, Earl of *Eglington*, were reserved under a Guard for Execution : For *Claud Hamilton* told his Men, *They should kill all the Noblemen of the contrary Faction, as soon as ever they pass'd out of the Gates, without any Distinction.* All Things thus succeeding beyond Expectation, the common Soldiers scattered themselves all over the Town to get Plunder. Upon this, *John Erskin*, Governor of the

the Castle, who had before try'd to break thro' the Enemy in the Market-Place, but in vain, they were so strongly posted, sent a Party of Musqueteers into his own new House, which was then building, and not quite finished, from whence there was a Prospect into the whole Market-Place. This House, because it was uninhabited, and not compleated, was neglected by the Enemy, and afforded a safe Post to the Royalists, whence to play on their Enemies: When the Rebels saw that they were shot at from a high Place, garrison'd against them with unusual Weapons, they presently turned their Backs, and ran away in such Fear, that, when they came to the narrow Way leading to the Gate, they trod down one another. That which saved them was, there were but few to pursue; for they who had driven them out of the Market-Place, could come out but one by one thro' the Gate of the new House, which was but one neither, and that half-shut too towards the Town; and but a few came forth from other Houses, where they stood armed, ready for all Events. Thus the whole Soldiery, which, the Day before, had attempted so desperate a piece of Service, and had almost successfully finished it, were driven out of the Town in such Fear and Confusion, that they left their Prisoners, and every one shifted for himself. In all this Tumult, there was only one Man of Note of the King's Party kill'd, and that was *George Raven*, a young Gentleman of great Hopes, who pressing too eagerly upon the thickest of the Enemies, lost his Life. And *Alexander Stuart of Gairlice*, as he was leading away Prisoner, was struck down dead, 'tis not known, whether by his own Men, or the Enemy. In this great Consternation, they who before kept within their own Doors for fear, now came abroad. They who had taken *James Douglas*, and *Alexander Cuninghame*, Prisoners, seeing no Hopes to escape, surrendered themselves up to their Captives. *David Spence*, Captain of Horse amongst the Rebels, was leading away the Regent; he knew that many lay in wait for the Regent's Life, and therefore he defended him with all the Care he could; insomuch that when the Russians aimed at the Regent, they hit him, and he died the same Day, to the great Grief of both Parties; for he was an accomplished young Gentleman in every Respect both in Body and Mind, and inferior to no Man of his Age in *Scotland*. After his Decease, the Enemy's Horse never did any memorable Service. Two of those that assaulted the Regent, contra-

ry to Quarter, were put to Death, not being able to escape : The rest fled in such Fear, that the Prisoners whom they had taken, escap'd out of their Hands. For certain, all the Enemy's Party might have been destroy'd, if there had been Horse sufficient to have pursued : But the Tories of *Teviotdale*, at their first Entrance into the Town, had plunder'd all the Horses, which saved them. The slain of both Sides were almost equal : Of the Royalists, not a Man was carried away Prisoner ; of the other Side many ; most of whom being intent upon Plunder, were taken in the Houses which they were a rifling. The Regent dy'd the same Day of his Wounds. His Funeral was celebrated in haste, as well as they could in such an Hurry ; and then the Nobility assembled, to create another Regent to succeed him. They chose three out of their own Number, having first given them an Oath, to stand to the Decision of the Nobility ; and thus, as Candidates, they were to expect the Issue of the next Assembly. The three were, *Gilesfy Cambel*, Earl of *Argyle* ; *James Douglas*, Earl of *Morton* ; and *John Erskin*, Earl of *Marr*. All the Votes favour'd *John Erskin*. His first Attempt was to attack *Edinburgh*, there having been an Army appointed to be levy'd by the former Regent against the first of *October*, but this sudden Change of Affairs made it to be deferred till the 15th of the same Month ; that Delay was a great Hindrance to Business ; for it gave Space to the Townsmen, who wrote Night and Day, to perfect their Works ; so that the early Winter, the long Nights, the bad Weather, in those cold Countries, the Difficulty of conveying Provisions, and his Want of military Accommodations, caused him to return, without carrying the Place.

FOR some Months after Sallies were made, but of no great Advantage to either Side : For the Prospect of the Castle being free and open to all Parts, gave Opportunity to the Rebels, that they would never come to Action, nor yet fall into any Ambush ; for, by a Signal given from an Eminence in the Castle, they were easily warned to retreat in Time ; yet once, when all the Horse and Foot sallied out of the Town, to intercept a few of the Royalists, and they press'd upon them, who pretended hastily to fly away : When they in the Castle saw the Colours of some Companies start up from a neighbouring Valley, they presently sounded a Retreat to them. Upon which, the Rebels, before they came to

to the Place of Ambush, retreated back in great Fear, and their Flight was so much the more confused, because, tho' they were advis'd of their Danger beforehand, yet they did not know what, or from whence it was, nor could they so much as suspect it : Those few Horsemen, who before made semblance of Flight, press'd upon their Rear in such manner, that they caused the Foot to break their Ranks, and every one ran to the City as fast as ever he could ; many were wounded and taken, and amongst them, some Captains and Cornets of Horse.

WHILST Matters were thus slowly carried on about the City, in the Country towards the North there was a great Loss received upon this Occasion : There were two Families of chief Power and Authority in those Parts, the *Gordons* and the *Forbes's* ; the *Gordons* liv'd in great Concord amongst themselves, and by the King's Commission, had for many Years presid'd over some neighbouring Counties, and so increased their ancient Power and Authority : On the other side, the *Forbes's* were always at Difference, and continually weakened one another ; but neither of them had now, for many Years, made any Attempt upon the other, as being mutually allied by Marriages, there being rather a secret Emulation, than an open Breach. In the Family of the *Forbes's*, there was one *Arthur*, a Man of Sense and very active, and who, from the beginning of the troublesome Times, had always been on the King's Side : He thought it was now time for him to set up his own Name and his Family's, as also to advance the Power of the Party which he followed. He first then endeavoured to reconcile his own Family ; which if he could accomplish, he fear'd not any Power that could be raised against him in those Parts. When a Day was appointed for that Purpose, *Adam Gordon*, Brother to the Earl of *Huntley*, by all means endeavoured to hinder it, and for that End, giving private Notice to his Friends and Vassals, there came a great Number of them to the Place. There were two Troops of the *Forbes's* in Sight, but, before they could join, he set upon one of them, and kill'd *Arthur* upon the Spot ; at his Fall the rest were scattered and put to flight ; some eminent Men were kill'd, and many taken ; the rest, for some Days after, dar'd not stir, for fear those of their Party who were taken Prisoners, should suffer for it. And their Fear was increased by the burning of *Alexander Forbes's* House, with his Wife great

great with Child, his Children and Servants in it. *Arthur Forbes's* elder Brother, Chief of the Clan, after his House was taken and plunder'd, hardly escap'd, and came to Court; where tho' they were much straitned themselves, yet were there two hundred Foot granted to him, and to the Nobility that followed his Party; and withal, Letters were written to the neighbouring Nobility to join with him. When they were thus joined with the rest of the *Forbes's*, and some neighbouring Families, they thought themselves secure enough from Force, but they wanted a Commander over them; for the Heads of the Families were mostly young Men, and there was scarce one more eminent than another amongst them: So that being unresolved in their Counsels, *John Keith*, with five hundred Horse, went home to his own House, which was not far distant: *Alexander Forbes*, and his Vassals, with two hundred Foot march'd to *Aberdeen* to drive thence *Adam Gordon*, and to refresh his Men after their March. *Adam* receiving Intelligence, that his Enemy was advancing with but a small Party, draws his Men out of the Town, and to make a Shew of a greater Multitude, compell'd the Townsmen to draw out with them, upon which ensued a sharp Action in the Field near the Town. The King's Foot, out of Eagerness to fight, follow'd the *Gordonians* too far, and having no Gunpowder nor Reserves, were repulsed and put to flight, principally by the Archers; there were not many of them kill'd, because much of the Action was in the dark Night, but several were taken, and amongst them, *Alexander Forbes* himself, after he had stoutly defended himself against them a long time.

THIS Success in the North mightily encouraged the Rebels to attempt greater Matters: Upon which, in a different Part of the Kingdom, they resolv'd to attack *Jedburgh*, a small Town, and, as the Country Custom then was, unfortify'd; but the Inhabitants were very brave, and, for some Years past, had always stoutly resisted the Rebels: *Thomas Carr* of *Farnieft*, and *Walter Scot*, liv'd near the Town; they, besides their old Clans, which were numerous enough, had associat'd to them the three neighbouring Countries, *Liddisdale*, *Ewesdale*, and *Eskdale*, Places always notorious for Robbery; but then, in regard of the Licentiousness of the Civil War, they pilaged without Controul a great Way farther. And besides, in *Teviotdale* it self, there were some great Families

milies noted for those Practices, either being infected by their Neighbours, or because they had been accustomed to plunder their Enemy's Country : Nor did these only come in, but some of the neighbouring *English*, in hopes of Booty, join'd themselves with them : Besides this, they sent for one hundred and twenty Musqueteers from *Edinburgh*, all pick'd Men out of every Company of the Foot. The *Fedburgians* knew, that they were aim'd at, and therefore sent in haste to the Regent, to acquaint him with their Danger ; and only desir'd a few light-harnessed Soldiers from him : In the mean time, they were not wanting to do their best. They sent for *Walter Carr* of *Sesford*, and levy'd a reasonable Number of Soldiers out of the Neighbourhood, and fortify'd their Town as the Time would permit. Both Parties were also inform'd at the same time, that *William Ruven* was come as far as *Driburgh*, with one hundred and twenty Musqueteers, and Horsemen, part of which he had brought with him, and part he rais'd in the neighbouring County of *Merch*. But the Rebels, being confident of their Number, as being three thousand Men, march'd to the Town early in the Morning, to prevent the coming in of their Relief ; *Ruven* suspected they would do so, and therefore march'd speedily after them, and made some Attempts upon their Rear. And *Walter Carr* join'd his Forces with the Townsmen, and drew out directly towards the Enemy : Who seeing this, that they might not be surrounded, presently retreated to Places of greater Advantage. The Robbers, who came in for Hopes of Plunder, seeing the Town fortified and the Royalists ready for Action, went home the nearest way they could ; and the Rebels, with their Vassals, and a Company of Foot, retreated to *Hawick*, never thinking that the Enemy would, in the least, attempt any thing against them there ; and their Hopes were increas'd by the Winter Season, which was sharper than ordinary, by reason of a great Quantity of Snow lately fallen, that cover'd all the Ground. But *Ruven* intended to make Use of the Opportunity, and in the third Watch drew out his Party, and march'd so suddenly towards *Hawick*, that he was within a Mile of it before the Enemy took the Alarm. At *Hawick* they were so surprized, that there was no room for Counsel left, but Horse and Foot were immediately drawn out, and following the Current of the next River, endeavour'd to retreat to a Place of more Safety. But the Swiftnefs of their Pursuers prevented them ; the Horse knew the
Country,

Country, and made a shift to escape, but the Foot were left for a Prey to their Enemies; they possessed themselves of a small Wood on a Rock near the River, where they were surrounded by the Horse, and not venturing to stay till the Foot came up, they all surrendered themselves at Mercy: But there being other Dangers to be prevented, and seeing that they could not be carried up and down in so sharp a Winter, having passed their Words to return at a Day appointed, and leaving some Hostages for that Purpose, they were sent Home without their Arms: When they were discharged, *Kirkcaldie* made several weak Pretences to elude their Promises, which however hindered them from returning at the time appointed.

THE rest of the Winter, and the following Spring, was wholly taken up in light Skirmishes, in which few were kill'd, but more of the Rebels than Royalists: For the Rebels, when they saw an Advantage, would draw out on the Hills near the City, and before they had scarce begun a Skirmish, would frequently retire into the City. In the mean while frequent Embassies came from *England*, to reconcile the Factions, but without Effect; For the Queen of *England*, though she most favoured the King's Party, yet she was willing to make such a Peace, as might engage both Parties to her; but the *French* were wholly inclined to the Queen's Cause, and therefore, by large Promises, hindered Peace, and advised a Continuance of the War: Some Money they sent at present, but not enough for the Occasion, but only to feed Hopes, and a great part of what was sent was always fingered by those who brought it. In the mean time, light Skirmishes passed for some Months between the Parties, but not at all contributing to the main Affair. Neither were other Parts of the Kingdom free from burning and plundering: *Adam Gordon* gathered a Party together, and entering *Angus*, besieged *Douglas's* House of *Glembergy*; and finding that himself was absent, they miserably burnt and destroyed all that was there, which struck such a Terror into those of *Dundee*, that they called in the Garrisons from the adjoining Parts of *Fife* to their Assistance; for *Gordon* would give them no Quarter, as having been in a particular manner ever true to the King's Cause. About this time *Blackness* was betray'd by its Governor to the *Hamiltons*, which is a Castle that hinders Commerce between
Leith

Leith and Sterlin. The Regent broke down all the Mills about *Edinburgh*, garrisoned all the Noblemens Houses about it, and stopp'd all Passages into the City ; many Prisoners were taken on both Sides. *Archibald Douglas*, one of *Morton's* familiar Friends, was apprehended on Suspicion, which was increas'd by the Baseness of his former Life, as also by some Letters found about him ; and even after he was taken, he corresponded by Letters with the Enemy ; which evidently shew'd that he had assisted the Rebels, both by Advice and Actions, having transmitted to them both Money and Arms.

F I N I S.





AN ALPHABETICAL


TABLE

OF THE

PRINCIPAL MATTERS

Contained in the foregoing

HISTORY.

A	Page	Page
	BERCORN- Castle, 27	<i>Shire, the Etymology thereof,</i> 23
	Aberdeen, 23	Abridic, or Erisbach-Isle, 31
	<i>Famous for Salmon-Fishing,</i> ibid.	Abthane, an old Name of Magistracy and Dignity a- mongst the Scots, 275
Aberdone, ibid.		<i>Vide Thane.</i>
Aberbrothock, or Abrinca, ibid.	Achais King of Scotland, 207	
Abernethy, wherein was the old Palace of the Picts Kings, 20	<i>He makes a defensive War a- gainst the Irish,</i> ibid.	
Abria, or Abyr, a Country or	<i>The first of the Scottish Kings that ever made a League with</i>	

G g

AN ALPHABETICAL TABLE.

	Page		Page
<i>with France,</i>	207	<i>General, overthrows Bruce,</i>	331
<i>Achnar-Isle,</i>	32	<i>Alan of Lorn, keeps his Brother Prisoner, Vol. II.</i>	61
<i>Acho, King of Norway, lands at Air with a great Fleet,</i>	305	<i>He is imprison'd himself, ibid.</i>	
<i>Is overthrown, and dies of Grief,</i>	306	<i>Albanact Son of Brute, from him the Scots called Albani,</i>	52
<i>Achmode Isles : See Æbudæ.</i>		<i>Albinick, the Scots so called,</i>	13
<i>Adam's Isle,</i>	37	<i>Albium, or Albion Isle, retains the Name of Britanny,</i>	2
<i>Adamannus,</i>	203	<i>More Islands than one anciently so called,</i>	ibid.
<i>Adam Huntly, taken Prisoner by the Earl of Murray, Vol. II.</i>	298	<i>Its Etymology,</i>	13, 14
<i>Ado Viennensis, quoted and corrected,</i>	108	<i>Album, or White, the Name of Height, as well as of Colour ; whence many Words are derived, as Albingaunum, Albula, Albici, Albini, &c. •</i>	13, 14
<i>Adrian passes out of France into Britain,</i>	141	<i>Alcluyth,</i>	115
<i>His Wall,</i>	ibid.	<i>Alexander I. King of Scots,</i>	280
<i>Adrian, the Pope's Legate in England, Vol. II.</i>	92	<i>Why Surnamed Acer,</i>	ibid.
<i>Advatici, Who ?</i>	12	<i>His Justice to a poor Woman,</i>	ibid.
<i>Æbudæ Islands,</i>	29	<i>He is relieved by Hermits,</i>	281
<i>Their Number,</i>	ibid.	<i>Alexander II.</i>	299
<i>Ælius Pertinax in Britain,</i>	148	<i>Enters England, and takes Carlisle,</i>	ibid.
<i>Ælius Spartianus quoted,</i>	149	<i>He and his Queen visit Henry of England,</i>	301
<i>Æinodæ Isles, the same with Æbudæ,</i>		<i>His Queen dies at London,</i>	302
<i>Æneia,</i>	23, 229	<i>He marries a French Lady,</i>	ibid.
<i>Air,</i>	17	<i>Alexander III.</i>	303
<i>Æstions spake the British Language,</i>	69	<i>He bath an Interview with Henry of England,</i>	304
<i>Ætius, the Britains crave Aid of him,</i>	117	<i>Is made Knight by him, and espouses Margaret his Daughter,</i>	ibid.
<i>Afulla Isle,</i>	38	<i>Assists</i>	
<i>Agnes Keith, Daughter of the Earl of Merch, married to James Earl of Murray, Vol. II.</i>	288		
<i>Agathyrfi painted their Bodies,</i>	66		
<i>Aidan, King of Scots, invested in that Dignity by Columb,</i>	195		
<i>Ailmer, Edward of England's</i>			

AN ALPHABETICAL TABLE.

Page	Page
<i>Assists the King of England,</i>	<i>Slain in a Fight with the</i>
307	English, 369
<i>The Nobles combine against</i>	<i>Alexander, Earl of Buchan,</i>
him, 305	base-born Son to Robert II.
<i>He and his Queen present at</i>	391
the Coronation of King Ed-	<i>Alexander Cambel, a Domi-</i>
ward I. He marries Jolera	nican, the Notoriety of his
a French Lady, 328	End, Vol. II. 159
<i>He forbids Traffick by Sea,</i>	<i>Alexander Cuninghame, slain</i>
309	(with King James III.) in
<i>He reduces the Train of his</i>	his Army, ibid. 93
Nobles in Travelling, ibid.	<i>Alexander Cuninghame, brings</i>
<i>His violent and untimely</i>	Aid to the Reformers, ibid.
Death, 308	250
<i>His Character,</i>	<i>Being taken Prisoner, he takes</i>
ibid.	him Prisoner, whose Cap-
<i>Alexander, Duke of Albany,</i>	tive he was before, ib. 441
Brother to James III. ta-	<i>Alexander Elphinstone slain in</i>
ken by the English, Vol. II.	Fight, ibid. 125
61	<i>Alexander Forbes marries</i>
<i>But soon released,</i>	Græcina Boyd, ibid. 102
ibid. 61	<i>Alexander Forbes taken by</i>
<i>Committed Prisoner to Edin-</i>	Adam Gordon, ibid. 444
burgh Castle, ibid. 78	<i>Alexander, Earl of Crawford,</i>
<i>Whence he craftily made his</i>	deserts Douglas, and sub-
Escape, ibid. 78	mits to the King, ibid. 38
<i>And coming to the King of</i>	<i>Alexander, Earl of Glencarn,</i>
England, solicits him to take	banished, ibid. 302
Arms, ibid. 83	<i>A General in the King's Army.</i>
<i>He is recalled by the Scots,</i>	ibid. 363
and hath the chief Govern-	<i>Alexander Gordon beats the</i>
ment bestow'd upon him,	Earl of Crawford, ib. 36
ibid. 85	<i>Alexander Hume marches in-</i>
<i>He restores his Brother James</i>	to England, ibid. 117
to the free Possession of the	<i>He brings his Squadron off</i>
Kingdom, ibid. 86	safe from Flodden-Field,
<i>He falls again into Disgrace,</i>	ibid. 123
and dies in France, ibid. 89	<i>His great Authority, ib. 129</i>
<i>Alexander, the Son of Alex-</i>	<i>Accused by Hepburn, ib. 133</i>
ander of Albany, ibid. 89	<i>Sides with the Queen, ib. 136</i>
<i>Alexander Boyd, abuses and</i>	<i>Goes for England, is reconcil'd</i>
wounds John Kennedy,	to the Regent, and returns,
ibid. 62	ibid. 136
<i>He is tried for his Life, ib. 70</i>	<i>He raises an Insurrection, ibid.</i>
<i>Beheaded, ibid. 70</i>	137
<i>Alexander Bruce surrenders</i>	<i>His</i>
himself to Baliol, 365	

AN ALPHABETICAL TABLE.

	Page		Page
<i>His Goods confiscated, he is taken and beheaded, Vol. II.</i>	138	Alexander Ogilby, Vol. II.	20
Alexander Hume, as a Proxy, takes the Coronation Oath for James VI. yet a Child,	ibid. 253	Alexander Macrory, Captain of Thieves, executed,	434
He is General of the King's Army,	ibid. 363	Alexander, Earl of Mar, the Son of Alexander,	444
Wounded,	ibid. 364	Alexander Ramsay, a brave Soldier,	380
Revolts to the Queen's Party,	ibid. 391	<i>His House the School of War,</i>	ibid.
His Castle taken and rifled by the English,	ibid. 408	He takes Roxburgh,	381
He is chief in the Council of the Rebels,	ibid. 439	Wounded, and starved to Death by Douglas,	382
Taken Prisoner, but by the coming in of his Friends released,	ibid. 439	Alexander Ramsay's cheerful Forwardness in surprising Dumbarton Castle, Vol. II.	419
Alexander Haliburton wounded and dies,	ibid. 264	Alexander Seton sent to Berwick,	ib. 379
Alexander Levingston made supreme Governor, or Regent,	ib. 2	Having no Hopes of Relief, he surrenders up the Town to the English,	ib. 383
He puts the Queen in Prison,	ib. 8	Alexander Stuart, Archbishop of St. Andrew's, slain at Flodden Fight,	ib. 128
Disagrees with Creighton the Chancellor,	ib. 5, 9	Alexander Stuart's Encounter with the King of Norway,	306
The King taken out of his Hands,	ib. 10	Allectus, a Roman, slain,	157
Reconciled to the Chancellor,	ib. 12, 13	Alfrid, King of Northumberland,	196
Lays down his Office,	ib. 18	Alnwick Castle taken, Vol. II.	24
Is brought to his Trial, and remanded to Prison,	ib. 22	Alfa, or Ailze Isle,	29
Alexander, the Son of William Levingston, taken Prisoner,	ib. 420	Alpa, for Alba,	14
Alexander, the Islander, gathers together a Band of Free-booters,	435	Alps, whence so called?	ib.
But is forced to submit to the King,	436	Alpin, King of Scots,	209
Alexander Lindsey overcomes		Slain by the Picts,	211
		Altissidorus, i. e. Auxerre in France,	85
		Alured, King of England, makes Peace with the Scots,	225

Amber-

AN ALPHABETICAL TABLE.

	Page		
Amberkeleth <i>K. of Scots</i> , 204		Andrew Wood <i>faithful to</i>	
<i>Slain</i>	ibid.	<i>King James III.</i>	ibid. 96
Ammianus Marcellinus, <i>quoted</i> ,	22, 24	<i>Admiral of the Scots Navy</i> ,	ibid. 96
Amiens, <i>the Bishop thereof</i>		<i>Reconciled to James IV.</i>	ib. 97
<i>in Scotland, his Cruelty</i> ,		<i>Overcomes the English in one</i>	
Vol. II. 272		<i>Sea-Fight</i> ,	ibid. 97
St. Andrew's,	22	<i>And also in a second</i> ,	ibid. 98
<i>Its University, when erected</i> ,		Andrew Stuart, <i>Chancellor</i> ,	ibid. 68
425		<i>His Freedom of Speech against</i>	
Andreae Fanum; and Fanum		<i>a Popish King</i> ,	ibid. 302
Reguli, i. e. St. Andrew's		<i>He is wounded in Fight</i> ,	ib. 364
<i>why so called?</i>	22	Angus,	23
Andrews, <i>a great Astrologer</i> ,		Angus, or Æneas, <i>raised an In-</i>	
Vol. II. 77		<i>surrection in Galway</i> ,	291
Andrew, <i>the Apostle, Tutelary</i>		Angusianus, <i>King of Scot-</i>	
<i>of Scotland</i> ,	275	<i>land</i> ,	159
Andrew Briton, or Breton,		<i>Slain by the Picts</i> ,	ibid.
<i>his Story</i> ,	Vol. II. 116	Annandale, <i>so called from the</i>	
<i>Slain by Thomas Howard, the</i>		<i>River Annand</i> ,	16
<i>English Admiral</i> ,	ibid. 117	Anna Momorancy, <i>suspects</i>	
Andrew Berclay <i>beheaded for</i>		<i>the Power of the Guises in</i>	
<i>Treason</i> ,	346	<i>France, not without Cause</i> ,	
Andrew Car <i>escapes out of</i>		Vol. II. 241	
<i>Prison</i> ,	Vol. II. 139	Anointing Kings, <i>when first u-</i>	
<i>He disagrees with Douglas</i> ,		<i>sed in Scotland</i> ,	359
ibid. 141		Anselm, <i>the Norman Archbi-</i>	
Andrew Car <i>revenges his Fa-</i>		<i>shop of Canterbury</i> ,	277
<i>ther's Death</i> ,	ibid. 116	Anti-Assemblies <i>in Scotland</i> ,	
Andrew Car <i>beaten by the</i>		<i>two</i> ,	Vol. II. 433
<i>Duke of Norfolk</i> ,	ibid. 240	Anthony Dacy <i>slain by David</i>	
Andrew Forman <i>sent into</i>		<i>Hume</i> ,	ibid. 141
<i>England and France by</i>		Apparition <i>to King Kenneth</i>	
<i>James IV.</i>	ibid. 113	<i>III. upon his Murder of</i>	
<i>He hath a great many Church-</i>		<i>Malcolm</i> ,	246
<i>Preferments</i> ,	ibid. 129	Apparition <i>to King James IV.</i>	
<i>He is accused by Hepburn</i> ,		<i>dissuading him from a War</i>	
ibid. 134		<i>with England</i> , Vol. II. 119	
<i>Mediates for Peace</i> ,	ibid. 138	Apoceanitæ, <i>Who?</i>	13
Andrew Murray, Bruce's Si-		Apostacy <i>punished by God</i> ,	201
<i>ster's Son, Regent</i> ,	364	Arran, or Arren, <i>Island</i> ,	30
<i>Taken by the English</i> ,	366	Archibald Douglas, <i>created</i>	
<i>Ransom'd</i> ,	371	<i>Capt. General</i> ,	367
<i>His Faithfulness and Death</i> ,	378	<i>He is slain by the English</i> ,	369
Andrew, <i>Earl of Rothes, ba-</i>		G g 3	Archibald
<i>nished</i> ,	Vol. II. 302		

AN ALPHABETICAL TABLE.

	Page		Page
Archibald, <i>Earl of Douglas,</i>		<i>Returns after fifteen Years Ex-</i>	
<i>surnamed the Austere, his</i>		<i>ile,</i>	ibid. 185
<i>Fends with Geo. Dunbar,</i>	414	<i>Coming to compose Controversies,</i>	ibid. 194
<i>He dies,</i>	416	<i>His memorable Speech and</i>	ibid. 200
<i>Archibald, his Son succeeds</i>		<i>Fact,</i>	ibid. 201
<i>him, who is taken Prisoner</i>		<i>He persuades the Regent to</i>	
<i>by the English,</i>	417	<i>break with the Cardinal,</i>	
<i>Released,</i>	420	<i>and to side with the Nobles,</i>	ibid. 201
<i>Made Duke of Turen by the</i>			
<i>Dauphin of France,</i>	428	<i>He beats the English,</i>	ibid. 203
<i>Slain by the English there,</i>	429	<i>Archbishop of St. Andrew's</i>	
<i>Archibald Douglas his great</i>		<i>(with the Bishop of Aber-</i>	
<i>Power,</i>	Vol. II. 1	<i>deen) imprisoned,</i>	ib. 150
<i>His affronting Answer to the</i>		<i>Archbishop of St. Andrew's</i>	
<i>Chancellor,</i>	ibid. 6	<i>executed as Accessory to the</i>	
<i>His Death,</i>	ibid. 15	<i>King and Regent's Murders,</i>	ibid. 421
<i>Archibald Douglas his Ora-</i>			
<i>tion to the Nobles against</i>		<i>Ardan Rider, or the High Isle</i>	
<i>the King's evil Counsellors,</i>	ibid. 80	<i>of the Horsemen,</i>	34
<i>With the Effects thereof,</i>	ib. 82	<i>Ardiescar Isle,</i>	31
<i>Archibald Douglas his Speech</i>		<i>Aremorici, or Armorici, Who?</i>	12
<i>to King James IV. dissua-</i>			
<i>ding him to fight the Eng-</i>		<i>Argadius, Regent,</i>	145
<i>lish,</i>	ibid. 121	<i>Being accused, he repents, and</i>	
<i>At which the King is offended,</i>		<i>supplicates for Pardon,</i>	ibid.
<i>and Douglas retires in Dis-</i>		<i>Whereupon, he is continued in</i>	
<i>content,</i>	ibid. 122	<i>his Government,</i>	ibid.
<i>He marries the Widow of</i>		<i>And prevails against the Island-</i>	
<i>James IV.</i>	ibid. 128	<i>ders,</i>	ibid.
<i>Accused by Hepburn,</i>	ib. 135	<i>Argyle Country,</i>	21
<i>Takes Edinburgh, but resigns</i>		<i>Argyle, Earl, joins with the</i>	
<i>up the Government thereof,</i>	ibid. 141	<i>Reformers,</i>	Vol. II. 251
<i>Flies into England,</i>	ibid. 136	<i>Arran, see Arran.</i>	
<i>Returns from France and</i>		<i>Arrii painted their Bodies,</i>	66
<i>England into Scotland,</i>	ib. 151	<i>Arrogance, the usual Compa-</i>	
		<i>nion of Power,</i>	Vol. II. 67
<i>Opposed by his Wife,</i>	ibid. 151	<i>Arthur Uterfon's begotten in</i>	
<i>Chosen one of the Governors</i>		<i>Adultery, King of the Bri-</i>	
<i>of King and Kingdom,</i>	ibid. 151	<i>tains,</i>	188
<i>Overtthrows Lenox,</i>	ibid. 256	<i>His Character,</i>	189
<i>Forbid to meddle with the Go-</i>		<i>He overcomes the Saxons, and</i>	
<i>vernment,</i>	ibid. 159	<i>takes London and York</i>	
<i>Outlawed and banished,</i>	ib. 16	<i>from them,</i>	ibid.
		<i>He is slain,</i>	193
		<i>Arthur,</i>	

AN ALPHABETICAL TABLE.

	Page		Page
Arthur, <i>the Son of Henry VIII.</i>		Avon Isle, <i>its Etymology,</i>	
<i>of England, marries Ka-</i>			30
<i>tharine, the Infante of Spain,</i>		Aurelius Ambrosius <i>his Ori-</i>	
<i>Vol. II.</i>	111	<i>ginal,</i>	184
Arthur Forbes <i>slain,</i>	ibid.	Aureliacum (<i>i. e.</i>) Orilhach,	
	443		9
Arverni, <i>Who?</i>	57	Austin, <i>a Monk, comes into</i>	
Asclepiodotus, <i>a Roman</i>		<i>England, and calls himself</i>	
<i>Lieutenant General, kills</i>		<i>Archbishop of all Britain,</i>	
<i>Allectus in Britain,</i>	157		198
Askerme, <i>Isle,</i>	35	<i>He promotes Superstition ra-</i>	
Assassination of King Henry		<i>ther than true Religion, ib.</i>	
<i>odious to all Nations, Vol.</i>		Authority, <i>got by good Arts,</i>	
<i>II.</i>	325	<i>is lost by bad, Vol. II.</i>	346
Assassins of King Henry <i>labour</i>		Avus, or Aw, <i>a Loch or Ri-</i>	
<i>to impute the Parricide to</i>		<i>ver,</i>	21
<i>Murray and Morton, ibid.</i>		Auxerre; <i>see</i> Alciſſidorus.	
	324		
Astrological Predictions, <i>Cour-</i>			
<i>tiers much addicted to them,</i>			
	ibid. 75, 77		
Asyle Isle. <i>See</i> Flavannæ.			
Athelstan, <i>King of England,</i>			
<i>fighbs the Picts,</i>	208		
<i>He is slain at a Place, since</i>			
<i>called Athelstan's Ford,</i>			
	ibid.		
Athelstan, <i>base Son of Edward</i>			
<i>King of England, overcomes</i>			
<i>the Danes and Scots in</i>			
<i>Battel,</i>	226		
<i>Recovers Dunbritton from the</i>			
<i>Scots,</i>	ibid.		
Athircus, or Athirco, <i>King</i>			
<i>of Scotland,</i>	150		
<i>He reigns vitiously, and kills</i>			
<i>himself,</i>	151		
Athol, <i>a fruitful Country,</i>	22		
<i>It abounds with Witches,</i>	455		
Atrebates, <i>Who?</i>	73		
Aven,	18		
Aven and Avon, <i>what they</i>			
<i>signify?</i>	87		
Avon Laggan,	31		

B

BACA Isle,	33
Badenach County,	23
Balta Isle,	36
Baliol (Edward) <i>lands in Scot-</i>	
<i>land,</i>	363
<i>Overthrows Seton, and the</i>	
<i>Regent,</i>	ibid.
<i>Declared King,</i>	364
<i>Worsted in Scotland,</i>	365
Edward of England <i>espouses</i>	
<i>his Cause,</i>	366
<i>Bandyng betwixt him and the</i>	
<i>Nobles,</i>	368
Ball, <i>a Priest, stirs up the Com-</i>	
<i>mons of England to the In-</i>	
<i>surrection,</i>	393
Bancho, <i>a Scots General</i>	
	262
<i>Overthrows the Danes,</i>	263
<i>Slain by Mackbeth,</i>	267
Baptism <i>celebrated but once a</i>	
<i>Year, and sometimes by Pa-</i>	
<i>rents themselves,</i>	36
Bards, <i>Who?</i>	49, 71

AN ALPHABETICAL TABLE.

	Page		Page
<i>They committed nothing to writing,</i>	49	Berton for Breton,	6
Barnera Island,	35	Berwick taken from the English by Robert Bruce,	340
Barodunum, or Dunbar, whence so called,	215	Besieged by Edward of England,	367
Baronia, (i. e.) Renfrew,	18	Rendered to the English,	369
Barra Isle,	35	Its Castle taken by Ramsay, but regain'd by Percy,	391
Bas-Alpin, the Place where Alpin was slain,	211	Bethic Isle,	32
Bassianus, a Roman General in Britain,	156	Betubium, or Dungisby Head, a Promontory,	26
Slain there by Alle&us,	157	Bigga Isle,	45
Bassinets, or Monk-Fishes, ominous,	221	Bishops of England not true to Maud their Queen,	283
Batavians, or Hollanders, their Fleet returning from Dantzick, spoiled by Alexander, Earl of Mar,	445	Bishops in Scotland holy Monks,	208
Beath Island,	31	Chosen heretofore by their Canons, Vol. II.	72
Beatrix, leaving her Husband James Douglas, asks Pardon of the King, Vol. II.	40	Anciently not Diocesans,	216
She marries John Earl of Athol, the King's Natural Brother,	ib. 41	Bishop of Dunblane sent into France to excuse the Queen's Marriage with Bothwel, Vol. II.	335
Bedford, the Earl thereof, King Henry's General in France, carries James, of Scotland, along with him thither,	428	He is choused in his Embassy,	ib. 349
Bede quoted,	10, 19	Bishopricks, six in Scotland,	276
Beds made of Heath,	28	Four others added to them and endowed,	282
Bei, what it signifies,	26	Bishop of Caithness had his Eyes and Tongue plucked out,	297
Belhac } Isles,	31	Another burnt,	298
Bellach }		Bishop of Caledonia, or Dunkel, commanded, when the English Navy was worsted in the Forth,	342
Belus, King of the Orcades, kills himself,	133	Whereupon called the King's Bishop,	ib.
Bergh, in German, signifies High,	14	Bishop of Dunkel commended, Vol. II.	143
Bergion, the name of a Giant,	13	Bishop of Durham comes too late to assist Piercy,	406
Berlins, What ?	40	His Army terrified with the Noise of Horses,	407
Berneria, an Island,	31		Bishop
The Great and the Small,	36, 37		
Berth, a great Part of it destroyed by an Inundation,	298		

AN ALPHABETICAL TABLE.

	Page		Page
Bishop of St. David's sent by the English King to the Scots, Vol. II.	171	City, with the Names of several Cities so ending, 79, &c.	
Bishop of the Orcades prefers Court-Favour before Truth, ib.	333	Bridi Isle,	32
Bizets, a Family in Ireland, anciently from Scotland, 330	330	Brien-Loch,	38
Blackmony, What? Vol. II.	83	Brigantes and Brigiani, 75, 81	
Blacknefs betray'd to the Ha- miltons, ib.	446	Brigantium, ib.	
Blandium, an old Drink a- mongst the Scots, 27	27	Brigids, or Brides, Church burnt, Vol. II.	62
Blair of Athol, 22	22	Britanny, its Description, 2	
Blood rain'd for seven Days over all Britain, 203	203	Several Islands anciently so called, ib.	
Also Milk, &c. turn'd into Blood, ib.	ib.	Mentioned by Aristotle and Lucretius, 4	
Bogia, or Strabogy, 176	176	It hath divers Acceptations, 10	
Boadicea; see Voadicea.		Its Original and Description out of Cæsar, Tacitus, &c. 101, 102	
Bodotria, (i. e.) the Scottish Sea, 126	126	Inhabited by three Nations, 87	
Boys creep into Favour at Court, Vol. II. 3	3	Britains, their fabulous Orig- inal, 52	
Their Faction against the Ken- nedies, ib. 4	4	They praised God in five Tongues, 41	
They carry the King to Edin- burgh, and strengthen them- selves by getting the King's Pardon, ib. 65	65	Britains and Gauls of one Re- ligion, 70	
Their Greatness occasions their Ruin, ib. 66	66	They painted their Bodies, 94	
Boin Country, 24	24	Vexed by the Scots and Picts, 179	
Bote, or Boot Isle, 30	30	They ask Aid of the Romans, 180	
Braid Albin, 21	21	Make Peace with Scots and Picts, 182	
Brafa Isle, 45	45	Enter Scotland, 126	
Bredius overthrown by Ederus, 134	134	Foment Divisions betwixt Scots and Picts, 120	
Brendinus slain in Battle, 198	198	Overthrown by Scots and Picts, 179	
Brennus's, Two, 98	98	Their woful Complaints to Æ- tius, 117	
Brettish Isles, 6	6	Have hard Conditions of Peace imposed upon them, 179	
Bria, Brica, Briga, signify a			

What

AN ALPHABETICAL TABLE.

	Page		Page
<i>What sort of Weapons they us'd</i>	63	<i>His Army enters England,</i>	ibid.
<i>in War,</i>	63	<i>His last Will and Testament,</i>	354
<i>They were five hundred Years</i>	87	<i>His three Counsels to his No-</i>	355
<i>under the Roman Govern-</i>	87	<i>bles,</i>	360
<i>ment,</i>	87	<i>He would have his Heart bu-</i>	ibid.
<i>Overthrown by Scots and</i>	197	<i>ried at Jerusalem,</i>	ibid.
<i>Picts,</i>	87	<i>His Death and Praise,</i>	196
<i>Subdued by the Saxons,</i>	156	<i>Brudeus, King of the Picts,</i>	210
<i>Revolt from the Romans, and</i>	11	<i>Brudus, King of the Picts,</i>	52
<i>after twelve Years return to</i>	6	<i>slain,</i>	24
<i>their Obedience,</i>	11	<i>Brutus, his Story,</i>	175
<i>Britton and Britain, all one,</i>	63	<i>Buchan,</i>	428
<i>Their Origin,</i>	6	<i>Its Etymology,</i>	15
<i>Britto, with a double t,</i>	11	<i>Buchan, the Earl thereof made</i>	81
<i>First mentioned by Martial,</i>	75	<i>Lord-High-Constable of</i>	379
<i>Brix, diminutive Word in</i>	329	<i>France,</i>	383
<i>Scotch, Brixac,</i>	330	<i>Bull's Head put upon a Man's,</i>	254
<i>Bruce and Cumins formerly</i>	ibid.	<i>heretofore a Sign of Death</i>	44, &c.
<i>agree,</i>	ibid.	<i>in Scotland, Vol. II.</i>	57
<i>Like to suffer for Treason in</i>	364	<i>Burgundus from Burgus,</i>	35
<i>England, but escapes by</i>	364	<i>Bullock, an Englishman, turns</i>	70
<i>shooting his Horse backward,</i>	343	<i>to the Scots,</i>	92
<i>Kills Cumins for betraying of</i>	343	<i>Put to Death,</i>	92
<i>him,</i>	343	<i>Burgh, a Danish Name,</i>	92
<i>Bruce (David) sent for France,</i>	343	<i>Burra Isle,</i>	92
<i>Bruce (Edward) drives the</i>	343	<i>Buthroti, Who?</i>	92
<i>English out of Ulster in</i>	343	<i>Buiia Isles, great and small,</i>	92
<i>Ireland,</i>	343		92
<i>He is afterwards overthrown</i>	343		92
<i>there by the English, ibid.</i>	343		92
<i>Bruce (Robert) the Kingdom</i>	343		92
<i>confirm'd to him,</i>	343		92
<i>He is desired to accept the</i>	343		92
<i>Crown of Ireland also,</i>	343		92
<i>He calls for the Deeds of Mens</i>	343		92
<i>Lands,</i>	343		92
<i>And receives an Affront there-</i>	343		92
<i>upon,</i>	343		92
<i>A Conspiracy discover'd against</i>	343		92
<i>him,</i>	343		92
<i>He agrees with Baliol, then</i>	343		92
<i>in France,</i>	343		92

C

C Advallus made Vice-	King,	132
<i>He dies of Grief,</i>		133
<i>Caithness,</i>		26
<i>Caithness Men cruel against</i>		302
<i>their Bishop, and are pu-</i>		32
<i>nished for it,</i>		32
<i>Calaman Isle,</i>		70
<i>Calden in Scotch is an Hesel,</i>		22
<i>Caledonia, a Town (i. e.)</i>		Calc-
<i>Dunkel,</i>		

AN ALPHABETICAL TABLE.

	Page		Page
Caledones, <i>Who?</i>	22	Cardorus <i>unjustly put to Death</i>	
Caledonian Woods, <i>whence so called?</i>	70	by Dardanus,	238
Caledonians, <i>Picts and Scots, sometimes all called Britains,</i>	91	Carick,	17
Calen Cambel, <i>with two others, chosen Governor of the King and Kingdom,</i>	Vol. II. 151	Carrickfergus <i>whence so called</i>	122
<i>He is sent against the Douglasses,</i>	ibid. 163	Carniburgh's two Islands,	33
Calfa Isle,	34	Carron-water,	20
Calthrops, <i>politick Engines in War, what?</i>	337	Carron, <i>why surnamed Schrimger,</i>	275
Camber, <i>Son of Brute,</i>	52	Cave, <i>an unusual one, turning Water into Stone,</i>	24
Cambri,	ibid.	Cassivelannus <i>his Town (i. e.)</i>	
<i>Why so called,</i>	76	Verulam, <i>taken by Cæsar.</i>	102
Camus, <i>the Dane, slain by the Scots,</i>	255	Cecily, Edward of England's Daughter, <i>promised in Marriage to the Son of James III.</i>	Vol. II. 79
Cana Isle,	32	<i>The intended Marriage null'd, and the Dowry repaid,</i>	ibid. 71
Cantire Promontory,	21	Celestine, Pope, <i>sends Palladius into Scotland,</i>	182
Canutus, <i>a Danish General in Scotland,</i>	256	Cells, <i>so the ancient Scots called their Temples,</i>	157
<i>Makes Peace with the Scots,</i>	257	Celts, <i>Who?</i>	72
Caprary, or Goat, Isle,	30	Celtiberi, <i>so called from the Celts and Iberians,</i>	61
Cara Isle,	ibid.	Celuinus, or Cialine, <i>King of the East-Saxons,</i>	196
Carail Town,	22	<i>Slain by the Scots,</i>	197
<i>Purged from Monuments of Idolatry,</i>	Vol. II. 253	Charles, <i>the Dauphin of France, seeks Aid of the Scots,</i>	426
Caratacus, <i>King of Scotland,</i>	135	Charles of Burgundy <i>slain at Nants,</i>	Vol. II. 76
<i>The Orcades not subdued by Claudius Cæsar in his Time,</i>	136	<i>He lays the Foundation of Tyranny in his Country,</i>	ibid. 93
Carausius, <i>a Roman, composes the Differences betwixt Scots and Picts,</i>	156	Charles V. <i>sends to Scotland, to join in Affinity with them,</i>	ibid. 77
<i>He seizes on Britain for himself,</i>	ibid.	<i>Why his Mother was committed to perpetual Imprisonment,</i>	ibid. 224
Carausius, <i>Brother of King Findocus, causes him to be slain,</i>	153	Charles	

AN ALPHABETICAL TABLE.

	Page		Page
Charles Guise Cardinal, <i>Guarantee for the Kingdom of Scotland</i> , Vol. II.	232	Coilus, <i>King of the Britains, slain by the Scots</i> ,	122
Charn Islands,	32	Colca, <i>a rare kind of Bird</i> ,	40
Chourna Isle,	ib.	Colgernus, <i>a Saxon Commander, killed</i> ,	191
Childeric, <i>a Saxon Commander, wounded</i> , Vol. II.	205	Coll Isle,	34
Christian Religion promoted in Scotland,	157	Collonsa Isle,	33
Christ's Birth-day prophaned, Vol. II.	204	Colman, <i>an holy Bishop</i> ,	201
Christians join in League against the Danes,	222	Columb, <i>the Saint, his Monastery</i> ,	33
Christiern of Denmark, with all his Male-Stock, cast out of the Kingdom, Vol. II.	424	His great Authority,	197
Chualsa Isle,	45	He tells of a Victory at a very great distance,	198
Cicero quoted about Britain,	108	His Death.	199
Cimbri, <i>so the French and Germans call Thieves</i> ,	96	Columb Isle: <i>see</i> Icolumb-kill,	
Cities Names in Bria, Brica, Briga,	79	Colvanfa Isle,	33
In Dunum,	81	Column, (<i>i. e.</i>) Chourna, or Hasel Isle,	32
In Duruni,	85	Commodus, <i>the Emperor, in Britain</i> ,	148
In Magus,	ib.	Commonalty usually comply with the Humour of their Prince,	237
Clacman Prefecture, or Stew-arty,	22	Affect Innovations, Vol. II.	54
Clarence, <i>Duke of it slain in France by the Scots</i> ,	427	Competitors for the Crown of Scotland, with their several Pretensions,	314
Clarshacks, <i>What?</i>	29	The Controversy not decided in Scotland, but referred to Edward of England,	315
Claudian, <i>a Verse in him corrected by Joseph Scaliger</i> ,	94	The Case, as stated by Edward, and propounded to Lawyers,	316
Cleirach Isle,	38	Bruce refuses the Kingdom offered him on ignoble Terms,	317
Cloich Isle,	31	Edward decides for Baliol, <i>ibid.</i>	
Clydsdale,	16, 17	Competitors for the Regency, Vol. II.	442
Cockburn Forest, or Path,	16		
Cockrane, <i>one of King James the third's Evil Counsellors, put to Death</i> , Vol. II.	82		
Coemeteries for the Kings of three Nations,	33		

Conanus

AN ALPHABETICAL TABLE.

	Page		Page
Conanus <i>elected Vice-Roy,</i>	128	<i>Inveighs against the Law of</i>	
Conanus <i>persuades to Peace,</i>		<i>Kenneth, about Hereditary</i>	
<i>but is seditiously slain by the</i>		<i>Succession,</i>	248
<i>Britains his Countrymen,</i>	177	Constance, <i>the Decree of its</i>	
Conarus, <i>King of Scotland,</i>		<i>Council seasonable for per-</i>	
<i>joins in a Conspiracy against</i>		<i>jured Persons, Vol. II. 188</i>	
<i>his Father,</i>	142	Controversy <i>between the Ba-</i>	
<i>He demands large Subsidies,</i>		<i>liols and the Bruces con-</i>	
<i>but is denied,</i>	143	<i>cerning the Crown of Scot-</i>	
<i>He wars against the Britains,</i>	144	<i>land,</i>	313, &c.
<i>Ends his Life in Prison,</i>	145	Convention <i>of the Nobles to</i>	
Confidence <i>sometimes praised</i>		<i>choose a Regent after Mur-</i>	
<i>for Constancy,</i>	457	<i>ray's Death, Vol. II. 404</i>	
Congal I. <i>King of Scotland,</i>		Cony <i>Isle,</i>	31
	184	Corbred I. <i>King of Scots,</i>	
Congal II. <i>enriches Priests,</i>	195		136
Congal III. <i></i>	209	Corbred II. <i>surnamed Galdus,</i>	
Constantine Chlorus <i>in Bri-</i>			137
<i>tain,</i>	157	<i>He first fought with the Ro-</i>	
<i>Chosen General by the Britons,</i>		<i>mans,</i>	139
	163	<i>And beat them out of Caledo-</i>	
<i>Made their King,</i>	180	<i>nia,</i>	140
<i>Slain by Vortigern,</i>	ib.	<i>See Sigruma,</i>	
Constantine, <i>the Emperor,</i>		Cornavii,	26
<i>born,</i>	157	<i>They are in Scotland and Eng-</i>	
Constantine I. <i>King of Scots,</i>		<i>land too,</i>	75
	183	Cornish <i>rise against Hen. VII.</i>	
<i>Reigns wickedly,</i>	ib.	<i>of England, Vol. II. 11</i>	
<i>His violent Death,</i>	184	Cornovallia, <i>or Cornuvallia,</i>	
Constantine II. <i></i>	219	<i>whence derived?</i>	75
<i>Renews publick Discipline,</i>	ib.	Corsthera <i>Isle,</i>	32
<i>Slain by the Picts,</i>	220	Covihaslop; <i>see Round Isle.</i>	
Constantine III. <i></i>	225	Council <i>of Constance send</i>	
<i>Makes a League with the</i>		<i>Embassadors to Scotland,</i>	
<i>Danes,</i>	ib.		425
<i>Invades the Subjects Right,</i>	226	<i>They deny Faith to be kept with</i>	
<i>Abjures the kingly Office,</i>	227	<i>those they call Hereticks,</i>	
<i>And retires into a Monastery,</i>	ib.	<i>Vol. II. 188</i>	
Constantine IV. <i>surnam'd Cal-</i>		Count <i>of Rothes committed to</i>	
<i>vus,</i>	248	<i>Prison,</i>	ib. 206
<i>Canvasses for the Crown,</i>	ib.	Coupins-Oy,	44
		Courtesy <i>to Prisoners,</i>	444
		Courts <i>many times prefer Ho-</i>	
		<i>nour before Honesty,</i>	424
		Cowper, <i>a Town,</i>	23
		Cra-	

AN ALPHABETICAL TABLE.

Page	Page
Cracoviac; see Kirkwal.	Cumbri and Cumri, 76
Craford (Earl of it) takes part with the Douglasses, Vol. II. 20	Cumins overthrows Gilespy, 302
But afterwards deserts them, ibid. 38	Cumins, their Faction power- ful, 303
And is received into Favour by the King, ibid. 38	Cumins (John) overthrown by Bruce, 330
Crackles (i. e.) little jangling Bells, terrify Horses, 390	Cumins (William) poisoned by his Wife, 305
Crathilinthus King of Scots, 155	Cuninghame, 17, 215
Much addicted to hunting, ibid.	Cuninghame's overcome by the Hamiltons, Vol. II. 185
Cratbilinthus kills his Grand- father, 243	Cup of St. Magnus; see Magnus.
He rises in Arms, but is sup- pressed, ibid.	Curia, a Parish Church, 32
Cree River, 17	Curry, a Merchant, an In- strument in surprizing E- dinburgh Castle, 380
Cressingham, an English Ge- neral, slain by the Scots, 323	Cutberctus, 203
Creighton sent Ambassador in- to France, Vol. II. 23	
Croke, the French Ambassa- dor, dislikes the Queen's Marriage with Bothwel, Vol. II. 335	
He mediates a Peace, ibid. 333	
Crowling Isle, 35	
Cruelty, an Example thereof, 456	
Culbrenin Isle, 31	
Culdees, a kind of Monks, 227	
Worshippers of God, ibid.	
Culen, King of Scots, an in- cessuous Person, 233	
He is slain by a Strumpet, 236	
Culrofs, whence so called? 215	
Cumbra Isles, the greater and the lesser, 30	
	D.
	Daal, what it signifies in old Scottish, 127
	Dalkeith, 16
	Dalreudini, why the Scots so called? 127
	Danes enter England, 88
	Invade Scotland, 220
	Fight a bloody Battle with the English, 225
	Turn Christians, ibid.
	Land in Scotland, 229
	Are overthrown, ibid.
	Danish Fleet lands again in Scotland, 240
	Stupified by an inebriating Drink, and overcome by the Scots, 264
	Swear never to return to in- vade Scotland any more, 265
	Dardanus, King of Scots, 136
	His

AN ALPHABETICAL TABLE.

	Page		Page
<i>His cruel Reign, and violent Death,</i>	ibid.	<i>Makes large Promises to Edward of England,</i>	375
<i>David I. King of Scots,</i>	281	<i>Follows the good Success of the English,</i>	ibid.
<i>Profuse towards Monasteries,</i>	282	<i>Left by the English King as Regent of Scotland, where his Army is overthrown, and he himself slain,</i>	376
<i>He erects new Bishopricks,</i>	ib.	<i>David, the Son of Robert III. imprisoned, and starved to Death by his Uncle, who was his Governor,</i>	419
<i>Makes two Accords with Stephen,</i>	284	<i>David Beton, the Cardinal,</i>	Vol. II. 174
<i>Accuses him of Perjury,</i>	ibid.	<i>Chosen Regent by a pretended Will, but, the Fraud being discover'd, he is displaced and imprison'd,</i>	ibid. 184
<i>Maintains the Cause of Maud, his Kinswoman, against Stephen of England.</i>	285	<i>He endeavours to avert the imminent Ruin of Popery,</i>	ibid. 186
<i>Henry, Heir of England, made Knight by him,</i>	ib.	<i>He chouses Lenox with vain Hopes of marrying the Queen</i>	ibid. 192
<i>Loses his hopeful Son, yet comforts himself and his Nobles, in a Christian Discourse thereupon,</i>	286	<i>He grieves to be deprived of a rich Morsel, which he had swallow'd in his Hopes,</i>	ib. 193
<i>His extraordinary Character for Piety and Virtue,</i>	287	<i>He is sharply reprov'd by Montgomery,</i>	ibid. 205
<i>David, King William's Brother, accompanies Richard, of England, to the Holy War,</i>	297	<i>His Cruelty against Protestants.</i>	ibid. 208
<i>He is Shipwreck'd, and taken Prisoner, yet at last returns,</i>	ibid.	<i>He espouses his Daughter to the Earl of Craford's Son,</i>	ibid. 212
<i>David II. anointed King of Scotland,</i>	359	<i>He is slain in his Castle, with the manner thereof,</i>	ibid. 214
<i>Sent into France, when he was a Child,</i>	364	<i>His foul Character,</i>	ibid. 212
<i>David Bruce returns to Scotland,</i>	382	<i>David Douglas, with his Brother William, beheaded,</i>	ib. 16
<i>Taken Prisoner in a Fight by the English,</i>	385	<i>David Hamilton, defends the Cause of the Gospel,</i>	ibid. 208
<i>Ransomed,</i>	387	<i>David</i>	
<i>His Death and Character,</i>	388		
<i>David Cumins, appointed Ruler over Scotland by the English,</i>	372		
<i>He and Douglas disagree,</i>	374		
<i>Forced to take an Oath to Bruce,</i>	ibid.		

AN ALPHABETICAL TABLE.

Page	Page
David Panater, or Painter, <i>Bishop of Ross, made an Abbat by the King of France,</i> ib. 231	Dionethus gives himself forth to be King of the Britons, 171
David Rizio, a Musician, his Story, ib. 300	Dona River, 23
He persuades the Queen to cut off the Scottish Nobility, ib. 307	Donachs, or Duncans, Bay, 26
His Court Preferments, Fa- miliarity with the Queen of Scots, violent Death and Burial, ib. 308, to 312	Donald I. King of Scots, 147
David Spence slain, ib. 441	He first received the Christian Religion, 148
David Straiton, or Straton, burnt for a Lutheran, ib. 170	Donald II. 154
Dee, a River in England, 16	Overtbrowen by Donald the Islander, and dies, ib.
Deidonum, i. e. Dundee, 23	Donald III. ib.
Deiri, Who? 200	Reigns Tyrannically, and is slain by Crathilinthus, 155
Delators, or Informers, ap- pointed by Evenus, 16	Donald IV. (or Donebald) sends Christian Doctors into England, and interprets pi- ous Sermons to the People, himself, 200
Denmark, the King thereof bargains with the Embassa- dor of Scotland to quit his Right to the Islands about Scotland, Vol. II. 71	Donald V. Brother of Ken- neth, 217
Deprivative Words shew the Affinity of a Language, 83	Reigns licentiously, and is put in Prison, 219
Deffius, General of the French Forces in Scotland, Vol. II. 223	Donald VI. Son of Constan- tine II. 224
Called Home by the King of France, ib. 227	Donald VII. or Duncan, 261
Deucaledonian Sea, What? 25	Slain by Macbeth, 266
Diana's Oracle counterfeited by a Monk, 55, 56	Donald murders King Duf- fus, 232
Dicaledones, rather to be read Duncaledones, in Marcel- linus, 70	Taken and executed, 234
Dioclesian, a supposed King of Syria, 52	Donald Bape calls himself King of the Æbudæ, 206
	He is slain, ibid.
	Donald VIII. or Banus, 278
	He promises the Islands to Magnus, King of Norway, ibid.
	Donald of Athol, 194
	Donald Baloc overthrowes A- lexander, and Alan, Stuarts, 437
	He is taken in Ireland, and his Head

AN ALPHABETICAL TABLE.

	Page		Page
<i>Head is sent to the King</i>	438	Douglas (William) <i>pardoned</i>	382
Donald, <i>Lord of the Æbudæ,</i>		Douglas <i>breaks in upon the</i>	
<i>rises in Arms</i>	424	<i>English Army</i>	352
<i>With the Earl of Ross and</i>		Douglasses <i>their Power into-</i>	
<i>Douglas; he fights with</i>		<i>lerable</i>	351
<i>the King's Forces</i>	ib.	Drinach <i>Isle</i>	31
<i>He is left by his Wife</i>	Vol. II. 41	Drix	75
<i>Sends Agents to make his Peace</i>		Druides, <i>who?</i>	70
<i>with the King</i>	ib. 42	Drumalbin	21
<i>After the King's Death, he</i>		Drummilaw <i>Sands</i>	265
<i>plays Rex again</i>	ib. 62	Drunkennes <i>punished with</i>	
<i>He takes the Earl of Athol</i>		<i>Death</i>	219
<i>Prisoner, and burns St.</i>		Druskins, <i>King of the Picts</i>	
<i>Bride's Church</i>	ib. 62	<i>and all his Nobles, slain</i>	213
<i>He is shipwrack'd, and falls</i>		Drury <i>interceeds for Peace be-</i>	
<i>distracted</i>	ib. 62	<i>tween the Parties in Scot-</i>	
Donald Monro <i>commended</i>		<i>land</i>	Vol. II. 434
	28	Duffa, <i>or Dow Isle</i>	31
<i>He travelled over the Islands</i>		Duffus, <i>King of Scots</i>	230
<i>of Scotland, and described</i>		<i>Witchcraft practised upon his</i>	
<i>them</i>	38	<i>Body</i>	231
Dongal, <i>King of Scots</i>	209	<i>He is slain</i>	232
<i>He is drowned</i>	ib.	Dugal Stuart, <i>a Prodigy of him</i>	
Dongard, <i>King of Scots</i>		<i>and others</i>	Vol. II. 325
	182	Dukes, <i>when the Name first</i>	
<i>Opposes the Pelagian Heresy</i>		<i>brought into Scotland</i>	414
	ib.	Duke of York <i>overthrown</i>	
Dornadilla, <i>King of Scots</i>		<i>and slain by the Queen of</i>	
	124	<i>England</i>	Vol. II. 47
Dorstologus <i>slain</i>	209	Dulcitius <i>in Britain</i>	112
Dorus <i>flies for fear of Natha-</i>		Dunacus, <i>and Domnacus</i>	
<i>locus</i>	151		85
Dovallus <i>kills King Nothatus</i>		Dunbar, <i>whence so called?</i>	16
	124	<i>Its Siege raised</i>	378
<i>He himself is slain in Battel</i>		<i>Fortified by Alexander against</i>	
	126	<i>the King, but deserted by</i>	
Douglas <i>River</i>	18	<i>him</i>	Vol. II. 78
Douglas <i>Dale</i>	176	<i>Again possessed by him, and</i>	
Douglas <i>slain by the Moors</i>		<i>delivered to the English</i>	ib.
	366		85
Douglas (William) <i>takes</i>		<i>Retaken by the Scots</i>	ib. 87
Dundalk <i>in Ireland</i>	399	Dunbritton	25

Hh

The

AN ALPHABETICAL TABLE.

	Page		Page
<i>The Castle surrendered to Robert Bruce</i>	340	<i>Durftus made King of the Picts</i>	166
<i>Twice surprised, Vol. II.</i>	18	<i>Slain in Battel</i>	172
<i>Taken by the Queen</i>	ib. 289		
<i>Retaken by the Regent by Surprise, with the Manner how?</i>	ib. 419	E	
<i>Its Situation, and why so called</i>	ib. 416	E Anfred	260
<i>Duncaledon, rather than Deucaledon, to be read in Ptolemy</i>	70	<i>Eafdale Ifle</i>	31
<i>Duncan, King of Scots</i>	279	<i>Easter-Day, a Dispute about it, raised by Austin the Monk</i>	198
<i>He is slain</i>	ib.	<i>Eboracum, i. e. York, whence derived</i>	75
<i>Duncan, Earl of Mar, Regent</i>	361	<i>Ecclesiasticks, their Power over Kings</i>	300
<i>Slain in Battle</i>	356	<i>Their Avarice</i>	301
<i>Duncan Stuart, rising in Arms is suppressed</i>	411	<i>They are reformed by Constantine II. are superstitious</i>	219
<i>Dunchonel Ifle</i>	31	<i>Eder preserved by his Nurse</i>	132
<i>Dundee</i>	23	<i>Educated by Cadvallus</i>	ib.
<i>Dundeans, Enemies to the Gordons</i>	Vol. II. 446	<i>Created King of Scots</i>	134
<i>Dunedin, by the ancient Scots, now Edinburgh</i>	216	<i>Edgar, then in Scotland, demanded by William the Norman</i>	273
<i>Dungisby Head</i>	26	<i>Returns to England</i>	274
<i>See Betubium.</i>		<i>Made King of the Scots,</i>	279
<i>Duni pacis, what?</i>	18	<i>Builds Coldingham Abby</i>	280
<i>Dunkelden</i>	22	<i>Edinburgh (or Edinum) whence so called</i>	215
<i>Duno, or Dunum, Words so beginning or ending are the Names of Places</i>	81, &c.	<i>Its several Names</i>	216
<i>Dunoter</i>	23	<i>How seated</i>	Vol. II. 433
<i>Dunfinnan Hill and Castle</i>	268	<i>A Convention held at one end, when the Enemy had the Castle at the other</i>	ibid. 433
<i>Dunstafnage</i>	24	<i>Edinburghers would not admit the English Exiles, nor Hamilton, to enter their City,</i>	ib. 404
<i>Duodecemvirate in Scotland</i>	240	<i>Edmund, King of England, his Story</i>	287
<i>Dur, the Names of some Places derived therefrom</i>	82	<i>He</i>	
<i>Durftus, King of Scots</i>	129		
<i>He invites the Nobility to a Supper, and there treacherously kills them</i>	ib.		
<i>He is slain</i>	ib.		

AN ALPHABETICAL TABLE.

	Page		Page
<i>He gives Cumberland and Westmoreland to Malcolm King of Scots</i>	228	<i>himself King of England Vol. II.</i>	49
<i>Edward I. King of England, takes away all Scottish Monuments</i>	328	<i>Edward IV. of England, makes Peace with the Scots</i>	ib. 85
<i>Endeavours to bring Scotland under his Dominion</i>	316	<i>He dies</i>	ib. 87
<i>Overcomes the Scots, and forces them to swear Fealty to him</i>	328	<i>He laid the Foundation of Tyranny</i>	ib. 93
<i>Appoints Magistrates all over Scotland</i>	ib.	<i>Edward VI. of England, an hopeful Prince, his Death</i>	ib. 233
<i>Desires Margarite of Norway, Heiress of Scotland, a Wife for his Son, but she dies before her Marriage</i>	311	<i>Edward Bruce, called to be King in Ireland</i>	342
<i>Edward II. succeeding his Father in the Kingdom of England</i>	334	<i>Assists his Brother Robert,</i>	336
<i>Besieges Berwick, makes a Truce with the Scots, and retreats</i>	343	<i>Edward Baliol with a numerous Fleet in the Bay of Forth</i>	361
<i>Worsted in Scotland</i>	345	<i>He overcomes the Scots</i>	363
<i>Is cast into Prison by his Wife and his Son, and there put to a cruel Death</i>	346	<i>Enters on the Kingdom</i>	364
<i>Edward III. King of England, makes Peace with the Scots</i>	382	<i>Swears Fealty to the King of England</i>	366
<i>Baliol taken into his Protection</i>	366	<i>Education at Court, what?</i>	Vol. II. 288
<i>His Cruelty to Alexander Seaton's Children</i>	368	<i>Egfred, King of Northumberland, slain by the Picts,</i>	203
<i>Claims Berwick</i>	366	<i>Edwin, of Northumberland,</i>	200
<i>Hath three Kings his Prisoners at once</i>	387	<i>Eels taken in abundance</i>	17
<i>He overthrows the Scots</i>	369	<i>Egg Isle</i>	24
<i>Takes Berwick</i>	ib.	<i>See Rum.</i>	
<i>Enters Scotland once or twice, but retreats again,</i>	369, 372	<i>Eglifh, or Church Isle</i>	31
<i>His Death</i>	391	<i>Eglifa, or Eglifh-Oy Isle</i>	44
<i>Edward, Duke of York, calls</i>		<i>Elbeouf, Marquis of it, stays with the Queen in Scotland</i>	Vol. II. 280
		<i>Elgin, a Town.</i>	25
		<i>Eliot's Authority disallowed,</i>	5
		<i>Elizabeth, Queen of England, sends Aid to the Reformers of Religion in Scotland</i>	Vol. II. 266, 267

AN ALPHABETICAL TABLE.

	Page		Page
<i>Her grave Oration to the Embassador of the Queen of Scots</i>	Vol. II. 281, 282, 283, 284	<i>upon England</i>	Vol. II. 238
<i>She, in part, adopts the Cause of the Queen of Scots</i>	ibid. 365	<i>Embassadors from France and England to Scotland</i>	434
<i>Her Letters to the Regent to defer the Convention of the Estates</i>	ib. 365	<i>England divided by four Rivers</i>	15, 16
<i>Her other Letters to him, which break off the Course of his Victories</i>	ib. 366	<i>The King thereof the Pope's Feudatary</i>	299
<i>She is informed by the Regent, that the Cause of their Queen's deposing, was the Murder of her Husband</i>	ib. 371	<i>Its King makes Peace, or Truce, with the Scots</i>	317
<i>She sends Letters to the Nobles of Scotland, to receive their Queen again</i>	ibid. 386	<i>Enecus, General of the Danes</i>	253
<i>Their Answer to her Letters,</i>	ib. 389	<i>Slain by the Scots</i>	255
<i>Howard's Conspiracy against her detected</i>	ib. 390	<i>Enemies not to be undervalued</i>	284
<i>She demands the English Fugitives to be given up to her by the Scots</i>	ib. 410	<i>Their sudden Liberality to be suspected</i>	Vol. II. 148
<i>She is made Arbiter between the Parties in Scotland</i>	ib. 414	<i>English, how said to rule over all Britain</i>	227
<i>Some of her Council would have King James sent into England</i>	ib. 432	<i>Incommoded in their March in Scotland</i>	350
<i>Which the Scots refuse to do</i>	ib. 438	<i>Their Army worsted</i>	343
<i>She favours the King's Cause most, yet is (politickly) slow in her Aid</i>	ib. 446	<i>Regain a great Part of Scotland</i>	385
<i>Ella, an English King</i>	217	<i>Drawn into an Ambush</i>	386
<i>Embassadors from France desire the Scots to make War</i>		<i>Their Army of 60000 Men</i>	374
		<i>Driven out of all Scotland, except Berwick</i>	381
		<i>English Soldiers less rapacious than the French</i>	398
		<i>Worsted in Scotland</i>	Vol. II. 42
		<i>Overthrown by the Scots</i>	ib. 27
		<i>Ask Aid of the Scots against their own King</i>	ib. 43
		<i>English, their Horses frighten'd in Scotland</i>	ib. 145
		<i>Make War on Scotland</i>	ibid. 167
		<i>Enter Scotland again</i>	ibid. 199
		<i>Are</i>	

AN ALPHABETICAL TABLE.

	Page		Page
<i>Are worsted</i>	ib. 203	<i>Ethodius II. rules by his De-</i>	
<i>Again enter</i>	ib. 217	<i>puties</i>	150
<i>And gave the Regent a great</i>		<i>Is slain</i>	ib.
<i>Overthrow</i>	ib. 220	<i>Ethus, King of Scots</i>	221
<i>Enter Scotland again</i>	ibid.	<i>Eu Island</i>	48
	222	<i>Eubonia, or Man Isle</i>	29
<i>And prevail against James</i>			196
<i>Douglas</i>	ib. 222	<i>Evenus I. King of Scots</i>	160
<i>English Fleet attempts the Or-</i>		<i>Aids the Picts against the Bri-</i>	
<i>cades</i>	ib. 243	<i>tons</i>	ib.
<i>Send Aid to the Reformers in</i>		<i>The first that required an</i>	
<i>Scotland</i>	ib. 266	<i>Oath of Allegiance of his</i>	
<i>Assist the Vindicators of King</i>		<i>Subjects</i>	ib.
<i>and Regent's Murderers,</i>		<i>First settles Itinerary Judges</i>	
<i>against the Queen's Faction</i>	ib. 408, to 410	<i>in Scotland</i>	ib.
<i>Their Queen Elizabeth de-</i>		<i>Evenus II.</i>	133
<i>signed to be destroyed, and</i>		<i>Overthrows the Orkney Men</i>	ib.
<i>the King of Scots, too</i>	ib.		
	438	<i>Evenus III. noted for Obsceni-</i>	
<i>Enner, what it signifies</i>	133	<i>ty</i>	134
<i>Ennerness, a Mari-Town</i>	134	<i>He makes a Law for Polyga-</i>	
<i>Eorfa Isle</i>	33	<i>my</i>	135
<i>Eoy Isle</i>	36	<i>Is slain</i>	ib.
<i>Ericæan, or Heath Isle</i>	ib.	<i>Eugenius I. or Evenus, King</i>	
<i>Erisbach Isle; see Abridic</i>	31	<i>of Scots</i>	160
<i>Eriscaia, or Erisfy Isle</i>	37	<i>Slain by the Romans</i>	161
<i>Erin Isle</i>	ib.	<i>Evenus, an Islander, put to</i>	
<i>Erra Isle</i>	32	<i>Death</i>	220
<i>Esk River</i>	16	<i>Eugenius II.</i>	173
<i>South and North</i>	23	<i>His Character</i>	181
<i>Thence the Country called</i>		<i>In his Time the Romans leave</i>	
<i>Eskdale</i>	16	<i>Britain</i>	174
<i>Ethin, King of Scots</i>	205	<i>Eugenius III. Brother of Cong-</i>	
<i>Ethelfrid, King of Northum-</i>		<i>gal, King of Scots</i>	194
<i>berland</i>	197	<i>Assists against the Saxons</i>	
<i>Routs the Scots</i>	198		ib.
<i>Marches into Galway</i>	ib.	<i>Eugenius IV. Brother of Ai-</i>	
<i>Ethodius I. King of Scots,</i>		<i>danus</i>	199
<i>makes Laws about Hunting</i>	146	<i>Brought up under Columb</i>	
<i>Overcomes the Islanders</i>	147		ib.
<i>Slain by Night in his Bed-</i>		<i>He Harbours the fugitive Sax-</i>	
<i>chamber, by his Harper</i>		<i>ons</i>	ib.
	ibid.	<i>Eugenius V.</i>	202
		<i>H h 3</i>	Eugenius

AN ALPHABETICAL TABLE.

	Page		Page
Eugenius VI.	203	Fenella commands Kenneth to	247
<i>Learned in Theology</i>	ib.	<i>be slain</i>	247
<i>In his Time it rained Blood</i>	ib.	Feraia Isle	36
Eugenius VII. causes the me-		Ferchard I. King of Scots	199
memorable Facts of Kings to be		<i>Endeavours to introduce Ty-</i>	ib.
<i>recorded</i>	204	<i>ranny</i>	ib.
<i>He is suspected for the Murder</i>		<i>Maliciously nourisheth Facti-</i>	
<i>of his Queen, but causlessly</i>	ib.	<i>ons amongst his Nobles, and</i>	
Eugenius VIII. slain in an As-		<i>is guilty of Pelagian Here-</i>	200
<i>sembly of the Nobles</i>	205	<i>sy</i>	ib.
Evonia Castle	24	<i>He kills himself</i>	ib.
Eusdale Country so called from		Ferchard II. wickedly kills his	
<i>the River Ewes</i>	16	<i>Wife, and abuseth his</i>	
Examples of Princes more in-		<i>Daughters</i>	201
<i>fluent in on Subjects than</i>		<i>He is excommunicated, re-</i>	
<i>their Laws</i>	195	<i>proved by Coleman, and</i>	ib.
Exchequer Profits, sometimes		<i>repents at his Death</i>	ib.
<i>Disprofits</i>	43	Feredeth, King of the Picts	209
Excommunication, unjustly		Ferelay Island	37
<i>pronounced, affects not the</i>		Fergus I. King of Scots, sent	
<i>excommunicated</i>	345	<i>for out of Ireland</i>	119
Exile more tolerable than Ser-		<i>The Kingdom settled on him</i>	ib.
<i>vitude..</i>	168	<i>by common Consent</i>	ib.
		<i>Drowned at Carickfergus in</i>	

F

F Abilla, or Fable, *Isle* 37
Fair, or Fara, *Isle* 44
Faith, or Fidelizy, towards
wicked Persons unsteadfast
137
Not to be kept with Hereticks,
as Papists say Vol. II. 188
Falamgal *Isle*; see Finlagan.
Falcons in the *Isle* of Muick
34
Famine breaks stout Spirits
176
Famine and Pestilence in
Scotland Vol. II. 37
Fara *Isle* 36
Farrow-head 26
Faunus's Oracle 55

AN ALPHABETICAL TABLE.

Page	Page
Fergus of Galway's Children disagree after his Death,	Flattery, the Pest of great Fa- milies Vol. II. 7
312	Flavanæ Isles 37
Feritharis, King of Scots	Fleanchus 267
122	Forestia 23
An old Law concerning Suc- cession to the Crown, made in his Time ib.	Forth, or Scottish Sea 16
Ferlegus, Son of Fergus, con- spires against his Uncle, for which he is condemned 123	Forthadus reconciles King Gri- mus and Malcolm 251
Fethelmach, King of Scots	Fotlar Isle 45
169	Francs, Who? 57
Fidler, or Harper, one kills King Ethodius I. 147	Francis I. King of France, by the help of the King of England, restored to Liber- ty out of the Hands of the Spaniards Vol. II. 170
Another assists to destroy Fe- thelmach 160	He sends the Earl of Len- nox into Scotland ib. 189
Fifteen Judges appointed in Scotland, but soon disused Vol. II. 166	Is alienated from Lennox ib. 196
Fife County 22	Sends Montgomery into Scot- land ib. 214
So called from Fifus 215	Francis II. of France, sends La'brofs into Scotland ib.
Fights memorable between Scots and English, viz.	258
At Bannock 337	He is influenc'd by, and is un- der the Power of the Guises ib. 275
At Otterborn, vid. Otterborn	His Death ib. 275
Fish shapeless 36	Francis, Duke of Guise, Cu- rator of the Kingdom of Scotland ib. 232
A strange sort ib.	Appointed General of the Po- pish Faction ib. 302
Fincormachus, King of Scots	Franciscans, or begging Friars, their Wealth ib. 249
157	France, its miserable State ib. 275
Findochus, King of Scots	Its King Francis promises to aid the Scots of the Queen's Faction ib. 405
152	And the Scots Rebels ib. 437,
Overcomes Donald ib.	438
Is slain by means of his Brother Carauus 153	Upon what Grounds he did it ib. 438
Finelaw, or Finlaw, Bishop, Author of ill Counsels 433	
Finlagan Isle 31	
Finnanus, King of Scots 128	
Fiole Isle 31	
Flada Isle 30, 35, &c.	
Flanders, Artificers sent for from thence into Scotland	
442	
Flata Island 44	

AN ALPHABETICAL TABLE.

	Page		Page
<i>Frazer's Family almost extinct</i>	ib. 203	<i>They are disgusted by the Scots</i>	Vol. II. 227
<i>Frederethus slain</i>	210	<i>French and English in Scotland agree</i>	ib. 228
<i>Friend betrays Friend</i>	424	<i>French transported into their own Country</i>	ib. 228
<i>Their Injuries the most grievous</i>	399	<i>French King sends Auxiliaries to strengthen the Regent</i>	ib. 258
<i>Friendship with Princes far off, sometimes safer than with those nearer home</i>	Vol. II. 148	<i>French Embassadors Demands from the Reformed</i>	ibid. 259
<i>French, Gauls, Francs, their Original</i>	58	<i>French their contumelious Pride against some of the Scots</i>	ib. 259
<i>They receive Characters of Letters from the Massilian Greeks</i>		<i>Their Design to establish Tyranny</i>	Vol. II. 272
<i>Their Communion with the Britons</i>	76	<i>French Embassador busy between the Queen and the Royalists</i>	ib. 360
<i>When French and Scots Alliance first began</i>	208	<i>Upon the Queen's Overthrow he sculks away</i>	ib. 364
<i>They send Aid to the Scots</i>	395	<i>French to leave Scotland by Consent</i>	ib. 274
<i>Their Soldiers very licentious,</i>	398	<i>French Ship sent with Provision and Ammunition into Scotland, taken by the Royalists</i>	ib. 437
<i>Their Army leaves Scotland</i>	401	<i>French Tongue heretofore not much different from the British</i>	73
<i>Their unjust Demand</i>	397	<i>Friars Mendicants Mercenaries to Parish Priests and Curates</i>	Vol. II. 454
<i>What good the Scots got by their Alliance</i>	409	<i>Their Opinions; and why Manducants rather than Mendicants</i>	ib. 250
<i>Their King distracted</i>	425	<i>Fuda Isle</i>	36
<i>They ask Aid of the Scots</i>	ib.		
<i>They renew their League with the Scots</i>	328		
<i>French and Scots Soldiers mutiny</i>	Vol. II. 226		
<i>Their Auxiliaries in Scotland cannot forbear their wonted Plundering</i>	ib. 267		
<i>Their Soldiers kill the Governor of Edinburgh, with some of the Citizens</i>	ibid. 226		
<i>They design to surprise Haddington</i>	ib. 226		

G

G A Letter commonly used by the French for V. 75
Gaga

AN ALPHABETICAL TABLE.

	Page		Page
Gaga Isle	30	Geldrians come to help the	
Gaid, Gael, Galle	71	English against the Scots	375
Galdus, the Sirname of Cor-		Geloni, painted their Bodies	67
bred, what it signifies	137	Genistery, or Broom Isle	31
Galeatus Sforza slain by his		George Buchanan, imprisoned	
Uncle	Vol. II. 376	for Religion, escapes out of	
Gallovid, in old Scottish signi-		his Chamber-window whilst	
fies a Gaul	17, 76	his Keepers were asleep	
Galo, Cardinal, the Pope's		Vol. II. 176	
Legate in England	300	He is sent in Embassy, with	
He excommunicates the Scots		others, into England	ib.
ib.			367
A wicked and avaritious Man	301	George, Brother to the Earl	
Galvinus, Son of Lothus	190	of Douglas, made Earl of	
Galway, why so called	17, 76	Ormond	ib. 24
Garalinga Isle	36	Commands the Forces against	
Garnard, King of the Picts		England	ib. 26
	204	Extolled for his Victory over	
Garvæ Isles, three	31	them	ib. 27
Garvillan Isles	37	Declared a publick Enemy	ib.
Gavin Isle	31		37
Gauls sent Colonies into Spain		Beheaded	ib. 40
	61	George Douglas, Earl of An-	
Into Italy	ib.	gus	ib. 19
Into Germany	62	His memorable Fact	ib. 50
Into Britain	63	He is against the Queen Mo-	
Into Ireland	ib.	ther	ib. 51
Gathelus, a Prince, feigned by		His bold and unworthy Speech	
some to be the Founder of the		to the King	ib. 155
Scots Nation	60	George Douglas, the Regent's	
Gawin Dunbar, the King's		youngest Brother	ibid.
Tutor, made Chancellor			359
Vol. II. 160		Delivers the Queen out of Pri-	
Gawin Douglas called Arch-		son	ib. 360
bishop of St. Andrews	ib.	George Dunbar, Earl of	
	129	Merch, espouses his Daugh-	
Committed to Prison	ibid.	ter to David, K. Robert's	
	290	Son	415
Genrach Isle	31	Which Marriage not taking ef-	
Geoffry of Monmouth, a		fect, he joins with Piercy of	
Writer of British Affairs		England against the Scots	
	10, 93	ib.	
		Pro-	

AN ALPHABETICAL TABLE.

	Page		Page
<i>Proclaimed a publick Enemy</i>	415	<i>portment before, and at, his Martyrdom</i>	ib. 209, 210, 211
<i>Piercy and he overthrow the Scots</i>	390	<i>Gerlock Isle</i>	35
<i>Takes Douglas Prisoner in Fight</i>	417	<i>See Loch-Ger.</i>	
<i>Joins with Piercy against the King of England, is wounded, and taken Prisoner</i>	419	<i>Gerfa, or Gress-Oy Isle</i>	44
<i>Being reconciled to the Regent, returns into Scotland</i>	423	<i>Gernich, or Gaxnico</i>	26
<i>George Gordon sent with an Army against England</i>	Vol. II. 179	<i>Germany, whence so called</i>	53
<i>The King's Hatred against him</i>	ib. 180	<i>Germans, their fabulous Original</i>	67
<i>Accused and imprisoned</i>	ibid. 235	<i>Ingenious in relating the Origin of their Nation</i>	48
<i>Released</i>	ib. 235	<i>German Navy lands on the Coast of Scotland</i>	119
<i>Studies to raise Commotions</i>	ib. 289	<i>Gessóriaci, i. e. People living about Calais</i>	12
<i>Privy to the Conspiracy against Murray</i>	ib. 294	<i>Getes painted their Bodies</i>	67
<i>Condemned for Treason</i>	ib. 299	<i>Gethus, King of the Picts</i>	126
<i>Restored by the Queen to his former Dignity</i>	ib. 301	<i>Slain</i>	ib.
<i>Chief of the Queen's Faction</i>	ib. 348	<i>Getini, and Getæ, whence?</i>	67
<i>George Lesly, Earl of Rhodes, sent Ambassador into France,</i>	ib. 241	<i>Geurafdil Isle</i>	31
<i>There poison'd, as 'twas believed</i>	ib. 242	<i>Gigaia, or Gega Isle</i>	ib.
<i>George Ruven slain</i>	ibid. 440	<i>Gigamena Isle</i>	35
<i>George Wiseheart, Preacher of the Gospel</i>	ib. 207	<i>Giles, Tutelary God of Edinburgh, his Shew affronted</i>	Vol. II. 244
<i>Persecuted by Cardinal Beton, against the Regent's Mind</i>	ib. 209	<i>Gilbert Kennedy slain by the Command of James Douglas</i>	ib. 163
<i>Foretels the Death of Cardinal Beton</i>	ib. 211	<i>A Man of a great Spirit</i>	ib. 163
<i>His Pious and Christian De-</i>		<i>Gilbert Kennedy's Constancy in keeping his Word</i>	ib. 189
		<i>Gilbert Kennedy, Earl of Ca-</i>	ib. 241
		<i>sils, sent Ambassador into France</i>	ib. 241
		<i>He dies there, not without the Suspicion of Poison</i>	ibid. 242
		<i>Gilbert, his Son, chosen Judge in Bothwel's Case, but excuses</i>	

AN ALPHABETICAL TABLE.

	Page		Page
<i>cuses himself</i> Vol. II.	329	<i>Flies into Ireland</i>	131
<i>Gilchrist kills his Wife, the</i>		<i>Slain by Cadvallus</i>	132
<i>King's Sister, for her Adul-</i>		<i>Glasgow</i>	17
<i>tery</i>	295	<i>The Bishop thereof frightened</i>	
<i>King William's General</i>	294	<i>by a Voice from Heaven</i>	
<i>Banished, but received again</i>			Vol. II. 23
<i>into Favour</i>	296	<i>Glass Isle</i>	34
<i>Gilcolumb slain</i>	206	<i>Glotta River, i. e. Clyde</i>	18
<i>Gildas quoted concerning Bri-</i>		<i>Glottiana ; see Clydsdale.</i>	
<i>tain</i>	48	<i>Goat Isle</i>	30
<i>He wrote four hundred Tears</i>		<i>God's Favour attends the</i>	
<i>after Tacitus</i>	ib.	<i>Good</i>	269
<i>Favoured by Aurelius Ambro-</i>		<i>Gomedra Isle</i>	33
<i>fius</i>	186	<i>Goran, King of Scots</i>	186
<i>A good Man, and died at</i>		<i>Persuades the Kings of the</i>	
<i>Glastenbury in Somerset-</i>		<i>Picts and Britons to join</i>	
<i>shire ; the Prophecies that</i>		<i>with the Scots against the</i>	
<i>go under his Name, not ge-</i>		<i>Saxons</i>	ib.
<i>nuine</i>	ib.	<i>He is treacherously slain by his</i>	
<i>Gildominick, and the Murray</i>		<i>Subjects</i>	194
<i>Men, suppress'd</i>	291	<i>His Wife and Children fly in-</i>	
<i>Gilespy Cambel, an Actor in</i>		<i>to Ireland</i>	ib.
<i>the Reformation</i> Vol. II.		<i>But are recall'd by Congal II.</i>	
	251		195
<i>Recall'd by threatening Letters,</i>		<i>Gordons at Fend with the</i>	
<i>by the Queen Regent</i>	ib.	<i>Forbes's</i> Vol. II.	444
	252	<i>Gordon an Enemy to Murray</i>	
<i>Gilespy, Earl of Argyle, ba-</i>		<i>ib.</i>	289
<i>nished</i>	ib. 304	<i>He labours to destroy him</i>	ib.
<i>His Levity</i>	ib. 360		291
<i>Privy to the Queen's Wicked-</i>		<i>His Design against him, at one</i>	
<i>ness</i>	ib. 258	<i>time, wonderfully prevented</i>	
<i>General of her Army</i>	ibid.		ib. 295
	362	<i>Gordon's bold Attempt against</i>	
<i>Refuses to own himself a Sub-</i>		<i>the Queen herself</i>	ibid.
<i>ject to the King</i>	ib. 334		296
<i>The Regent receives him into</i>		<i>Gorlois wickedly slain by U-</i>	
<i>Favour, and he is in great</i>		<i>ter</i>	206
<i>Authority</i>	ib. 381	<i>Goropius reproved</i>	12
<i>Gillan Isle</i>	37	<i>Goths, Who ?</i>	31
<i>Gillo, Commander of the ex-</i>		<i>Gothunni, and Gothini, who ?</i>	
<i>iled Scots</i>	163		67
<i>Gillus, the Bastard, King of</i>		<i>Grafton censured</i>	319
<i>Scots</i>	131	<i>Graham, or Grame</i>	171

Ap.

AN ALPHABETICAL TABLE.

<i>Appointed Tutor to Eugenius</i>	Page 173	<i>culiar, for their Family</i>	P.
<i>Recalls Christian Pastors into Scotland</i>	176	<i>They seek to destroy James Earl of Murray, as an Enemy to Popery</i>	ib.
<i>Grampian Hills, or Mountains</i>	20	<i>Gun Isle</i>	
<i>Gramry Isle</i>	31	<i>Guns, i. e. Great Ordnance Iron, when first began to be used in Scotland</i>	Vol.
<i>Granisa Isle</i>	44		
<i>Gray bath the chief Command in Scotland against the French</i>	Vol. II. 270	H	
<i>Gregory, King of Scots, his famous Achievements against the Picts, Danes and Britons</i>	221	<i>Haddington Deserted by the English</i>	Vol. II. 22
<i>He takes several Cities in Ireland</i>	224	<i>Hago, a Danish Admiral</i>	229
<i>Green Isle</i>	31, 34	<i>Haie, or Hea Isle</i>	37
<i>Grevan River</i>	18	<i>Hakerset Isle</i>	36
<i>Griar Isle</i>	37	<i>Hamiltons, the Original of their Family</i>	346
<i>Griffin slain in Fight</i>	197	<i>Hamilton leaves the Party of the Douglasses</i>	Vol. II. 40
<i>Grime, King of Scotland</i>	250	<i>Hamiltonians willing to free the Queen out of Prison</i>	ib. 358
<i>Makes an Agreement with Malcolm</i>	251	<i>Overthrown in Battle, and some of them taken Prisoners</i>	ib. 364
<i>Which he afterwards breaks, is overthrown, and made Prisoner</i>	252	<i>They meet at Edinburgh in behalf of Queen Mary</i>	ibid. 404
<i>And dies</i>	253	<i>Hara Isle</i>	45
<i>Groom in a Stable, his bold Attempt on James Hamilton, in Revenge of his Master's Death</i>	Vol. II. 157, 158	<i>Harald, Earl of Caithness, punished for his Cruelty</i>	297
<i>For which he is put to Death</i>	ib. 157	<i>Haraya, or Harray Isle</i>	38
<i>Gruinorta Isle</i>	38	<i>Harpers, of old, used to lie in the Bedchamber of the King and of the Nobles, in Scotland</i>	147
<i>Guidi</i>	19	<i>Harrick Isle</i>	37
<i>Guises, their Desire to hasten the Marriage of Mary with the Dauphin</i>	Vol. II. 241		
<i>Their over-great Power suspected</i>	ib. 241		
<i>They design Scotland, as a Pa-</i>			

AN ALPHABETICAL TABLE.

	Page		Page
Havatere, or Havere Isle	37	His Death	425
Havelschire Isle	36	Succeeded by Henry V.	ib.
Haura Isles, the Great and the Less	38	Henry V. takes James I. King of Scots, with him into France	428
Hay, and his two Sons, fight for their Country	241	Henry VI. undervalues the Nobility, and advances Upstarts	Vol. II. 43
Hath a Coat of Arms assigned to his Family	242	A Conspiracy against him by the Nobles of England	ib.
The Name almost extinguished	363		43
Heath Isle	31	He is taken by the Duke of York, and brought to London	ib. 48
Heath, its Nature	29	He flies into Scotland	ibid.
Good to make Beds to lie on	ib.		49
Hebrides Isles; see Æbudæ	27	Joins Battel with Edward IV. and is overcome	ib. 50
Hector Boetius blamed	15, 248	Returns privately to England, and is taken	ib. 51
Mistaken	66	Henry VII. succeeds Richard III. who was slain in Battel	ib. 88
Compared with Lud	91	He denounces War against France	ib. 113
Helena, Mother of Constantine	157	Desires to make a perpetual League with the Scots	ib. 89
Hellifay Isle	36	Marries his Daughter Margarite to James IV.	ibid. 111
Helschar vetularum Isle	ib.	War denounced against him by James, as he was besieging Tournay	ib. 118
Helricus, a Danish Admiral,	229	His Magnanimous and Kingly Answer to the Heralds	ib. 119
Hengist, Captain of Pirates, bath Lands given to him in Britain, by Vortigern	Vol. II. 195	He eases the Commonalty of some old Burdens	88
Henry I. of England, never laughed after the drowning of most of his Children	286	Henry VIII. desired the exiled Douglasses may be restored	Vol. II. 167
He settles the Succession on his Daughter Maud	ib.	By the French Ambassador he desires a Peace with the Scots,	
Henry II. Son of Stephen, King of England, seeks Occasion for a War against Scotland	288		
Malcolm of Scotland acknowledges himself his Feudatary	290		
Henry IV. of England	415		

AN ALPHABETICAL TABLE.

	Page		Page
Scots	Vol. II. 168	<i>He withdraws from Court</i>	ib.
<i>He sends Controversal Books of Divinity to James V.</i>	ib. 171	<i>Is poisoned, but overcomes it by the Strength of his Youth</i>	318
<i>Complains the Scots had violated the Law of Nations, Wars upon them, takes Leigh, and burns Edinburgh</i>	ib. 195	<i>A Design to destroy him</i>	ib. 318, 319
<i>His forces are worsted</i>	ibid. 203	<i>Is actually murdered</i>	ibid. 321, 322
<i>His General persuades the Scots to Peace</i>	ib. 218	<i>Heralds slain against the Law of Arms</i>	ib. 306
<i>Gives the Scots a great Overthrow</i>	ib. 222	<i>Hergustus, King of the Picts</i>	160, 165
<i>Henry of France sends some German Foot into Scotland</i>	ib. 223	<i>Hepburn (John) insinuates himself into the new Regent</i>	Vol. II. 185
<i>He displaces the Regent by Subtilty</i>	ib. 231	<i>Heris hanged by James Douglas</i>	ib. 33
<i>Henry Piercy invades Scotland</i>	390	<i>Hermödra Isle</i>	37
<i>His Horse affrighted with rattling Instruments</i>	ib.	<i>Herodian quoted</i>	66
<i>His Duel with James Douglas</i>	417	<i>Heruli, who?</i>	124
<i>Henry Piercy the younger, overthrows the Scots at Homeldon</i>	403	<i>Hethland Isles; see Schetland.</i>	
<i>Conspires against his own King</i>	419	<i>Hirta Isle</i>	37
<i>Henry Stuart comes out of England into Scotland</i>	Vol. II. 299	<i>Hoia Promontory</i>	26
<i>Made Duke of Rothsay, and Earl of Ross, by the Queen of Scots</i>	ib. 303	<i>Hollanders Fleet spoiled by Alexander Earl of Mar</i>	445
<i>At which many of the Nobles are disgusted</i>	ib. 304	<i>Holland Horse sent for over into England</i>	348
<i>He marries the Queen</i>	ibid. 304	<i>Holms, i. e. Plains full of Grass</i>	44
<i>Strangely disrespected at the Baptism of his own Son</i>	ib. 318	<i>Honnega Isle</i>	45
		<i>Horestia</i>	23
		<i>Parted between two Brothers</i>	215
		<i>Hugh Kennedy, his courageous Answer</i>	Vol. II. 156
		<i>Huilin Isle</i>	37
		<i>Hulmena</i>	38
		<i>Humber River</i>	16
		<i>Humble Isle, or Ishol</i>	297
		<i>Hume Castle surrendered to the English</i>	Vol. II. 408

Hungus,

AN ALPHABETICAL TABLE.

	Page		Page
Hungus, the Piſt, fights proſperouſly againſt Athelſtan	208	James II. King of Scots	Vol. II. 2
<i>He prays to God, and is encouraged by a Viſion</i>	ib.	<i>Carried out of the Caſtle of Edinburgh, in a Cheſt, by his Mother</i>	ib. 4
<i>He offers Tythes to St. Andrew</i>	ib.	<i>Taken again by the Chancellor, and brought to Edinburgh</i>	ib. 9
<i>His Death</i>	209	<i>Enters on the Government</i>	ib. 17
<i>Hunting Laws made by King Dornadilla</i>	124	<i>Marries Mary, Daughter to the Duke of Guelderland</i>	ib. 28
<i>And by King Ethodius</i>	147	<i>He kills William Douglas</i>	ib. 35
<i>Huntly overthrown by James Earl of Murray, taken and pardoned</i>	Vol. II. 20	<i>Marches to aſſiſt the Engliſh Nobles</i>	ib. 43
<i>Hypoconſtical, i. e. Diminutive</i>	8	<i>Deceived by a counterfeit Embaſſador from Rome, ſuborned by the Engliſh</i>	ibid. 44
I			
JAMES I. Son of Robert III. ſailing for France, is taken by the Engliſh	421	<i>Takes Roxburgh Town</i>	ib. 44
<i>Where he is educated and married</i>	422, 431	<i>His caſual Death in his Camp,</i>	ib. 45
<i>His Return to Scotland, upon a Ransom</i>	ib.	<i>His Queen encourages the Soldiers, and takes Roxburgh Caſtle</i>	ib. 45
<i>Crowned King</i>	ib.	<i>His Character</i>	ib. 46
<i>Renews a League with France</i>	434	<i>James III. begins his Reign at ſeven Years old</i>	ib. 47
<i>Puniſhes the Captains of Thieves</i>	438	<i>Six Regents of the Kingdom in his Minority</i>	ib. 61
<i>Twins born to him</i>	439	<i>His Mother's Death</i>	ib. 61
<i>He rectifies Weights and Meaſures</i>	ib.	<i>In his Time a Truce made with England for five Years</i>	ib. 61
<i>Reforms the Eccleſiaſtical Eſtate, and erects publick Schools</i>	440	<i>Marries Margarite, the King of Denmark's Daughter</i>	ib. 71
<i>Invites Tradeſmen from beyond the Seas</i>	442	<i>His Death foretold</i>	ib. 77
<i>Perfidiousneſs imputed to him, answer'd</i>	443, 444	<i>He degenerates into Tyranny</i>	ib. 77
<i>Is cruelly murdered</i>	454		
<i>His Character</i>	455		Ad-

AN ALPHABETICAL TABLE.

	Page		Page
<i>Addicts himself to evil Counsellors</i>	Vol. II. 77	<i>He and his Mother in the Power of the Douglasses</i>	ib. 151
<i>The Nobles arm against him</i>	ib. 91	<i>He frees himself from them</i>	ib. 159
<i>Is slain by them in Fight</i>	93	<i>He is an Enemy to their Faction</i>	ib. 156
<i>His Character</i>	ib. 93	<i>Inclinable to a French Alliance</i>	ib. 174
<i>James IV.</i>	ib. 95	<i>Three Maries offered to him</i>	ib. 170
<i>Chosen General by the Nobles against his Father</i>	ib. 91	<i>Treats with the Emperor about a Match</i>	ib. 169
<i>His first Parliament, which justifies taking Arms against his Father</i>	ib. 101	<i>Visits the Orcades</i>	ib. 170
<i>His Clemency and sorrowful Resentment for his Father's Death</i>	ib. 102	<i>And other Isles of Scotland</i>	ib. 170
<i>He leads an Army into England</i>	ib. 106	<i>Receives Controversal Books of Divinity from Henry of England</i>	ib. 171
<i>Marries Margarine, Henry VII. of England's Daughter</i>	ib. 111	<i>Agrees to an Interview with Henry, which is disappointed</i>	ib. 172
<i>Builds a vast Ship, and is profuse in other Buildings</i>	ib. 111	<i>Sails to France, and marries Magdalen, Daughter to their King Francis, who soon dies</i>	ib. 174
<i>Resolves to go to Jerusalem, but prevented</i>	ibid. 112,	<i>He accuses his Nobility as Dastards</i>	ib. 180
<i>Sends Forman into England, to pick a Quarrel</i>	ib. 113	<i>He marries Mary of the House of Guise</i>	ib. 176
<i>Denounces War against England</i>	ib. 118	<i>His presaging Dream</i>	ib. 179
<i>Resolute in his Opinion</i>	ibid. 121	<i>He dies with Grief for the Loss of his Army</i>	ib. 181
<i>Fights with the English at Flodden, where he is overthrown and slain</i>	ib. 125	<i>His Character</i>	ib. 181,
<i>Doubtful Reports concerning his Death</i>	ib. 125		182
<i>Some Aspersions cast upon him, endeavoured to be wiped off</i>	ib. 126	<i>James VI. his Birth</i>	ib. 314
<i>His Character</i>	ib. 127	<i>His Mother endeavours to get him under the Power of Bothwel</i>	ib. 343
<i>James V.</i>	ib. 128	<i>Enters on the Government</i>	ib. 353
<i>Enters upon the Government</i>	ib. 150	<i>James Abernethy, a skilful Physician</i>	318
		<i>James, Earl of Arran, Son to James, returning from France,</i>	

AN ALPHABETICAL TABLE.

	Page		Page
France, <i>sides with the Reformers</i>	ib. 257	<i>Proclaimed a publick Enemy</i>	ib. 37
<i>Goes to his Sister Mary the Queen</i>	ib. 276	<i>Marries Beatrix, his Brother's Widow</i>	ib. 37
<i>Hardly persuaded to allow the admission of the Mass in the Queen's Chapel</i>	ibid. 286	<i>Persuaded to a Reconciliation with the King, which he refuses</i>	ib. 37
<i>Made Earl of Mar, and afterwards of Murray</i>	ibid. 288	<i>Being forsaken by his Friends, he applies to England for Aid</i>	ib. 39
James Balfure, <i>Governor of Edinburgh Castle for the Queen</i>	ib. 344	<i>And to Donald the Islander</i>	ib. 40
<i>He raises Insurrections</i>	ibid. 370	<i>Forsaken by his Wife</i>	ib. 41
James Culen <i>taken and executed for his Crimes</i>	ibid. 237	James Douglas, <i>Earl of Morton, and Alexander Hume, take the Coronation Oath for King James VI. in his Minority.</i>	ib. 353
James, <i>the first Earl of Douglas</i>	392	<i>He provides for the Commonwealth at his private Charge</i>	ib. 354
James Douglas <i>joins with Bruce</i>	333	<i>Commands the King's Army against the Queen</i>	ib. 356
<i>He marches with great Forces into England</i>	348	<i>Goes into England with the Regent</i>	ib. 367
James, <i>surnamed Craffus, the Douglasses being dead, succeeds to the Right of the Earldom</i>	Vol. II. 16	<i>Sent Embassador into England</i>	ib. 414
<i>He dies</i>	ib. 16	<i>His Cheerfulness to encounter the Enemy</i>	ib. 436
James Douglas <i>marries Eufemia, Daughter to Robert II.</i>	389	<i>Taken Prisoner, and then takes him Prisoner, whose Captive he was before</i>	ib. 441
<i>His Duel with Henry Piercy</i>	403	James Haliburton <i>taken Prisoner</i>	ib. 439
<i>Is slain, fighting valiantly</i>	405	James Hamilton, <i>Earl of Arran, Admiral of a Navy under James IV.</i>	ib. 114
<i>His three last dying Requests</i>	ib.	<i>He plunders Knockfergus in Ireland</i>	ib. 114
James Douglas <i>made Earl, when William Douglas his Father, was slain</i>	Vol. II. 35	<i>At last sails for France</i>	ibid. 115
<i>He accuses the King and Nobles of Perfidiousness</i>	ibid. 36	<i>Is chosen Regent</i>	ib. 186
		<i>Opposes Archibald Douglas, after his Return from France</i>	ib. 148
		I i	Highly

AN ALPHABETICAL TABLE.

	Page		Page
<i>Highly disgusted by King James V.</i>	ib. 113	<i>Procures a Schedule from the Nobility about his Marriage with the Queen</i>	ib. 331
<i>Compelled to change his Opinion concerning the Controverted Points of Religion</i>	ib. 191	<i>Surprises and marries the Queen</i>	ib. 333
<i>His shameful Flight, Vanity and Inconstancy</i>	ib. 199	<i>Outlawed</i>	ib. 302
<i>Remiss in the Case of George Wifeheart</i>	ib. 229	<i>Accused of the King's Murder</i>	ib. 328
<i>Corrupted by Avarice</i>	ibid. 229	<i>His Mock Trial</i>	ib. 329
<i>Made Duke of Chastleherault</i>	ib. 232	<i>Wounded by an Highway Pad</i>	ib. 316
<i>Put from his Regency</i>	ib. 233	<i>Designs to destroy Murray</i>	ib. 326
<i>James Hamilton returns from France</i>	ib. 374	<i>His Challenge answered</i>	ibid. 330
<i>Endeavours to engage Queen Elizabeth of England, to make him Regent</i>	ib. 375	<i>He flies</i>	ib. 348
<i>But without Success</i>	ib. 375	<i>And dies distracted in Denmark</i>	ib. 357
<i>He submits to the Regent</i>	ib. 379	<i>James Kennedy, Archbishop, an Adversary to the Douglasses</i>	ib. 19
<i>James Hamilton, Son of the Archbishop of St. Andrew's Sister, treacherously shoots Murray, and kills him</i>	ib. 394	<i>Retires from a corrupt Court</i>	ib. 23
<i>James Hamilton, a Bastard, Brother to the Earl of Arran, chosen Judge against the Lutherans</i>	ib. 177	<i>Disallows the Faction of the Queen-Mother</i>	ib. 51
<i>He is tried, condemned, and executed</i>	ib. 178	<i>His Oration, that Women ought not to govern</i>	ib. 44, 45, &c.
<i>James Hepburn, Earl of Bothwell, committed to Prison</i>	ib. 291	<i>His Praise, Death and Character</i>	ib. 63
<i>But escapes</i>	ib. 294	<i>James Kennedy builds a vast Ship</i>	ib. 76
<i>Banished</i>	ib. 174	<i>James Levingston put to Death by the Douglassian Faction</i>	ib. 22
<i>A Rival to the Earl of Lennox</i>	ib. 192	<i>James Lindfy's Obstinacy in following his Enemies</i>	405
<i>Called out of France by the Queen</i>	ib. 301	<i>James Londin, a Prodigy of him</i>	Vol. II. 325
<i>Divorced from his former Wife</i>	ib. 333	<i>James Macgil sent, with others, Ambassador into England</i>	ib. 369, 414
		<i>James Mackintosh unjustly put to Death</i>	ib. 289
		<i>James,</i>	

AN ALPHABETICAL TABLE.

Page	Page
James, the Son of Murdo, <i>burns Dumbarton</i> 433	<i>gainst the Thieves</i> <i>ibid.</i> 166
James, Earl of Murray, ap- <i>pointed Vicegerent</i> <i>ibid.</i> 167	<i>Carries Propositions from the</i> <i>Reformers to the Queen Re-</i> <i>gent</i> <i>ib.</i> 245
<i>Settles the Borders</i> <i>ib.</i> 163	James Stuart, <i>marries</i> Joan, <i>the Widow of James I.</i> <i>ib.</i> 8.
<i>Sent into France</i> <i>ib.</i> 171	<i>Is banished</i> <i>ib.</i> 22
James, Earl of Murray, re- <i>fuses to associate with the</i> <i>Queen and Bothwel</i> <i>ibid.</i> 342	James Stuart, <i>the Queen's</i> <i>Brother, puts the English</i> <i>to a Retreat</i> <i>ib.</i> 22
<i>But chuses rather to leave the</i> <i>Land</i> <i>ib.</i> 343	<i>Hath threatening Letters sent</i> <i>him by the Queen</i> <i>ib.</i> 253
<i>He returns from Travel, and</i> <i>is made Regent</i> <i>ib.</i> 352	<i>An Actor in reforming Reli-</i> <i>gion</i> <i>ib.</i> 253
<i>His resolute Speech</i> <i>ib.</i> 358	<i>Made Earl of Mar and Mur-</i> <i>ray</i> <i>ib.</i> 288
<i>He meets the Queen of Eng-</i> <i>land's Embassadors at York</i> <i>ib.</i> 367	Iceni, and Icium 12, 73
<i>Waylay'd by his Enemies in</i> <i>his Journey</i> <i>ib.</i> 367	Icolumbkil 32
<i>Goes to London</i> <i>ib.</i> 370	Idlers Isle, or, of the Otiosi, 31
<i>Where he manages the Accusa-</i> <i>tion against the Queen</i> <i>ibid.</i> 371	Ierna, i. e. Ireland 86
<i>Whence honourably dismiss'd,</i> <i>and his Transactions there</i> <i>approved in Scotland</i> <i>ibid.</i> 378	Jews imitated by the Roman- <i>ists</i> Vol. II. 29
<i>He is deserted by his Friends</i> <i>ib.</i> 391	Iffurt, or Iffert Isle <i>ib.</i> 51
<i>Too careless of himself</i> <i>ibid.</i> 392	Igerne, vitiated by Uter, yet <i>he afterwards marries her</i> 188
<i>Killed by one of the Hamil-</i> <i>tons</i> <i>ib.</i> 395	Ignis Fatuus, what? Vol. II. 418
<i>His laudable Character</i> <i>ibid.</i> 395	Ila Isle; see Yla.
James Murray offers to en- <i>counter Bothwel, Hand to</i> <i>Hand</i> <i>ib.</i> 330	Ilan na Covihaslöp 31
James Sunderland, Embassa- <i>dor from Scotland to France</i> <i>ib.</i> 274	Images demolished at Perth Vol. II. 248
James Sunderland, sent a-	Immersi Isle 32
	Impostors, notorious ones Vol. II. 164, 165
	Indigenæ, who? 53, 63
	Indulfus, King of Scots 229
	<i>Casually slain by the Danes</i> 230
	Indulgence, over-much to <i>Children, punished</i> 229
	I i 2 Infor-

AN ALPHABETICAL TABLE.

Page		Page
Informer, <i>though sometimes</i>		when in France Vol. II.
<i>allowed, yet dangerous In-</i>		131
<i>struments in a State</i>	186	<i>He arrives in Scotland</i> <i>ibid.</i>
Inhumanity to Prisoners	377	133
Innerlochy	24	<i>Gets the Queen Mother into</i>
Innerness	25	<i>his Power</i> <i>ib.</i> 136
Interregnum in Scotland, af-		<i>Goes into France, appointing</i>
<i>ter Alexander the Third's</i>		<i>Governors in his Absence</i>
<i>Death</i>	310	<i>ib.</i> 140
Inundation of the River Tay		<i>Returns to Scotland</i> <i>ib.</i> 148
<i>at Perth</i>	298	<i>Raises an Army against Eng-</i>
<i>And great Ones in Lothian</i>	288	<i>land, but makes a Truce</i>
Joan Douglas, a fine Woman,		<i>ib.</i> 143, 144
<i>unjustly put to Death</i>		<i>Goes again into France,</i>
Vol. II. 175		<i>whence he returns with a</i>
John Annius writes the Ori-		<i>great Navy</i> <i>ib.</i> 146
<i>ginal of the Britons in Verse</i>		<i>Marches into England, and af-</i>
53		<i>saults Werk-Castle</i> <i>ibid.</i>
Johannis Scotus sent for by		149
Charles the Great	208	<i>Goes the third time into France</i>
John Baliol his Genealogy		<i>and his Power is vacated in</i>
311, &c.		<i>his Absence</i> <i>ib.</i> 150
<i>More solicitous for a Kingdom</i>		<i>John Erskin sent Ambassador</i>
<i>than a good Name</i>	317	<i>into France</i> <i>ib.</i> 171
<i>Made King, and surrenders</i>		<i>Of the Queen's Faction</i> <i>ibid.</i>
<i>himself and Kingdom to the</i>		221
<i>King of England</i>	<i>ib.</i>	<i>Made Governor of Edinburgh</i>
<i>He confesses his Fault for so</i>		<i>Castle</i> <i>ib.</i> 234
<i>doing</i>	318	<i>Sent Ambassador into France</i>
<i>Disgusts Edward of England</i>		<i>ib.</i> 241
319		<i>John, Brother to King James</i>
<i>Overthrown by Edward, made</i>		<i>III. put to Death</i> <i>ib.</i> 77
<i>Prisoner, and released</i>	320	<i>John Erskin favours the Re-</i>
John, King of England, me-		<i>formation</i> <i>ib.</i> 246
<i>ditates a War against Scot-</i>		<i>Afraid of the Queen Regent</i>
<i>land</i>	298	<i>ib.</i> 251
<i>Makes divers Leagues with</i>		<i>Beats the Rebels out of Ster-</i>
<i>the Scots</i>	<i>ib.</i>	<i>lin</i> <i>ib.</i> 441
<i>Enters Scotland</i>	299	<i>Chosen Regent</i> <i>ib.</i> 442
<i>The Pope's Beneficiary</i>	300	<i>Straitens Edinburgh</i> <i>ib.</i> 447
<i>Poisoned by a Monk</i>	<i>ib.</i>	<i>John Armstrong, Captain of</i>
John, Son of Alexander, Bro-		<i>Thieves, executed</i> <i>ib.</i> 164
<i>ther to James III. Duke of</i>		<i>John, Earl of Athol, marries</i>
<i>Albany, declared Regent,</i>		<i>Beatrix Douglas</i> <i>ib.</i> 342
		<i>He</i>

AN ALPHABETICAL TABLE.

	Page		Page
<i>He and his Wife taken Prisoners by Donald</i>	Vol. II. 62	John Fleming of Bogal	<i>taken there</i> ib. 420
John, <i>Earl of Buchan, aids the French King's Son</i>	426	John Herris	<i>undeservedly put to Death by the Douglasses</i> ib. 33
<i>Made Lord High Constable of France</i>	428	John Hepburn	<i>powerful and factious</i> ib. 132
<i>Slain there by the English</i>	429	<i>His Feud with the Humes</i>	ib. 134
John Cumins	<i>marches into England, and wastes Northumberland</i> 321	<i>He insinuates himself into the Regent</i>	ib. 134
<i>His Treachery against Robert Bruce</i>	330	<i>Accuses Douglas, Hume; and Forman</i>	ib. 135
<i>Which cost him his Life</i>	ib.	John Hamilton, <i>Archbishop of St. Andrews</i>	ib. 219
John, <i>Earl of Carrick, base Son to Robert II.</i>	391	<i>A deboist Man</i>	ib. 228
John Cockburn of Ormiston, <i>wounded, and taken by Bothwell</i>	Vol. II. 263	John Hamilton, <i>troubled in Conscience for the King's Murder, discovers his Complices</i>	ib. 421
John Cuninghame <i>employed in surprizing Dumbarton Castle</i>	417	John Kennedy <i>made one of the King's Guardians or Tutors</i>	ib. 61
John, <i>Earl Douglas's Brother, made Baron of Balvany</i>	ib. 24	John Knox <i>preaches to reclaim those that killed Cardinal Beton</i>	ib. 215
<i>Proclaimed a publick Enemy</i>	ib. 36	<i>His Sermon to the People of Perth, for the Reformation</i>	ib. 249
John Daimiot, <i>a Conjurer, foretels David Rizio's Death</i>	ib. 312	<i>Upon which they destroy Popish Shrines</i>	ib. 249
John Forbes <i>condemned and beheaded</i>	ib. 175	<i>His encouraging Sermon to the Reformers at Sterling</i>	ib. 264
John Fordon, <i>Author of the History, called Scoto-Chronicon</i>	225	<i>His Sermon at King James VI. his Inauguration</i>	ib. 353
John Fleming, <i>the Queen's Governor of Dumbarton Castle, when it was surprized</i>	Vol. II. 419	John II. <i>lays the Foundation of Tyranny in Portugal</i>	ib. 93
<i>He escapes, but his Wife is well treated by the Regent</i>	ib. 420	John Lesly <i>privy to the Conspiracy against James Earl of Murray</i>	ib. 294
		John Mac-Arthur, <i>Captain of Tories, executed</i>	434
		I i 3	John

AN ALPHABETICAL TABLE.

	Page		Page
John Melvil <i>put to Death</i>	228	John Vien, <i>Admiral of the French Navy in Scotland</i>	396
John, <i>Earl of Mar, Brother to James III. put to Death by opening a Vein till he expired</i>	ib. 77	John Windram <i>secretly favours the Cause of True Religion</i>	Vol. II. 209, 210
John Murderach <i>taken</i>	ibid. 236	Jean Douglas, <i>and her Husband, their miserable Ends</i>	ib. 175
John Monluc, <i>Bishop of Valence in Scotland</i>	ib. 269	Joan, <i>the Wife of James I. her manly Fact</i>	ib. 21
John Maxwell of Heris <i>revolts from the Reformers</i>	ib. 304	<i>Put in Prison with her Husband</i>	ib. 21
<i>Made Prisoner by the Regent, but released without publick Authority</i>	ib. 405	<i>Her Death</i>	ib. 21
John, <i>Earl of Mar, a Commander in the King's Army</i>	ib. 363	Joseph Scaliger <i>amends a Place in Seneca</i>	94
John Randolph <i>sent into France</i>	366	Josina, <i>King of Scots</i>	128
<i>Made Regent</i>	374	<i>A Lover of Chirurgery</i>	ib.
<i>Taken Prisoner by the English</i>	375	Ireland's <i>ancient Inhabitants called Scots</i>	90
<i>Slain in Fight</i>	384	Irish <i>break in on Galway in Scotland</i>	224
John Scot, <i>his wonderful Abstinence from Food, and Miracles</i>	Vol. II. 164, &c.	<i>And are overthrown by King Gregory</i>	ib.
John Duns Scotus, <i>where born</i>	389	Irish Scots <i>make Peace with the Romans</i>	164
John Ramsy <i>preserved by the King</i>	Vol. II. 82	Irish Air <i>temperate</i>	2, 64
<i>Proves an evil Counsellor to James III.</i>	ib. 89	Colonies of Gauls <i>sent into Ireland</i>	63
John Stuart, <i>Earl of Lennox, revolts from the Regent</i>	ib. 137	<i>Description of Ireland out of Solinus</i>	109
<i>But is again received into Favour</i>	ib. 138	Irwin River	17
<i>He endeavours to take the King from the Douglasses, and is slain</i>	ib. 156	<i>Island in Shape like a Man</i>	32
John Stuart, <i>Earl of Athol, sent against John Murderach</i>	ib. 235	<i>Islands encompassing Scotland, their Order and threefold Division</i>	27
		<i>Islanders parsimonious</i>	42
		<i>Healthful and long-liv'd</i>	ib.
		<i>Islanders, Western, their Manner of Living at Home and Abroad</i>	27, 28, 29
		Isa, or Ithol <i>Isle</i>	31
		Iffidorus, <i>i. e. Iffoir, a City in France</i>	85
		<i>Judgments and Trials of Nobles,</i>	

AN ALPHABETICAL TABLE.

	Page		Page
<i>bles, how anciently managed</i>		<i>Founder of the</i>	Scotish
<i>in Scotland</i>	433	<i>Kingdom</i>	214
<i>Jule-tide, or Christmas, as 'tis</i>		<i>Kenneth III</i>	237
<i>called, licentiously observed</i>	190	<i>Circumvents his Nobles by a</i>	
<i>Julian Romer taken</i>	Vol. II.	<i>Wile</i>	238
	228	<i>Causes Malcolm to be poison-</i>	
<i>Julius Agricola's Exploits in</i>		<i>ed</i>	244
<i>Britain</i>	138	<i>Troubled in Conscience for it</i>	
<i>Recalled from thence</i>	139		246
<i>Junius Brutus</i>	Vol. II. 427	<i>Makes new Laws concerning</i>	
<i>Julius Cæsar, the first Roman</i>		<i>the Succession of the King-</i>	
<i>that entered Britain with an</i>		<i>dom</i>	ib.
<i>Army</i>	90, 91, 105	<i>Worsted at first by the Danes,</i>	
<i>Julius Frontinus in Britain</i>		<i>yet afterwards overthrows</i>	
	138	<i>them</i>	241
<i>Jura Isle</i>	30	<i>Slain by Fenella</i>	247
<i>The most popular Thing</i>	444	<i>Kenneth, King of the Picts</i>	
<i>Juvena, Ireland so called</i>	86		210
		<i>Kentigernus</i>	182
		<i>Keniburgh Islands, the Great</i>	
		<i>and the Small</i>	33
		<i>Kernici, who ?</i>	26
		<i>Kernicovalli</i>	ib.
		<i>Kingly Government, what ?</i>	
			Vol. II. 423
		<i>Its Origin</i>	ib. 423
		<i>Kings, their Distress moves</i>	
		<i>Pity</i>	269
		<i>Kings in Scotland not to do</i>	
		<i>any publick Affairs without</i>	
		<i>advising with their Nobles,</i>	
		<i>or Estates of the Realm</i>	
			128, 190, 318
		<i>They used to ride the Circuits</i>	
		<i>themselves, for the Admini-</i>	
		<i>stration of Justice, before</i>	
		<i>Itinerary Judges appointed</i>	
			130, 156
		<i>Their</i>	
		<i>Wives anciently not</i>	
		<i>called Queens</i>	Vol. II. 56
		<i>Not in their Power alone to</i>	
		<i>make Peace or War in Scot-</i>	
		<i>land</i>	409

K

K <i>Arrera Isle</i>	31
<i>Katharine Medices, af-</i>	
<i>ter her Son's Death, un-</i>	
<i>dertakes the Government</i>	
	Vol. II. 276
<i>Keames Castle</i>	30
<i>Kebercurning</i>	27
<i>Kedwalla, King of the Bri-</i>	
<i>ttons</i>	200
<i>Keligire Island</i>	37
<i>Kellasa Isle</i>	ib.
<i>Kelvin River</i>	18
<i>Ken River</i>	17
<i>Kenneth I. King of Scots</i>	
	198
<i>Kenneth II.</i>	211
<i>Compared with Fergus II. per-</i>	
<i>suades the Nobility to war</i>	
<i>with the Picts, and over-</i>	
<i>comes them in Battel</i>	212
<i>He may be called the third</i>	

AN ALPHABETICAL TABLE.

	Page		Page
<i>They are inferior to the Laws</i>	in Scotland		392
Vol. II. 424	<i>Afterwards invades it</i>		393
<i>How their publick Revenue,</i>	<i>Langside Fight</i>	Vol. II.	363
<i>if spent, may be encreased</i>	<i>Laodice (Queen) her Cruelty</i>		to her own Children <i>ibid.</i>
142			376
<i>A Law for their successive inheriting the Crown, confirmed</i>	246	<i>Largeffes immoderate occasion Want</i>	260
<i>Kings, if young, their Favours slippery</i>	Vol. II. 72	<i>Lauderdale, so called of the Town</i>	Lauder 16
<i>King, desiring to be revenged on his Nobles, endeavours to set them one against another</i>	ib. 87	<i>Laurence Twine persuades Baliol to go for Scotland</i>	361
<i>Kings-Crofs, or Re-Crofs, in Stanmore, what?</i>	274	<i>Law about Succession to the Kingdom of Scotland</i>	122
<i>Kinnatèl, King of Scots</i>	195	<i>New ones made</i>	246
<i>Sheriffwick of Kinrofs</i>	22	<i>Confirmed</i>	253
<i>Kinrofs Abby</i>	232	<i>Whether profitable to the Publick, or not</i>	248
<i>Kinthern; see Cantire.</i>		<i>Law (too severe) to confiscate the whole Estates of condemned Persons, without any Allowance to their innocent Wife and Children</i>	142
<i>Kirkwal, the chief Town in the Island</i>	Pomona, or Mainland 43	<i>Laws against Theft</i>	359
<i>Kirta Isle</i>	37	<i>Laws about Hunting, their Authors; see Hunting Laws.</i>	
<i>Knapdale</i>	21	<i>Laws, in Scotland, few, besides Decrees of the Estates</i>	Vol. II. 166
<i>Kyle</i>	17	<i>Laxa Isle</i>	37
L		<i>Lead, white and black, found in Pomona</i>	43
L <i>'Abrofs, a French General, would have all the Nobility of Scotland destroyed</i>	Vol. II. 272	<i>Legate, a counterfeit Roman one</i>	Vol. II. 34
<i>Laia; see Avonlagan</i>		<i>Leith River</i>	16
<i>Lambs Isle</i>	37	<i>Leland quoted</i>	76
<i>Lamlach Isle</i>	30	<i>Lennox County</i>	20
<i>Lamot, the French King's Ambassador in Scotland</i>	Vol. II. 118	<i>Lent observed on a politick Account only</i>	Vol. II. 299
<i>He moves the Scots to war against England</i>	ib. &c.	<i>Leon Strozzy, Admiral of the French Gallies in Scotland, to revenge the Cardinal's Death</i>	ib. 216
<i>Lamyrian, or Lamormoor Mountains</i>	16	<i>Lewis</i>	
<i>Lanarch, or Lanerick</i>	17		
<i>Lancaster (Duke) Ambassador</i>			

AN ALPHABETICAL TABLE.

	Page		Page
Lewis Isle	37	Lochindores Castle	376
<i>Many Whales taken there</i>	ib.	Lochrine, Son of Brute	52
Lewis XI. espouses Margarite,		Loegria, an old Name for	ib.
<i>the King of Scots's Daughter</i>	434	Lollius Urbicus in Britain	143
<i>He lays the Foundation of Tyranny</i>	Vol. II. 93	London, anciently called Augusta	105
Lewis de Galais, Ambassador		Lords of the Articles, who?	388
<i>from France to the Queen's Party</i>	ib. 405	Lorn Country	21
Liddisdale, so called from the River Lidal	16	Lothian, so called from Lothus King of the Picts	215
Liguria	14	Lothus, King of the Picts	16
Lilborn worsted by the Scots	389	<i>He joins with the Scots against the Saxons</i>	186
Linga, Isle	35	<i>Complains that his Sons were deprived of the Kingdom of Britain</i>	ib.
Lingaia Isle	ib.	<i>He is commended</i>	ib.
Lindil Isle	ib.	Lox, or Loffy, River	24
Linlithgo	37	Luctacus, King of Scots, a flagitious Person	140
Lindsay's and Ogilby's Fight	Vol. II. 19	<i>He is slain</i>	ib.
<i>The Lindsays prevail</i>	ibid.	Lud, or Lloyd, allows, that by Prudania is meant Britain	3
Lismore Isle	31	<i>He is refuted</i>	88, &c.
Loch-Abyr	21	Luing Isle	31
Loch-Aw	ib.	Lunga Isle	ib.
Loch-Brien	38	Luparia, or Wolf Isle	ib.
Loch-Earn	ib.	Lupicianus in Britain	111
Loch-Fin	21	Lufs River	17
Loch-Geir	ib.	Lusitania, why Portugal so called, as some say	30
Loch-Long	ib.	Lust, a Punishment to it self	235
Loch-Lomund	20	Lutherans persecuted	Vol. II. 166, 170, 176
Loch-Loubrun,	25	Luthlac, Mackbeth's Son, slain by Malcolm	272
Loch-Louch	24		
Loch-Maban	381		
<i>The Castle in it taken by the Scots</i>	393		
Loch-Ness	25		
<i>Whose Water never freezeth</i>	ib.		
Loch Ryan	17		
Loch Spey	176		
Loch Tee	24		

Maal-

An ALPHABETICAL TABLE.

M		Page
	Maldon, <i>not in Scotland</i>	20
	Maldwin, <i>King of Scots</i>	202
	<i>He is strangled by his Wife</i>	ib.
	Malgo, <i>a Britain</i>	196
	Malcolm Fleming <i>executed by the Douglasses</i> Vol. II.	16
	Malcolm I.	228
	<i>Sits in Courts of Judgment himself</i>	ib.
	<i>He is slain</i>	ib.
	Malcolm II. <i>Competitor with Constantine for the Crown</i>	249
	<i>Confirms the Law for Succession</i>	253
	<i>Overthrown by the Danes</i>	254
	<i>Afterwards overthrows them in several Battels</i>	255
	<i>Murdered, and his Murderers drowned</i>	258
	Malcolm III. <i>brings in foreign Titles of Honour into Scotland</i>	271
	<i>He recovers the Kingdom from Mackbeth</i>	ib.
	<i>Quells Conspiracies made against him</i>	272
	<i>His Vow to St. Andrew</i>	275
	<i>He erects new Bishopricks, and makes wholesome sumptuary Laws</i>	276
	<i>Builds the Cathedrals of Durham and Dunfermling</i>	277
	<i>Is slain by the English, with his Son Edward</i>	ib.
	<i>His Queen, and other Female Relations, very pious</i>	276
	Malcolm IV. <i>takes a Feudatory Oath to Henry of England</i>	288
	<i>He</i>	
M	Aalmori <i>Isle</i>	32
	Macalpine, <i>Laws</i>	215
	Macdonald <i>rises in Arms, but is overthrown, and kills himself</i>	262, 263
	Mackbeth, <i>King of Scots, his Character</i>	263
	<i>His Dream</i>	265
	<i>He flies</i>	270
	Macdonald <i>his cruel Fact to a Woman, retaliated on himself</i>	438
	Macduff <i>ill resents Mackbeth</i>	268
	<i>He stirs up Malcolm against him</i>	269
	<i>Three Privileges granted him by Malcolm</i>	271
	<i>The first Earl of Fife</i>	ib.
	<i>He complains against Baliol to Edward of England</i>	317
	Macklan <i>executed by Douglas</i> Vol. II.	33
	<i>See Man.</i>	
	Magistrates <i>have Power over Mens Bodies, but not over their Consciences</i> Vol. II.	248
	Magnus, <i>his carousing Goblet</i>	41
	Magnus, <i>King of Norway, seizes on the Islands</i>	279
	<i>Makes Peace with the Scots</i>	306
	Magus, <i>Towns so ending</i>	85
	Mainland; <i>see Pomona.</i>	
	Main, <i>an English Commander against the Scots, slain in Fight</i> Vol. II.	27
	Main, <i>Son of Fergus</i>	122
	<i>King of Scots</i>	124
	Makul, <i>a Criminal, abstains from Food</i>	298

AN ALPHABETICAL TABLE.

	Page		Page
<i>He accompanies him into France</i>	289	<i>Persuades the Scots to break with the French</i>	ib. 146
<i>Is despoiled by him of Part of his Patrimony in England</i>	290	<i>But opposed therein by the French Faction</i>	ib. 147
<i>Is persuaded by the Scots to marry, but gives them a negative Answer</i>	292	<i>Marianus Scorus</i>	227
<i>Man Isle, its several Names</i>	29	<i>Mariners, to offend them dangerous to Passengers</i>	364
<i>Marcellinus quoted and corrected</i>	110	<i>Mar and Mearn Counties whence so called</i>	23
<i>Marble Stone, on which the Scots King were crowned</i>	216	<i>Martha, Countess of Carrick, falls in Love with Robert Bruce, and marries him</i>	314
<i>Marble, white, Mountains of it in Sutherland</i>	26	<i>Martiques, the Earl of it comes into Scotland, with his Character</i>	Vol. II. 272
<i>Marcheta Mulierum, what the Scots call so?</i>	276	<i>Mary, Wife of James II. her manly Spirit</i>	ib. 45
<i>Margarites, or St. Margarite's, Port</i>	44	<i>Mary of Guise, Widow of the Duke of Longuevil, marries James IV.</i>	ib. 176
<i>Margarite Creighton, who?</i>	Vol. II. 87	<i>By degrees she dispossesseth the Regent</i>	ib. 232
<i>Margarite, Queen of England, delivers her Husband Edward by Force of Arms</i>	ib. 50	<i>Takes upon her the Ensigns of the Government</i>	ib. 232
<i>She flies into Scotland, and thence into France</i>	ib. 51	<i>Imposes new Taxes</i>	ib. 236
<i>Margarite, Sister to Edward of England, Wife to Charles of Burgundy, endeavours to raise Commotions in England</i>	ib. 102	<i>Changes ancient Affability into Arrogance</i>	ib. 247
<i>Margarite, Daughter of Henry VII. marries James IV.</i>	ib. 111	<i>Persecutes the Reformed, and is perfidious</i>	ib. 251, 252
<i>The first Female Regent in Scotland</i>	ib. 128	<i>Makes a Truce with the Reformed</i>	ib. 253
<i>After her Husband's Death, she marries Archibald Douglas</i>	ib. 128	<i>The Administration of the Government taken from her by Proclamation</i>	ib. 261
<i>She flies with her Husband into England</i>	ib. 136	<i>She dies in the Castle of Edinburgh</i>	ib. 270
<i>But returns</i>	ib. 140	<i>Her Disposition and Character</i>	ib. 271
<i>Displeased with her Husband</i>	ib. 140	<i>Mary, Queen of Scots, born</i>	ib. 183
		<i>Begins her Reign</i>	ib. 183
		<i>Henry of England desires her for his Son's Wife</i>	ib. 186
		<i>She is sent into France</i>	ib. 224
		<i>From</i>	

AN ALPHABETICAL TABLE.

	Page		Page
<i>From whence that King sends Letters, desiring her a Wife for his Son</i>	ib. 240	<i>And they another against her</i>	ib 343
<i>Embassadors sent thither for that Purpose, of which some die there</i>	ib. 241	<i>Earl of Murray leaves Scotland in Discontent</i>	ibid. 343
<i>She marries the Dauphin</i>	ib. 247	<i>Besieged with Bothwel at Borthwick, and escapes in Man's Apparel</i>	ib. 344
<i>When Mary of England died, she carried herself as the next Heir, and assumed the Royal Arms of that Kingdom</i>	ib. 247	<i>Surrenders herself Prisoner</i>	ib. 349
<i>When her Husband died, she resolves to return into Scotland</i>	ib. 276	<i>Proved guilty of her Husband's Death by Letters</i>	ib. 350
<i>Her subtle Answer to a cunning Cardinal</i>	ib. 278		356
<i>She lays the Foundation of Tyranny</i>	ib. 286	<i>Hamilton designs her Deliverance</i>	ib. 359
<i>Designs a Guard for her Body</i>	ib. 287	<i>She escapes</i>	ib. 360
<i>Her unbecoming Familiarity with David Rizio</i>	ib. 301	<i>Is overthrown by the Nobles, and flies for England</i>	ibid. 364
<i>She marries Henry Stuart</i>	ib. 304	<i>She endeavours, by Balfure, to raise Tumults in Scotland</i>	ib. 370
<i>She punishes David's Homicides</i>	ib. 312	<i>Designs to marry Howard of England</i>	ib. 378
<i>Her strange Proclamation about Rizio's Death</i>	ib. 314	<i>Continued in the Lord Scroop's House</i>	ib. 386
<i>She brings forth James VI.</i>	ib. 314	<i>Her Faction garrison Edinburgh, from whence they sally out against Morton</i>	ib. 432, 434
<i>She is willing by all means to be rid of her Husband</i>	ibid. 312, &c.	<i>Massacre designed in France by the Guises</i>	ib. 275
<i>A jocular Process against her Husband's Murderers</i>	ib. 327	<i>Matthew Stuart, Earl of Lennox, marries Margarine Hamilton</i>	ib. 102
<i>She marries Bothwel</i>	ibid. 333	<i>Sent for out of France into Scotland</i>	ib. 189
<i>The French Ambassador, and the Scottish Nobles, dislike her Marriage</i>	ib. 335	<i>Returns</i>	ib. 190
<i>She frames an Association against the Nobles</i>	ib. 342	<i>Circumvented by the Cardinal's Cunning, about his marrying the Queen</i>	ibid. 192
		<i>Upon which he rises in Arms, but is forced to agree with the Regent</i>	ib. 193
			He

AN ALPHABETICAL TABLE.

	Page		Page
<i>He justifies himself to the</i>		<i>A wicked Man</i>	185
<i>French King Vol. II.</i>	195	<i>A Comparison between Gildas</i>	
<i>Is worsted, and flies into Eng-</i>		<i>and him, à diffimili</i>	186
<i>land, where he is kindly re-</i>		<i>Mern, whence so called?</i>	215
<i>ceived, and marries Mar-</i>		<i>Mernoch Isle</i>	30
<i>garite Douglas ib.</i>	198	<i>Mertaik Isle</i>	37
<i>Created Regent ib.</i>	412	<i>Metellan, or Maitland, King</i>	
<i>Takes Brechin from Huntley</i>		<i>of Scots</i>	135
	ib. 413	<i>Michael Weems helps the</i>	
<i>Hurt by a Fall ib.</i>	415	<i>Royalists Vol. II.</i>	435
<i>Maximianus, Commander of</i>		<i>Milesian Fables, what?</i>	96
<i>a Roman Legion in Britain</i>		<i>Minturnæ</i>	ib.
	172	<i>Modred, Son of Lothus, Ge-</i>	
<i>He overthrows the Scots and</i>		<i>neral of the Picts Forces</i>	
<i>Picts ib.</i>			190
<i>Maximus in Britain</i>	160	<i>Competitor with Constantine</i>	
<i>He overcomes the Scots</i>	161		192
<i>Takes the chief Government</i>		<i>Slain</i>	193
<i>upon him</i>	162, 165	<i>Moefici, who?</i>	111
<i>Banishes all the Scots out of</i>		<i>Mogald, King of Scots</i>	141
<i>Britain ib.</i>		<i>Makes an unjust Law</i>	142
<i>Measures and Weights, a-</i>		<i>He is slain</i>	ib.
<i>mended and rectified</i>	439	<i>Molas Isle</i>	30
<i>Mechanical Engine of Brass,</i>		<i>Mologhascar Isle</i>	31
<i>a strange one</i>	247	<i>Mon Isle, put falsely for Man</i>	
<i>Mecla Isle</i>	35		29
<i>Meliss Graham deprived of</i>		<i>Montfort slain by Preston</i>	
<i>Strathearn by the King</i>			378
	447	<i>Monk poisons King John of</i>	
<i>Men, fight like wild Beasts</i>		<i>England</i>	300
<i>one with another</i>	413	<i>Another poisons Thomas Ran-</i>	
<i>Mendicant Friars called Man-</i>		<i>dolph</i>	360
<i>ducant Vol. II.</i>	250	<i>Their Impudence in devising</i>	
<i>Menteith</i>	20	<i>Fables</i>	52
<i>Menthet's Treachery against</i>		<i>Their Luxury</i>	180
<i>Robert Bruce</i>	340	<i>Their Monasteries overthrown</i>	
<i>He is rewarded</i>	341	<i>by Order of the Lords</i>	
<i>Merch</i>	16, 215		Vol. II. 277
<i>Merchants forbid to traffick by</i>		<i>Monster, like an Hermaphro-</i>	
<i>Sea for a time</i>	309	<i>dite, born in Scotland</i>	ib.
<i>Mercenary Soldiers change</i>			100
<i>with Fortune Vol. II.</i>	376	<i>Monk-Fishes never seen, but</i>	
<i>Merlin, the Prophet, or Im-</i>		<i>they predict Mischief</i>	221
<i>postor rather, when he lived</i>		<i>Mordac, King of Scots</i>	204
	185	<i>Mordac, Earl of Fife, Son of</i>	
		<i>Robert</i>	

AN ALPHABETICAL TABLE.

	Page		Page
Robert, <i>taken Prisoner</i>	417	<i>the Affinity of a Language</i>	77
<i>Returns to Scotland</i>	425	<i>Naomph Isle</i>	32
<i>Succeeds his Father in the Government</i>	429	<i>Naosg Isle</i>	31
<i>Takes care to recal King James from England</i>	430	<i>Narn</i>	176
<i>Imprisoned</i>	432	<i>Nathalocus, King of Scots</i>	151
<i>Executed</i>	433	<i>Murders the Nobility, and consults Soothsayers</i>	ib.
<i>More Isle</i>	31	<i>Nathalocus, a Nobleman, conspires against Athirco</i>	151
<i>More, in old Gaulish, signifies Mare the Sea</i>	12	<i>Is himself slain</i>	152
<i>More marufa</i>	ib.	<i>Navern Province, so called from the Navern</i>	26
<i>Morini, who?</i>	ib.	<i>Ness Town, i. e. Innerness, and River, whose Water is always warm</i>	25
<i>Morton's large Account of his Negotiation in England to the Regent Vol. II.</i>	422, to 432	<i>Nightshade, its Description and Properties</i>	264
<i>Mother, cruel to her own Children</i>	ib. 376	<i>Ninianus</i>	182
<i>Mourning Garments, when first used in Scotland</i>	ib. 175	<i>Nithisdale, from the River Nith</i>	16, 176
<i>Muick Isle</i>	34	<i>Nobility, their Tyranny over the Commons restrained</i>	230
<i>Mull of Galway</i>	17, 32	<i>Nobles, how anciently tried in Scotland</i>	233
<i>Mull Isle</i>	33	<i>Normans overcome the Saxons and Danes in Britain</i>	88
<i>Mulmore Isle</i>	ib.	<i>Norman Lestly his Valour against the English Vol. II.</i>	202
<i>Mulgo, or St. Mungo; see Kentigern.</i>		<i>He surprises St. Andrews, and kills Cardinal Beton</i>	ibid. 213, 214
<i>Murdo, and his Sons, put to Death</i>	433	<i>Northumberland divided into two Kingdoms, viz. the Deiri, and the Bernici</i>	200
<i>Murray, a fruitful Country</i>	25	<i>Nostrade Isle</i>	45
<i>Its Inhabitants, seditious</i>	291	<i>Nothatus, King of Scots</i>	124
<i>Musa Isle</i>	35	<i>First sets up Arbitrary Government</i>	ib.
<i>Musadil Isle</i>	31	<i>He is slain</i>	125
<i>Musicians, or wandering Minstrels, restrained</i>	359, 360		Novio-
N			
N <i>Aick Isle</i>	34		
<i>Nagunner Isle</i>	49		
<i>Names, new, by ambitious Men given to Places</i>	215, 216		
<i>Names of Towns, new, shew</i>			

AN ALPHABETICAL TABLE.

	Page		Page
Noviomagus, <i>many Cities so called</i>	85	<i>to them</i>	ib. 240
Nuns Isle, or Monades	33	Ostlim Isle	32
O		Oswald, <i>King of Northumberland, promotes the Christian Religion</i>	200
OCCA, <i>General of the Saxons, overthrown by three Kings, and wounded</i>	190, 191	Otterborn Fight, <i>wherein the English are worsted</i>	404, 405
Occidental, or Western Isles	27	Overfa Isle	32
Ocel-Mountains	22, 86	Ovia Isle	ib.
Olavus, <i>General of the Scandinavians</i>	253	Otiosi Isle	ib.
Oracle feigned by a Monk	55	Oxon for Oxonford	10
Oransa Isle	36	P	
Oration of Archbishop Kennedy, <i>that the Administration of the chief Government is not to be committed to Queen-Mothers</i>	Vol. II. 54, to 61	PABA Isle, <i>noted for Robbery or Piracy</i>	35
Orcades, Isles	40	Pabaia Isle	37
<i>Their Description</i>	ib.	Palladius, <i>sent by Pope Celestine into Scotland, first sets up Bishops there</i>	182
<i>Writers not agreed about their Number</i>	ib.	Pandulphus, <i>the Pope's Legate</i>	301
Orca Promontory	26	Papa Isles, <i>great and small</i>	44
Ordovices, <i>who?</i>	128	Parish Priests, <i>and Friars Mendicants, the Cause of the Decay of Ecclesiastical Discipline</i>	440
Original of Letters	47	Parricide, <i>God suffers not to be unrevenged</i>	232
Orkny, <i>the Bishop thereof marries the Queen to Bothwell</i>	Vol. II. 334	Parimony, <i>the Mother of Health</i>	39
Orma Isle	45	Passy Book, <i>or the black Book of Passy, what?</i>	169
Orvansa Isle	35	Patrick Dunbar <i>made Earl of Merch, and for what?</i>	272
Osbreth aids Picts against Scots	217	Patrick Graham <i>chosen Bishop of St. Andrews by his Canons, in the room of James Kennedy</i>	Vol. II. 65
Overthrown at first, but afterwards beats the Scots	ib.	<i>Made Primate of Scotland by the Pope, but obstructed by the Courtiers</i>	ib. 65
Ofellius, <i>a French Man, desirous of Glory</i>	Vol. II. 240	<i>He labours to maintain Church Privi-</i>	
<i>Differs with the Scots Nobles, but afterwards yields</i>			

AN ALPHABETICAL TABLE.

	Page		Page
<i>Privileges</i>	Vol II. 72	<i>But soon broken</i>	ib. 79
<i>Is excommunicated, and forced</i>		<i>Mediated for by the</i>	Scotish
<i>to resign his Bishoprick</i>	ib.	<i>Nobility</i>	ib. 83
	74, 75	<i>Made between</i>	French and
<i>And dies in Prison</i>	ib. 74, 75	<i>English</i>	ib. 228
<i>Patrick Grey, one of those</i>		<i>Between the Reformers and</i>	
<i>who slew King James III.</i>		<i>the Court</i>	ib. 274
	ib. 93	<i>Peachtie</i>	66
<i>Patrick Grey committed to</i>		<i>Pentland Firth</i>	ib.
<i>Custody</i>	ib. 206	<i>Pentland Hills</i>	16, 40
<i>Patrick, an holy Man, sent in-</i>		<i>People of the Commonalty,</i>	
<i>to Scotland</i>	182	<i>their Heat soon over</i>	237
<i>Patrick Blackater flies from</i>		<i>Piercy (Henry) taken Priso-</i>	
<i>the Douglasses</i>	ib. 151	<i>ner, and ransomed</i>	405
<i>He is treacherously slain by</i>		<i>Piercy the Elder conspires a-</i>	
<i>John Haine</i>	ib. 152	<i>gainst the King of England</i>	
<i>Patrick Hamilton put to Death</i>			419
<i>for Religion, by the Conspi-</i>		<i>Overthrown, and flies to Scot-</i>	
<i>racry of the Priests</i>	ibid.	<i>land</i>	423
	159	<i>Betrayed by his Friend</i>	i
<i>Patrick Lindsy sides with the</i>		<i>His Posterity restored to their</i>	
<i>Reformers</i>	ib. 293	<i>Dignity</i>	425
<i>Goes with the Regent into</i>		<i>Perth</i>	23
<i>England</i>	ib. 367	<i>A great Part of it destroyed</i>	
<i>Patrick Ruven's Magnani-</i>		<i>by Water</i>	298
<i>mity</i>	ib. 312	<i>Its Walls demolished</i>	385
<i>He kills David Rizio</i>	ib. 312	<i>Taken by Edward of England</i>	
<i>He acquaints Murray with the</i>			371
<i>Conspiracy against him</i>	ib.	<i>Retaken by the Scots</i>	374
	304	<i>Pestilence in Scotland</i>	385
<i>Paul Mefane, or Meffen</i>		<i>Peter Cerealis in Britain</i>	108
<i>Preacher of the Gospel,</i>		<i>Peter Maufet a Robber, exe-</i>	
<i>troubled for Religion</i>	ibid.	<i>cuted</i>	Vol. II. 134
	243	<i>Peter Hiale, the King of</i>	
<i>Harboured by the Inhabitants</i>		<i>Spain's Ambassador in Eng-</i>	
<i>of Dundee</i>	ib. 244	<i>land</i>	ib. 108
<i>Paulus Orosius quoted</i>	108	<i>His Errand to solicit a Match</i>	
<i>Corrected</i>	109	<i>between Katharine of Spain,</i>	
<i>Paul Termes sent with Aid</i>		<i>and Arthur, Henry's Son</i>	
<i>from France to Scotland</i>			ib. 108
	Vol. II. 227	<i>He mediates a Peace between</i>	
<i>Peace-downs, see Duni Pacis.</i>		<i>Scots and English</i>	ibid.
<i>Peace confirmed, with an in-</i>			109
<i>tended Affinity, betwixt</i>		<i>Petronius Turpilianus in Bri-</i>	
<i>Scots and English</i>	ib. 79	<i>tain</i>	107
		<i>Perkin</i>	

AN ALPHABETICAL TABLE.

	Page		Page
Perkin Warbeck a notable Impostor	Vol. II. 102	Pluscarty, an Abby in Murryland	427
Set up by the Dutchess of Burgundy to vex Henry	ib. 102	Pollack Fish, where found?	20
Sails out of England into Scotland	ib. 103	Polygamy, a Law made for it by Evenus	135
Engages James IV. against Henry	ib. 105	Pomona, the greatest Isle of the Orcades	43
Marries Katherine, the Earl of Huntley's Daughter	ib. 106	The Right of the Kingdom of England conferred upon the Pope by King John	300
Dismiss'd out of Scotland	ib. 109	His Embassadors excommunicate the Scots	345
Taken and hanged in England	ib. 109	David II. King of Scots, appointed by his Permission	359
Phæodar-Oy	45	His Legate denied Entrance into Scotland	309
Phylarchæ, who?	128	Porcaria Isle	32
Physicians, why so much esteemed in Scotland	ib.	Port, or Na Port Isle	31
Picks, whether derived from the Saxons	41	Portugal, why so called?	30
Whence so called?	66	Prænestin, Liots, what?	54
Foretold by the Oracle, that the Scots should extirpate them	120	Priests, corrupted by Luxury, reformed by Constantine	219
Repent joinging with the Romans against the Scots	ib.	Richer than the Nobility	321
Their Origin from Germany	ib.	Impostors Vol. II	164, 165
Overcome the Scots	211	Priests so ignorant, as to think the New Testament was written by Martin Luther	ib. 205
Overcome by the Scots	212	Priests, one the Author of a Sedition	393
Their Kingdom abolished in Scotland	213	Another treacherous Vol. II.	20
Solicit Aid from Osbreth and Ella	217	Betrays Queen Joan	ib. 21
Beaten quite out of Britain	218	Another forges a Will	ibid. 144
Pliny, a Place in him corrected	14	Preys retaken, and restored to their Owners	133
Pluscartin Book, i. e. a Book or Chronicle of Scotland, written by the Religious of		Prince of Scotland, the King's eldest Son so called	246
		Princes not Slaves to their Words Vol. II.	252

K k

Pri-

AN ALPHABETICAL TABLE.

Page	Page
<i>Privilege of the Scots, not to be summoned to appear out of their own Country</i> 303	<i>The Scots not willing to be governed by her</i> ib. 51
<i>Prodigies on divers Occasions</i> 247. Vol. II. 325	<i>Queen Dowager sails into France</i> ib. 230
<i>Process, ridiculous, against the King's Murderers</i> Vol. II. 283	<i>Where she labours to out the Regent of his Government</i> ib. 231
<i>Proclamation about the same</i> ib. 283	<i>Hasb the Regency conferred upon her</i> ib. 232
<i>Proclamation, or Schedule, of James II. drawn in contempt about the Streets</i> ib. 36	<i>The first Female Regent in Scotland</i> ib. 232
<i>Prosperity dangerous</i> 226	<i>Levies new Taxes</i> ib. 236
<i>Prudania</i> 3	<i>But, because of an Insurrection, desists from collecting them</i> ib. 237
<i>Prytania</i> ib.	<i>Refuses the Propositions sent her by the Reformed</i> ibid. 299
<i>Prophecies of Witches, how fulfilled</i> Vol. II. 469	<i>Prepares Forces against them</i> ib. 251
<i>Ptolemy hath Deucaledon for Duncaledon</i> 70	<i>Makes a Temporary Agreement with them</i> ib. 252
<i>Punishments, too exquisite, engage Spectators</i> Vol. II. 470	<i>Which she endeavours to elude,</i> ib. 252
<i>Punishment, of old, to Prisoners not returning on their Parole</i> 406	<i>Makes another Truce with them</i> ib. 256
<i>Pygmee Isle</i> 37	<i>Repartees betwixt her and the Reformed</i> ib. 259, 260, 261
<i>Purgatory, how invented</i> 441	<i>Her Death and Character</i> ib. 271
Q	<i>Queen of Scots, not to use the English Arms, during Queen Elizabeth's Life</i> ib. 285
Q <i>Uadrantary Faith, what?</i> Vol. II. 247	<i>Queen of Scots, one of their Deaths</i> ib. 89
<i>Quindecemvirate in Scotland</i> ib. 166	<i>Queen's Party divide from the King's</i> ib. 406
<i>Queens, their Marriage to be ordered by the Estates of the Realm, and why?</i> 339	<i>They send Embassadors to France and England for Aid</i> ib. 405
<i>Anciently, Kings Wives not allowed to be so called</i> ib. 56	<i>Queen Elizabeth rejects them</i> ib. 405
<i>Queen, Mother of James III. sues for the Regency, with her Reasons</i> ib. 51	<i>Que-</i>

AN ALPHABETICAL TABLE.

	Page		Page
Question debated, whether a Chief Magistrate may be compelled by Force to do his Duty ?	ib. 286	Assault Leith	ib. 439
		Surprise Sterlin, but beaten out again	ib. 441
		Attempt Jedburgh, but repulsed and routed	ib. 445, 446
R		Recognition, what ?	ib. 112
R Aarfa Isle	35	Red, or Ridhead, Promontory	23
Rachlinda Isle	30	Reformation, the best Method thereof for Princes to begin at home	238
Ralph Evers his vain Boast	Vol. II. 200	Reformed Religion, the Nobles swear to maintain it, in behalf of James VI. whilst a Child	Vol. II. 353
Ralph Rokesby betrays Piercy his Friend	423	Reformed Congregation in Scotland; the first so called	ib. 245
Ralph Sadler, Ambassador from England about the Marriage of Mary with King Henry's Son	Vol. II. 186	Reformers abrogate the Queen Regent's Power	ib. 261
He hears the Scots Differences, and endeavours to compose them	ib. 392	They meet with Difficulties in their Work	Vol. II. 262
Ramsay Isle	31	Are assisted by the English	ib. 266, 267
Ranalds-Oy	43	Their last Letter to the Regent	ib. 268
Ranassa, a Southern Isle	44	Regent slain at Sterlin	ibid. 404
Randolf (Thomas) invades England	343	Religion, Language, Names of Places, &c. shew the Sameness of the People	70
Made Regent	359	Religion, the Nobles arm for it in Scotland	Vol. II. 251
Executes a Murderer, though he had the Pope's Pardon	ib.	The Vindicators of it make a Truce with the Regent	ib. 255
His Law against Thievery	ib.	Abrogate her Power	ib. 261
He punishes the Cheat of a Country-man	ib.	Desire Aid from England	ib. 264
Poisoned by a Monk	360	Which they receive	ib. 266, 267
Ratra River, hath no Salmon in it	24		
Rebels, after Murray the Regent was dead, had several Meetings	Vol. II. 402		
They send Embassadors to the Queen of England, to desire a Truce, but in vain	ib. 405		
They solicit the French and Spaniards for Aid	ib. 414		

AN ALPHABETICAL TABLE.

	Page		Page
Renfrew	18	<i>Slain by the Queen</i>	ib. 48
See Baronia.		Richard Colvil put to Death	ib. 28
Repartees between Scottish and English Armies Vol. II.	435	Richard Fox, Bishop of Dur- ham, a very prudent Man, mediates for Peace between the two Nations	ib. 108
Rerigonian Bay	17	An Instrument of James his Marriage with Margarite of England	ib. 111
Reringa Isle	33	Richard Grafton, an English Writer blamed	319
A resolute Action 143, 144		Rins of Galway	17
Reutha, King of Scots	127	Rinard Isle	32
Revenge, the importune De- fire of it dangerous	164, 165	Ridhead; see Red Promontory.	
Reuther, King of Scots	125	Roadilla Monastery	37
Called Reuda by Bede	126	Robbers punished 231, 238 Vol. II. 153	
Rhingrave sent with Aid by the French King into Scot- land Vol. II.	223	Robert Bruce his Genealogy, 325, &c.	
Rian Lake, or Loch	17	His magnanimous Answer to the King of England	317
Richard of England very angry with the Scots for bringing in foreign Aid	396	Begins his Reign	331
He invades Scotland with a great Army	ib.	Is overthrown, and flies in Disguise to save his Life	ib.
His Expedition to the Holy War	297	His Wife imprisoned, and his two Brothers put to Death by the English	332
Richard II. of England en- forced to resign the Kingdom to Henry IV.	437	He baffles Cumins	333
Richard, Duke of Gloucester, marches with an Army a- gainst Scotland Vol. II.	84	Carried sick into his Army	334
Takes Berwick Vol. II.	85	Causes Edward of England to retreat	ib.
Made Protector of England	ib. 87	Invades England, takes Perth, Edinburgh, &c.	335
Casts his Brother's two Sons into Prison, and sets up himself King	ib. 87	Robert, the Son of Robert Bruce, conspires with John Cumins against England	329
Slain by Henry VII.	ib. 88	Overcomes Edward II. in Bat- tel	337
Is very Tyrannical in his Go- vernment	ib. 89	The Nobles conspire against him	344
Richard, Duke of York, brings King Edward Prisoner to London	ib. 48	Robert	

AN ALPHABETICAL TABLE.

	Page		Page
Robert II. King of Scots	389	mitted to Prison	ibid.
Marries Elizabeth More	391		81, 82
The Dispute betwixt his legitimate, and his natural Children, occasions great Troubles	392	Robert Cuninghame, of the Family of the Lennoxes, opposes Bothwel	ib. 329
He invades England	396	Robert Douglas desires that the Death of his Brother Murray might be revenged	ib. 400
His Death and Character	409	Robert, Earl of Fife	408
Robert III. before called John, succeeds his Father	411	Starves to Death David the King's Son	419
His Generals cause the Islanders to destroy one another	413	Robert Graham a great Enemy to King James Vol. II.	461
He makes the first Dukes in Scotland	414	Conspires against him	ibid.
He imprecates God's Judgments on his Brother, and the other Murderers of his Son David	421		461
He dies with Abstinence, and Grief, for the Captivity of his Son James in England	422	Seizes him with his own Hands, for which he is executed	Vol. II. 470
His Brother Robert made Regent after his Death	ib.	Robert Maxwell	ib. 174
Robert Boyd kills James Stuart	Vol. II. 21	Coming to reconcile Differences, is imprisoned by Hamilton	ib. 194
Made Guardian to the King	ib. 61	Robert, the Son of Robert Maxwell, taken Prisoner by the English	ib. 205
Created Regent	ib. 67	Robert, Earl of the Orkades, made one of the King's Guardians	ib. 61
Flies into England, and dies there	ib. 70	Robert Petcarn sent Ambassador into England	ibid.
Robert Boyd deserts the Reformed, and revolts to the Queen	ib. 360		407
Robert Britain hath great Command at Court	ibid.	Queen Elizabeth's Answer to his Embassy	Vol. II. 410
	163	Robert Read sent Ambassador into France	ib. 171
Robert Cockerane of a Tradesman made a Courtier	ibid.	Poisoned there	ib. 242
	77	Robert Semple kills Creighton	ib. 228
Taken by Douglas, and com-		Robert Stuart, Bruce's Grandson by his Daughter, rises in Arms for Bruce	373
		Made Regent	374
		Kk 3	Songhs

AN ALPHABETICAL TABLE.

	Page		Page
<i>Sought for to be slain</i>	371	<i>Perth taken from him by the</i>	ib. 207
<i>Rodardus murders King Cu-</i>		<i>Cardinal</i>	
<i>lenus</i>	236		
<i>Roch Isle</i>	32		
<i>Roffa for Raufchestria, i. e.</i>			
<i>Rocheſter</i>	10		
<i>Romachus, King of Scots</i>			
	158		
<i>Roman Generals in Britain</i>			
	148		
<i>Roman Fraud</i>	307		
<i>Roman Legates, Pick-pockets</i>			
	308		
<i>Romans, their memorable Fact</i>			
<i>in Britain before their De-</i>			
<i>parture</i>	172		
<i>Rona Isle</i>	35		
<i>Ronanus his Spade</i>	39		
<i>Rolland, a Carpenter, disco-</i>			
<i>vers a Treachery against</i>			
<i>Robert Bruce</i>	340		
<i>Rolland's Valour, he over-</i>			
<i>comes Gilcolumb</i>	313		
<i>Rose, white, Badge of the</i>			
<i>York Faction</i>	Vol. II.		
	103		
<i>Rofs, and its Etymology</i>	25		
	76		
<i>Rothſay Caſtle</i>	30		
<i>Rotti Isle</i>	45		
<i>Rous-Oy</i>	44		
<i>Round Isle</i>	32		
<i>Roxburgh Town taken</i>	Vol. II.		
	44		
<i>Its Caſtle taken</i>	ib. 45		
<i>Royalists overthrown in the</i>			
<i>North</i>	ib. 441		
<i>Ruby, a French Lawyer in</i>			
<i>Scotland, his Character</i>	ib. 271		
<i>Rudana Isle</i>	33		
<i>Rum Isle</i>	34		
<i>It abounds with Eggs of Sea-</i>			
<i>Fowl</i>	ib.		
<i>Ruven had the Mayoralty of</i>			

S

<i>S</i> Acres, or Cleirarch, Isle	37
<i>Sacred Sanctuary</i>	29
<i>Saga Isles, the Great and the</i>	
<i>Small</i>	37
<i>Saliar Verses, not easy to be</i>	
<i>underſtood</i>	55
<i>Salii, who ?</i>	ib.
<i>Salisbury, Earl, commands the</i>	
<i>English in Scotland</i>	377
<i>Taken Prisoner</i>	381
<i>Salmon Fiſhing, Aberdene</i>	
<i>famous for it</i>	23
<i>Sanachies, who ?</i>	49
<i>Sancterr Isle</i>	45
<i>Sanda Isle</i>	30
<i>Scandians, who ?</i>	228, 253
<i>Satrael, King of Scots</i>	147
<i>Slain</i>	ib.
<i>Saturnals, old Feaſts, retained</i>	302
<i>Saxe, or Rock, Isle</i>	32
<i>Saxons kill the English No-</i>	
<i>bles by Treachery</i>	87
<i>Overcome by the Normans</i>	88
<i>Worſted by Picts, Scots and</i>	
<i>Britons</i>	189
<i>Cruel in Wars</i>	185
<i>Not ſaiſhful in Peace</i>	186
<i>Their Fight with three Kings</i>	189
<i>Scalpe Isle</i>	35
<i>Scarba Isle</i>	31
<i>Schan Caſtle</i>	38
<i>Schanny Isle</i>	31, 33
<i>Schetland Isles</i>	44
<i>The Nature of their Inhabi-</i>	
<i>tants</i>	45

The

AN ALPHABETICAL TABLE.

	Page		Page
<i>The greatest of them called</i>	ib.	<i>throw the English at</i>	Rof-
<i>Pomona</i>	ib.	<i>line</i>	327
<i>Scoff, sharp, given to Both-</i>	338	<i>Scots make a League with the</i>	346
<i>wel by a Tradesman Vol. II.</i>	338	<i>French</i>	207, 208
<i>Schools, publick, erected by</i>	440	<i>When their first Alliance with</i>	207, 208
<i>James</i>	440	<i>Scots of Jerna, and Scots of</i>	58
<i>Scorpions, i. e. Cross-bows</i>	396	<i>Albion</i>	58
<i>Scotland, how divided?</i>	16	<i>Scots overthrown by Maximus</i>	ib.
<i>Where narrowest</i>	24	<i>the Roman General, and</i>	ib.
<i>Had anciently learned Monks</i>	213	<i>banished out of their Coun-</i>	162
<i>Scots, their fabulous Original</i>	60	<i>try</i>	162
<i>Scots and Picts unite against</i>	139	<i>March into England, but re-</i>	Vol. II. 205
<i>the Romans</i>	139	<i>treat again</i>	Vol. II. 205
<i>Scots and Britons overthrown</i>	198	<i>Scots Nobles, some, rise a-</i>	ib. 97
<i>by the Saxons</i>	198	<i>gainst James IV. but are</i>	ib. 97
<i>Scots and Britons unite a-</i>	199	<i>Scots Nobles anciently had</i>	ib.
<i>gainst Picts and Saxons</i>	199	<i>Skill in Chirurgery</i>	101, 102
<i>Scots Monks preach the Gospel</i>	202	<i>Scots complain of the French</i>	ib. 168
<i>in Germany</i>	202	<i>Breach of Faith by their</i>	ib. 168
<i>Scots have hard Terms of</i>	218	<i>Embassadors</i>	ib. 168
<i>Peace imposed upon them</i>	218	<i>Scots Prisoners released at</i>	ib. 185
<i>by the English</i>	218	<i>London</i>	ib. 185
<i>Scots Bishops freed from the</i>	295	<i>Scotish Parliament demolishes</i>	ib. 277
<i>Jurisdiction of the English</i>	295	<i>all Monasteries</i>	ib. 277
<i>Scots have an ancient Privi-</i>	305	<i>Scotish Crown ordered to be</i>	ib. 247
<i>lege, not to be cited to</i>	305	<i>sent to the Dauphin of</i>	ib. 247
<i>Rome</i>	305	<i>France</i>	ib. 247
<i>Scots excommunicated by their</i>	307	<i>Scotish Kings anciently tra-</i>	ib. 247
<i>Ecclesiasticks</i>	307	<i>velled over their Kingdoms</i>	ib. 247
<i>Excommunicated again, but</i>	345	<i>themselves to administer Ju-</i>	155
<i>absolved</i>	345	<i>stice</i>	155
<i>Scots join with the French a-</i>	328	<i>Scoto-Brigantes, in Claudian</i>	94
<i>gainst England</i>	328	<i>to be read for Scuta-Brigan-</i>	94
<i>Scots receive a great Over-</i>	325	<i>tes</i>	94
<i>throw from Edward of Eng-</i>	325	<i>Scroop, an English General</i>	408
<i>land at Falkirk</i>	325	<i>in Scotland Vol. II.</i>	408
<i>Obtain a Truce from him</i>	ib.	<i>Sea-Calves</i>	36
<i>Rise in Arms again, and over-</i>	ib.	<i>Sea Monks, an ill-boding Fish</i>	223
	ib.	<i>Secla, or Seil Isle</i>	31
	ib.	<i>Seneciones, who?</i>	37

AN ALPHABETICAL TABLE

	Page		Page
Senna Isle	37	Spain <i>bath</i> several Names	51
Severn River	16	Spaniards, a Colony of them	118
Severus his Wall	149	<i>come into</i> Ireland	118
His Expedition against the	ib.	Inhabited the West Part of	63
Britons	31	Britain	63
Seuna, or Suin Isle	182	Subject to the Injuries of Fo-	118
Servanus	37	reigners.	24
Shevi Isle	ib.	Spey River	36
Sheep, fair, yet wild, in Hit-	ib.	Spring, that carries down	32
ta Isle	ib.	shapeless Fish	32
Their Fat good to eat	111	Stacbad Isle	374
Ships of great Bigness built by	97	Stanmore, whence so called?	ib.
James IV. Vol. II.	44	The Cross there	350
Siapins-Oy, an Isle	37	Stags fright the English	24
Sicambri, who?	31	Stephano-Dunum, or Dun-	98, 99
Sigrama Isles, Great and Small	76	staffnage	24
	216	Stephen Bull overibrown by	Vol. II.
Silva, or Yew Isle	342	Andrew Wood	283
Silures, who?	31	Stephen, Earl of Bologn, sei-	20
Simon Breccus	45	zes on the Kingdom of Eng-	218
Sinclare's Valour against the	268	land	17
English	34	Notwithstanding he had taken	25, 176
Siuna Isle	ib.	an Oath to Queen Maud	176
Skenny, or Skerry Isles	21	ib.	21
Skirmish between English and	43	Sterling County	43
French in Scotland Vol. II.	30	Srerlin Money	44
	264	Stinfiar River	275
Sky Isle	109	Strathnavern	ib.
Skyanna Isle	206	Strath-boggy	374
Slata Isle	16	Strat and Strathern	122
Slata Isle	258	Stromoy Isle	The
Slegana Isle	1	Stronza Isle	The
Soa Isle	1	Stuart, the Name of an Office	The
Soabretil Isle	1	Stuarts, their Original	The
Sodora Town	1	Who was the Rise of their Fa-	The
Solan, or Sca Geese	1	mily	The
Solanum, the Herb Night-	1	Stuart, Regent	The
shade, soporiferous	1	Succession to the Crown of	The
Solinus quoted about Britain	1	Scotland, an old Law made	The
	1	for it	The
Solvathius, King of Scots	1		The
	1		The
Solwey River	1		The
Sorbonists sent into Scotland	1		The
Vol. II.	1		The

AN ALPHABETICAL TABLE.

	Page		Page
<i>The Administration of the Government, to whom to be committed, when the King is a Minor</i>	Vol. II. 374, 375	Temple of Terminus	18
Suilkir Isle	40	Teviotdale	16
Sumnereld, Thane of Argyle, in hopes of the Kingdom, but is overthrown and slain	292	Texa Isle	32
Suin Isle	31	Textors Isle	ib.
Suna Isle	44	Theodosius his memorable Speech	Vol. II. 424
Suffex, the Earl of it commands an English Army in Scotland	Vol. II. 408	Thereus, King of Scots, flies to the Britons	127
Sutherland	26	Thiana Isle	31
Swain gets the Kingdom of England	87	Thomas Eliot his Opinion refused	5
He comes into Scotland	253	Thomas Becket promotes Ecclesiastical Ambition in England	307
He distributes three Kingdoms to his three Sons	263	Thomas Boyd marries the eldest Sister of James III.	Vol. II. 67
He comes again into Scotland	ib.	He is sent Embassador into Norway	ib. 68
He is overthrown	264	Declared a publick Enemy	ib. 70
T		Assists the Burgundians	ibid. 70
T Aichy, i. e. Menteith	20	His Wife divorced from him, and married to James Hamilton	ib. 71
Talbot overthrown by Keith	378	He dies at Antwerp	ib. 71
Again overthrown	392	Thomas Car wastes England	ib. 398
Thames River	16	Thomas Duchty, or Dougherty, an Impostor	ib. 165
Thane, who?	257	Thomas Howard, Admiral of the English Navy	ib. 116
Thanat Isle	104	General at Flodden Fight	ib. 123
Tanasta Isle	32	Afterwards falls in Disgrace	ib. 127
Taodunum, i. e. Dundee	23	Sent into Scotland, and takes Jedburgh	ib. 145
Taranfa Isle	37	Treats of a Marriage with the Queen of Scots	ibid. 368
Tarscheir Isle	32	Mediates a Civil War against the Queen of England	ib. 370
Tarvedrum Promontory	26		The
Tay, the greatest River in Scotland	22		
A Taylor his bold Speech	Vol. II. 328		

AN ALPHABETICAL TABLE.

	Page		Page
<i>The Conspiracy detected</i> Vol. II.	390	Tree Isle	3
Thomas Petcarn <i>sent Embas-</i>		Tributes, or <i>Impositions, pa</i>	
<i>sador to Queen Elizabeth ib.</i>	406	<i>of them nibbled away by 21</i>	
Thomas Randolph <i>designed</i>		<i>Collectors, who are usual</i>	
<i>the King's Tutor</i>	341	<i>malapert</i>	43
<i>Marches with an Army into</i>		<i>Imposed, but remitted</i>	43
<i>England</i>	343	<i>The Cause of War, and thei</i>	
<i>Is poisoned by a Monk</i>	360	<i>Exactors slain</i> Vol. II.	105
Thomas Randolph, <i>the Eng-</i>			106
<i>lish Ambassador in Scotland,</i>		Trimarchia	91
<i>demands the English Exiles</i>		Triobolar <i>Faith, what ?</i> Vol. II.	147
Vol. II.	446	Trojans, <i>Greeks by Descent</i>	56
Thomas, <i>Earl of Sussex, the</i>		<i>Many pretend themselves de-</i>	
<i>English General in Scot-</i>		<i>derived from them</i>	57
<i>land, inclinable to the</i>		Tronta Isle	35
<i>Queen's Faction</i> ib.	409	Truce <i>betwixt the French,</i>	
Thomas Wolsey, <i>a Cardinal,</i>		<i>English, and Scots</i> 394, 395	
<i>self-ended and ambitious</i> ib.	147	<i>Between Scots and English</i>	
Thornton, Patrick, <i>put to</i>		<i>for seven Years</i> Vol. II.	87
<i>Death for Murder</i> ibid.	41	Truce <i>between the Queen Re-</i>	
Tintallon <i>Castle besieged by</i>		<i>gent and the Reformers</i> ib.	255
<i>the King</i> ib.	161	<i>And on what Terms</i> ibid.	255
<i>Surrendered to him</i> ib.	162	Twedale	16
Tine River	18	Twede River	ib.
Titles of Honour	257	Tueman <i>Isles</i>	37
Tithes of Ecclesiasticks	176	Turff Isle	33
Tiren, or Tirrifs, <i>Isle</i>	34	Turdetani, <i>who ?</i>	48
Toncetius, <i>an unjust Judge</i>		Twine, Laurence, <i>his Story</i>	361
<i>slain</i>	194	<i>He stirs up Baliol to invade</i>	
Toray Isle	37	<i>Scotland</i> ib.	
Trajan's <i>remarkable Speech</i>		Twentieth <i>Part taxed in</i>	
Vol. II.	424	<i>Scotland</i>	432
Trajectus <i>Passage, or Na-</i>		Tyana Isle	31
<i>Port Isle</i>	31	Tyranny, <i>its Root cut by Fin-</i>	
Trayl, <i>Archbishop, his Com-</i>		<i>nanus, and how</i>	128
<i>mendation</i>	418	Tyrants <i>Avarice bring the</i>	
<i>His Death</i> ib.		<i>richer Sort to their Ends</i>	134
Triaracha Isle	31	Valay	
Trebellius Maximus <i>in Bri-</i>			
<i>tain</i>	107		

AN ALPHABETICAL TABLE.

	Page		Page
V		Vonnedra Isle	43
V Alay Isle	37	Vortigern, of a Monk, made	
Valerius Asiaticus his		King of England	181
bold Speech Vol. II.	327	Afterwards deposed	182
Valla, and Vallis Isle	44	Sends to Hengist the Saxon	181
Vannora, King Arthur's Wife,		Overthrows the Scots, and is	
not true to him	193	slain	ib.
Vallia	75	Vortimer, King of the Bri-	
Varro, Plato, &c, too inqui-		tons, renews a League with	
sitive about Words	4	the Scots and Picts	182
Vaterra Isle	35	Ure River	16
Vectius Bolanus in Britain		Ure Isle	45
	107	Uridick Isle	31
Veauriones, who?	22	Ufabrak Isle	32
Vemendra Isle	45	Uter succeeds his Brother in	
Venta Belgarum	12, 73	Britain	187
Vera Isle; see Wyer-Oy	44	His Story and flagitious Fact	188
Vervedrum Promontory	26	Utility sometimes preferred	
Vester Isle; see Wester-Oy.		before Honesty in Princes	
Vexa Isle	37	Courts	423
Via Isle	ib.	Uust, or Uyist, Island	36
Victorinus sent into Britain			
from Rome	165	W	
Vidam in France, who?		W A Letter hard to be pro-	
Vol. II.	275	nounced, by such as	
Vidogara	17	Germanize	8
See Loch-Ryan.		Waes Isle	44
Vien, a French General in		Wales, how anciently divided	16
Scotland	396	See Severus Wall, and Adri-	
Vigils, or Watches, necessary		an's Wall	
in Camps and Armies	393	Wallace, or Wallis, his Story	321
Vikeran Isle, or Na-whoker	29	Made Regent, and takes ma-	
Virid, or Green Isles, viz.		ny Places from the English	
Charn More, and Charn		in Scotland	ib.
Beg, the greater and the		Overthrows Cressingham, the	
less	34	English General	323
Vitellius, a Saxon Commam-		Edward of England afraid to	
der, slain by the Scots	198	fight him	324
Vituline, or Gawin, Isle	29	Enviied by the Scots Nobles	ib.
Uist, or Uyists, Isle	36		
Ulva Isle	33	Haith	
Voadicea, Commandress of the			
Britons	106		
See Boadicea.			

AN ALPHABETICAL TABLE.

	Page		Page
<i>Has a Conference in the Field</i>	325	<i>Waterfa Isle</i>	31
<i>with Bruce</i>	325	<i>Weathers Isle</i>	ib
<i>Dismisses his Army</i>	326	<i>Werk Castle described</i>	Vol. II. 149
<i>Courted by King Edward</i>	327	<i>Weights corrected</i>	439
<i>Refused to swear Obedience to him</i>	328	<i>Wester-Oy, or Wyer-Oy</i>	44
<i>Betrayed to Edward by a false Friend</i>	330	<i>Whales, Plenty of them about the Isle Lewis</i>	38
<i>By whom he was drawn, hanged and quartered</i>	ib.	<i>Whales-Oy Isle</i>	45
<i>Wallace slain in Fight by the English</i>	Vol. II. 27	<i>Whey, the Britons Drink</i>	28
<i>Walowithia</i>	77	<i>White Battel, what?</i>	343
<i>Walsch, or Welsch, what it signifies in German</i>	78	<i>Wife of Alexander Seton's Speech to her Husband, encouraging him to part with his Sons rather than the Town of Berwick</i>	368
<i>Walter Mills martyred for Religion</i>	Vol. II. 243	<i>Witches discovered and punished</i>	231
<i>Walter, Steward of all Scotland</i>	275	<i>William, King of Scots</i>	293
<i>Walter, the Son of Murdo, imprisoned</i>	430	<i>Accompanies Henry of England into France</i>	ib.
<i>Walter, Earl of Athol, conspires against the King, and murders him</i>	Vol. II. 467, 468	<i>Taken by the English</i>	294
<i>He is executed</i>	ib. 470	<i>Released</i>	295
<i>Walter Scot, endeavouring by Force to take the King from the Douglasses, is overthrown</i>	Vol. II. 153	<i>Sends his Brother David to the Holy War</i>	297
<i>Made Prisoner</i>	ib. 164	<i>William Creighton Chancellor</i>	Vol. II. 1
<i>Restored to Liberty</i>	ib. 164	<i>Deceived by the Queen, and her Son the King taken from him</i>	ib. 4
<i>Joins the Forces with the Regent's</i>	ib. 202	<i>He guides the King, after he had taken him in a Wood, to his Party</i>	ib. 9
<i>Wardships, their Origin and Nature</i>	257	<i>Highly accused</i>	ib. 4
<i>A Badge of Slavery</i>	Vol. II. 112, 131	<i>Craves Aid of Douglas, but in vain</i>	ib. 6
<i>War, Pretence of the Holy War cozens the Simple of their Money</i>	309	<i>Agrees with the Regent</i>	ibid.
<i>Warwick, Earl, overthrown by the Queen of England</i>	Vol. II. 48	<i>Is received into Favour</i>	ibid.
		<i>His Death</i>	ib. 41
		<i>William of Normandy repairs Newcastle</i>	274
		<i>William</i>	

AN ALPHABETICAL TABLE.

	Page		Page
William Cecil, a prudent Counsellor, in England	Vol. II. 270	Returns, and is declared Regent	ib. 31
Sent Embassador into Scotland	ib. 270	Comes to Court on safe Conduct	ib. 34
William Creighton slain	ib. 228	At last slain by the King's own Hand	ib. 35
William Creighton outlawed, with his Crimes	ib. 86	William Douglas desires leave to revenge the Death of his Brother the Earl of Murray	ib. 400
William Douglas refuses to swear Fealty to King Edward	320	William Drury, an English Knight, secretly favours the Rebels	ib. 408
He treats Alexander Ramsay inhumanly	382	William, Bishop of Dunblane, sent into France to excuse the Queen's hasty Marriage in Scotland	ib. 335
William Douglas, Son of Archibald of Galway	399	William Graham, the King's Guardian	ib. 61
The King marries his Daughter Ægidia to him, though he were a Bastard	ib.	William Hume beheaded	ib. 137
Killed by Russians at Danzig	410	William Elphinston, Bishop of Aberdene, laments the State of Scotland	ib. 130
William Douglas succeeds Archibald his Father	Vol. II. 7	William Keith taken Prisoner by the English	ib. 244
Corrupted by Flatterers, professes, enticed by the Chancellor to Edinburgh, and beheaded	Vol. II. 15	William Kircade of Grange, Admiral of the Navy against Bothwel	ib. 348
William Douglas, Son of James the Gross, marries Beatrix his Uncle's Daughter	ib. 16	William Levingston goes into France with the Queen	ib. 242
Submits to the King	ib. 17	William of Malmesbury, a British Writer	10
By his Obsequiousness makes the King his own, and by that means revenges the Death of his Kinsmen	ib. 18, 22	William Maitland, an ingenious young Man	Vol. II. 264
Goes to Rome	ib. 29	Sent into England to desire Aid	ib. 367
Accused in his Absence, and his Solicitor overthrown in the Trials	ib. 30	Sent into England to complement Queen Elizabeth on Mary's Account	ib. 280
He pays Damages out of his Estate	ib. 30	Persuades her to declare Mary her Heiress	ib. 281
		Which	

AN ALPHABETICAL TABLE.

	Page
<i>Which she refuses to do</i> Vol. II.	283
<i>He favours the Queen's Affairs</i> ib.	398
<i>Is factious and perfidious</i> ib.	398
<i>Studies Innovations</i> ib.	398
<i>He is taken and released</i> ib.	390
<i>William Murray of Tullibardin, angry with the Regent</i>	338
<i>William Rogers, an English Musician, one of James the third's evil Counsellors</i> ib.	77
<i>William Sylls, or Souls, executed</i>	344
<i>William Sivez, his Story</i> Vol. II.	74
<i>Archdeacon, and a great Astrologer</i> ib.	74
<i>Undermines Patrick Graham, and gets the Bishoprick</i> ib.	75
<i>William Stuart, Bishop of Aberdene, sent Embassador</i>	16
<i>into France</i> ib.	271
<i>Womans Isle; see Nuns Isle.</i>	
<i>Woman, whether the supreme Government ought to be committed to them?</i> Vol. II.	58
X	
<i>X Used by the Spaniards for double SS.</i>	75
Y	
<i>Yew Isle</i>	31
<i>Yla Isle</i>	ib.
Z	
<i>Z Eat, or Yel, Island</i>	45
<i>Zeland, or Schetland Isles</i>	ib.
<i>Zerobia, Queen of Palmira, unsuccessful in her Government</i> Vol. II.	61
<i>Zeviot, or Cheviot, Hills or Mountains</i>	16

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